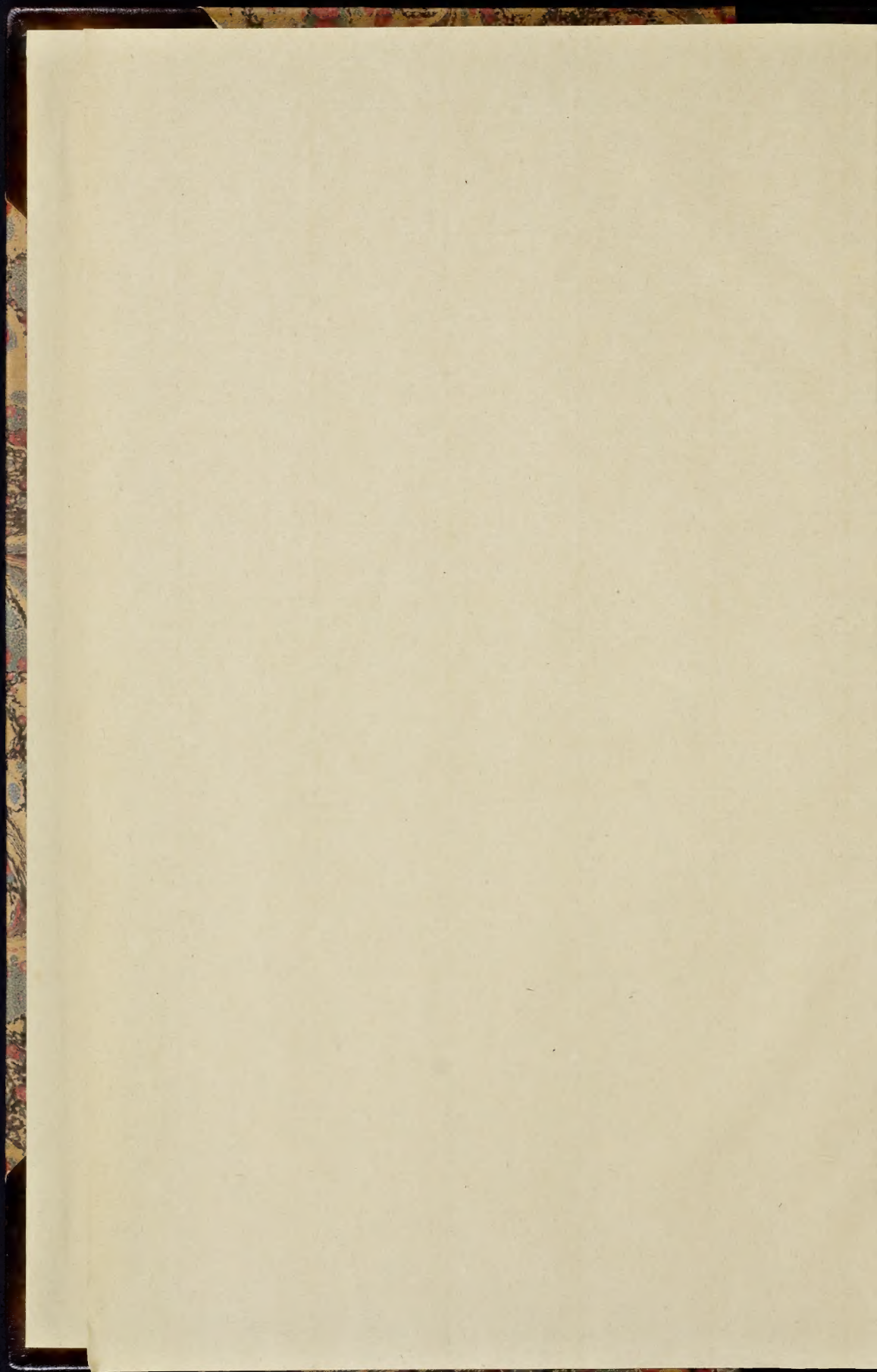
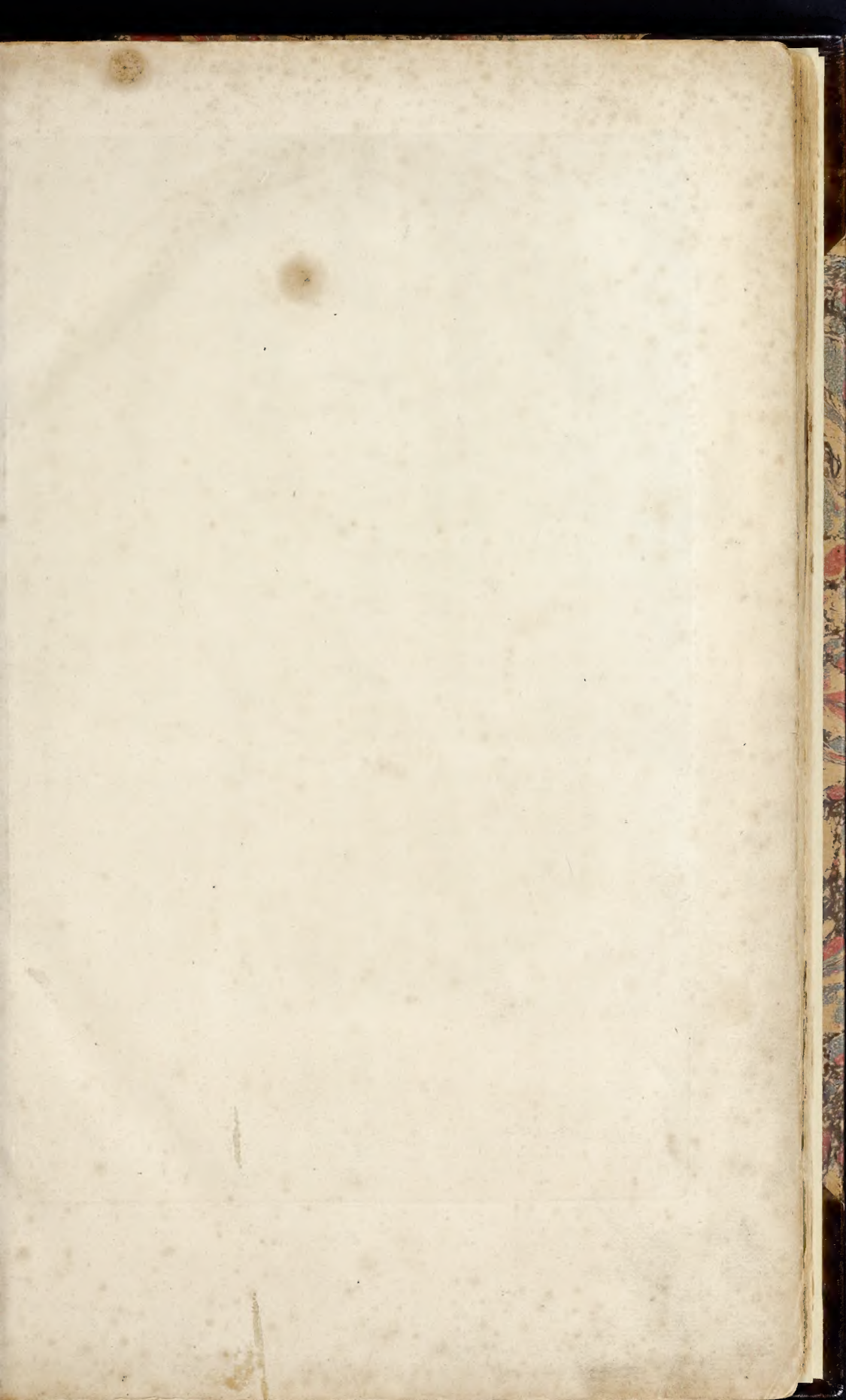


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The Compiler of
And Eldest Son of



PARENTALIA
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PARENTALIA:

William OR, *Swanson*

MEMOIRS

OF THE

FAMILY of the WRENS;

VIZ. OF

MATHEW Bishop of ELY,

CHRISTOPHER Dean of WINDSOR, &c.

BUT CHIEFLY OF

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN,

Late SURVEYOR-GENERAL of the Royal Buildings,
President of the ROYAL SOCIETY, &c. &c.

In which is contained, besides his WORKS,

A great Number of ORIGINAL PAPERS and RECORDS;

ON

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M D C C I.

PAPERWALLS

OF

MEMOIRS

OF THE

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VIZ. OF

MATTHEW Bishop of Ely,

CHRISTOPHER Dean of Windsor, &c.

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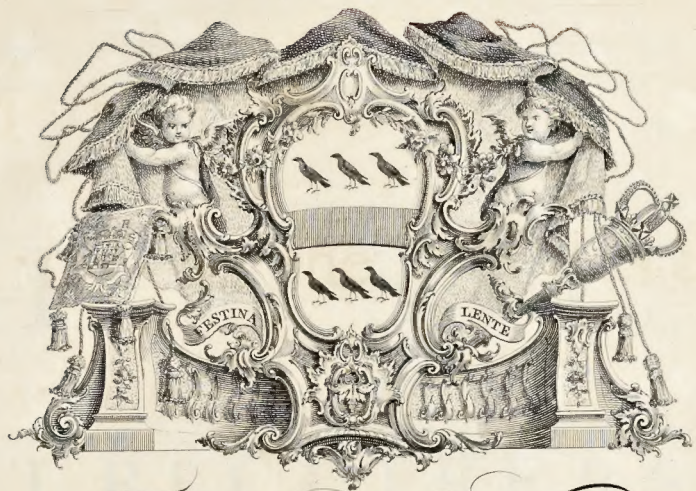
And by Sir Christopher Wren, 2nd, and Son, in the Strand, in the Parish of St. Martin in the Vintry.



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MDCCLXXII.



To the Right Honourable
ARTHUR ONSLOW,
Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons;
This B O O K, intitled,
Parentalia;
Or,
Memoirs of the Family of the Wren's,
Is with Humility,
Dedicated,
By his most Obedient
humble Servant *Ste. Wren.*

[Faint, illegible handwriting, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

A

L I S T

O F T H E

S U B S C R I B E R S

T O

P A R E N T A L I A.

A

JOSEPH AMES, F. R. S.
*and Secretary to the Society
of Antiquaries, London.*
Dr. Ayscough, *Preceptor to His
Royal Highness the Prince of
WALES's Children.*

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C

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E

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Egmont.*
Sir John Evelyn, *Bart. F.R.S.*

G

*The Right Hon. Lord Viscount
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The Rev. Francis Lydiatt, M.A.
and Fellow of New-College,
Oxon.

M

The Rev. Robert Masters, B.D.
1 Book, for the Library of
C. C. C. Cambridge.
Mathematical Society at Wappin.
 Richard Mead, *M. D. F. R. S.*
and Physician to his Majesty.
2 Books.
The Hon. Charles Monson, Esq;
Sir Charles Mordaunt, Knt.
 Mr. James Mount.

N

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The Rev. Dr. Newton, Princi-
pals of Hartford College, Ox-
ford.

O

The Right Hon. Arthur On-
slowe, Speaker of the Hon.
House of Commons.

P

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chamber to Her Royal High-
ness the Princess of WALES.

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S

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the County of York, Esq;
 Christopher Wren, *of Wroxhall*
in Warwickshire, Esq;

THE
EDITOR'S
PREFACE.

A RESPECT for the Memory of worthy Ancestors, and a Desire of communicating useful Knowledge to the Public, were the Motives which prompted my Father to compile this Work, partly biographical, and partly scientific, a Work honourable to the Deceased, as placing their Virtues in a fair Light, and perpetuating their Composures; tending likewise to the Advancement of Literature, not only by their Treatises and Letters, but by their Example; a strong Incentive, as it shews what unbounded Acquisitions are to be obtained by Study and Speculation.

The Variety of Subjects contained in this Performance evidence in the Compiler an extensive Compass of Knowledge both in the Languages and Sciences, and an Accuracy of Judgment necessary to avoid Errors and Confusion; and regularly to conduct such a Multitude of Facts, and detached Particulars, to a just Period, without inserting any thing trifling or superfluous.

Besides the above-mentioned Motives, (to which I am not insensible) some additional ones, and they by no means to be slighted, determined me to fulfil my Father's Intention, and publish his Manuscript; I mean the Sollicitations of Persons of Literature, and the Prevention of a spurious Counterfeit, which would have been an Imposition on the Public, and an Injury to the honoured Subjects of these Papers; such a one having been in Agitation.

As the Glory of God, and the Good of Mankind, were the Ends to which these excellent Persons directed their Studies, Researches and Actions, their Memory seems intitled to a kind Reception from the Public, and to their Candour I leave this Monument erected to it, without expatiating into any further Commendations on the Matter or Manner; as any Encumbrances, however just, may be exceptionable in a Descendant, though authorized by many eminent Examples; yet surely I can incur no Censure in affirming that I have spared no proper Expence, not only in Copper-plates, for Use and Illustration of the mathematical and architectonical Parts, but also in the Beauty and Elegancy of the Book in general, out of Gratitude to the generous Subscribers, (though few) and that Virtue and Science might make their publick Appearance in a decent Habit.

I can with great Truth protest, that Interest had so little Share in this Undertaking, that if the Book
clears

clears its Charges, my pecuniary Views are gratified to their utmost Extent.

It is a particular Pleasure to acknowledge my highest Obligations to the Right Honourable *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; the Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons. I could say a great deal of the Pleasure of being distinguished by him; but it is absurd to particularize any one generous Action in a Person, whose Life is a continued Series of them.

I hope my closing this Preface with an elegant Quotation from that prefixed to Sir *Robert Cotton's* posthumous Works, as apposite to our present Subject, will not be liable to any Censure.

“ Among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were the
 “ two Luminaries that first diffused the Rays of
 “ Knowledge and Civility through these North-west
 “ Climes, he was put in the Rank of the best sort
 “ of Patriots, who preserved from Putrefaction and
 “ the Rust of Time the Memory and Works of vir-
 “ tuous Men, by exposing them to open Light, for
 “ the general Good.

“ The Memory of some Men is like the Rose and
 “ other odoriferous Flowers, which cast a sweeter
 “ and stronger Smell after they are plucked: the
 “ Memory of others may be said to be like the
 “ Poppy, and such Vegetables, that make a gay and
 “ specious Shew, while they stand upon the Stalk,
 “ but

“ but being cut and gathered, they have but an ill-
“ favoured Scent. The worthy Persons exemplified
“ in these Records, may be compared to the first
“ Sort, as well for the sweet Odor of a good Name
“ they had while they stood, as also after they were
“ cut down by the common Stroke of Mortality.
“ To augment the Fragrancy of their Virtues and
“ Memory, these Memoirs, which may be termed,
“ not altogether improperly, a Posy of sundry differ-
“ ing Flowers, are collected.

“ *Longum iter est per præcepta: breve et efficax*
“ *per exempla.* SEN. Ep. VI.”

STE: WREN.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Family of the Name of *WREN*, of Note and Antiquity, from which the eminent Persons specified and distinguished in these Memorials were descended, hath been seated, occasionally, at *Sherborne-house*, *Billy-hall*, and *Binchester*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*; but came originally from *Denmark*.

“ *Binchester*, called by *Antoninus*, *Vinovium*, by *Ptolomy*, *Binovium*, was a City of old, and a *Roman-station*, situated on the Brow of a Hill which overlooks the River *Were*, and near *Bishops-Aukland*, much taken notice of by the Neighbours thereabouts, for the Rubbish and Ruins of old Walls, and also for the *Roman* Coins often dug up in it, which Country People call *Binchester-pennies*; and for *Roman* Inscriptions; one of which cut out in an Altar, dedicated to the Mother-goddess, is thus described by Mr. *Camden*.

Burton on Antoninus's Itin. p. 46.

Camden's Britannia, Vol. II. Edit. 2d. by Bishop Gibson, p. 945.

Scil. *Deabus Matribus*. * * * * *Claudius Quintianus*, —
* *beneficiarius consulis*, votum solvit libens merito.

* Sertor. Urat. de Novis Rom.

Another Stone shews this Inscription.

— — — — —
— — — — —
TRIB. COHOR. I.
CARTOV.
MARTI VICTORI.
GENIO LOCI.
ET BONO EVENTVI.

Scil. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Cartoviorum marti victori. genio loci, et bono eventui.*

The Antiquities of this Place have been carefully searched for by the present Owner, Mr. *Charles Wren*, who, among other Curiosities, discovered a Cornelian, and in another Part a fair Urn, shut up in a round Wall, and within that a Vessel of Wood.

Ex Schedis
avitis C. W.

Geoffry Wren, Brother of *William Wren* of *Sherborne-house*, was an Instance of a very remarkable Character, who became Confessor, and Privy-counsellor to two Kings successively, King *Henry* the seventh, and King *Henry* the eighth: Canon of the royal Chapel of *St. George* at *Windsor*, Anno Domini 1515, and Founder of the seventh Stall there. He died A. D. 1527, and lies interred in the North-aisle of the Choir, under his Effigies in Brass, with Tabernacle-work about it, upon a large Marble Stone, near the Earl of *Huntington's* Tomb.

In Arar. Coll.
Windsor,
Ashmole of the
Garter, p. 151.

His Anniversary, or *Obit*, was heretofore held and celebrated on the fifth Day of *April*.

In Actis Ca-
pellæ de
Windsor.

Sedente pro tribunali Domino Richardo Sydnor, locum tenente decani, comparuerunt generosi viri Franciscus et Antonius fratres venerabilis viri Galfridi Wren, hujus capellæ canonici: septimæ sedis fundatoris: [R. R. Hen. VII. et Hen. VIII. a confessionibus et consiliis;] et petierunt concedi sibi facultatem administrandi bona dicti Domini Galfridi nuper defuncti.

Ex Schedis
avitis C. W.

Francis Wren above-mentioned, one of the two younger Brothers of *Geoffry*, was Steward to *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland* and Dowager of *France*, while she lived in *England*.

Dogdale's
Antiquities of
Warwickshire,
p. 140.

In the Chancel of the Church of *Witthibrook* in the County of *Warwick*, lieth a fair Marble, with Plates of Brass on it, representing a Gentleman of this Family and his Wife, with this Inscription—

“ Of your Charity pray for the Saullis of *Christofer Wren*,
“ Gentleman, and *Christian* his Wife; the which *Christofer* de-
“ ceaßide the xxv Day of *November*, in the Year of the Lord
“ MCCCCXLIII. on whose Saullis, and all Christian Saullis,
“ *Jesu* have Mercy. Amen.”

Christopher

Christopher Wren, Esq; (Compiler of the following Work) eldest Son of Sir *Christopher Wren*, was born the 18th of February, 1675. He received his first Education at *Eaton School*; and in the Year 1691, was admitted at *Pembroke-hall* in *Cambridge*; in 1694, made Deputy Clerk Engrosier; and in 1698, went on his Travels through *Holland, France, and Italy*. He was twice chosen Member of Parliament for *Windsor*, in the Years 1712, and 1714. He married first *Mary Musard*, Daughter of Mr. *Philip Musard*, Jeweller to Queen *Anne*, by whom he had Issue one Son, *Christopher*, now living. He afterwards married Dame *Constance Burgoyne*, Relict of Sir *Roger Burgoyne*, Bart. Daughter of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Knt. of *Stanshead-Montfitchet* in *Essex*, by whom he had Issue one Son, *Stephen*, the Publisher of this Book. He was a learned and pious Man, a good Antiquarian, and beloved by all his Acquaintance for his communicative Disposition. He published a Piece on the ancient Coins, intitled *Numismatum Antiquorum Sylloge*. After a Life thus well spent, he died the 24th of August, 1747, aged 72 Years, and lies inter'd at his Country Seat at *Wroxhall* in *Warwickshire*.

The Title designed by him for this Book was, “*PARENTALIA*. Memorials of the Lives of the Right Reverend Father in God *Matthew Wren*, D. D. Lord Bishop of *Ely*, *Christopher Wren*, D. D. Dean of *Windsor*, and Sir *Christopher Wren*, Knt. Surveyor-General of the Royal Buildings. With Collections of Records and original Papers. Let us now praise famous Men, and our Fathers that begat us: Ecclesiasticus, Chap. xlii. who were honoured in their Generations, and were the Glory of their Times. Of these let his Memorial be blessed, who builded the House, and set up a holy Temple to the Lord:—Who raised up for us the Walls that were fallen, and set up the Gates, and the Bars, and raised up our Ruins again.—Titulus hujus libelli Anfonii Praef. ad Parentalia est, PARENTALIA; antiquae appellationis hic dies, et jam inde ab *Numa cognatorum inferiis institutus. Nec quicquam sanctius habet reverentia superstitum, quam ut amissos venera biliter recorderetur.*

“*Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici,*

“*Omnes composui faelices, nunc ego resto.*”

[C. W. July 1741.]

Of

Penes me *Of the most ancient Crest and Mottos of the Coat-armorial of*
C. W. *the Wrens.*

* Page 124,
Cent. vi. Lon-
don, 1635.

The Lord *Verulam*, in his * Natural History, observes,
“ that some of the Ancients, and likewise divers of the modern
“ Writers, who have laboured in natural Magick, have noted
“ a Sympathy between Sun, Moon, and some principal Stars,
“ and certain Herbs and Plants; and so they have denomi-
“ nated some Herbs solar, and some lunar, &c. and they
† Trifolium. “ make it a Piece of Wonder, that † Garden Claver will hide
“ the Stalk, when the Sun sheweth bright, which is nothing
“ but a full Expansion of the Leaves.”

† In MS. pe-
nes Collectio-
nem.

Upon this Passage Dr. *Christopher Wren* Dean of *Windsor*,
(in his † Experimental Observations, and Additions, to the said
noble Author) has the following Note. *Viz.* “ Of the Claver
“ it is no Wonder, that in the hot Sun it will hide the Stalk,
“ by Expansion of the Leaves; the greater Wonder is, that
“ ever before stormy Weather, the Flower and Leaves will
“ shrink up close to the Stalk, as if it were to hide itself: the
“ Causes of this Opening and Closing are, as the Effects them-
“ selves, contrary; for as the Opening proceeds from the Sun’s
“ benign Heat, so the Shutting from a natural Horror of the
“ approaching Storm; which Shrinking is the more admirable,
“ because it comes near to the natural Power of Preface in the
“ superior Order of the sensible Creatures, the Ravens, Crows,
“ Cocks, and perhaps more eminently in those little Birds the
“ Wrens; for which Reason, the Ancestors of our Family [of
“ the *Wrens*] some of them, over the paternal Coat of Arms,
“ had for the Crest a *Wren* proper, holding in his Foot a *Tre-*
“ *foil*, with this Motto——

Turbinibus superest, cælo duce præsciis.

“ This Emblem, together with the Motto and Coat, stood in
“ the South-window of that Lodging which stands at the
“ North-west Corner of the inner Cloyster at *Windsor* College,
“ in the Year 1643; having stood there full 116 Years, *viz.*
“ from *April* 1527, in which Year and Month *Geoffrey Wren*
“ died, after he had been Canon of the said Chapel twelve Years;
“ Founder

“ Founder of the seventh Stall, Privy-counsellor to the two
“ Kings, *Henry VIIth and VIIIth, &c.*”

Again, in his Note on the Nature of the *Trefoil*, “ *Galfri-*
“ *dus Wren inter fundatores capellæ de Windfor; et R. R. Hen-*
“ *ricus VII. et VIII. à consiliis; pro cristâ scuti gentilitiî, Regu-*
“ *lum habuit, gerentem pede elevato Trifolium: utroque signi-*
“ *ficans rationem esse optima auguria **.”

* Consult
item Cent. ix.
p. 211.
Penes me
C. W.

One of the Ancestors of this Family having gained much
Honour and Estate by his Valour against the *Scots*, wrote under
his Coat of Arms——

Ducente Deo fortuna secuta est.

The Crest and Mottos have been since varied: the Motto
chosen by Sir *Christopher Wren*, well adapted to a Mathema-
tician, was——

Numero, pondere, et mensura.

The Print of Bishop *Wren* is from an original Picture of him,
before his Advancement to the Prelacy, being about thirty Years
of Age. *Sapiens malis premi, sed non opprimi potest*, was not
the Bishop's Motto; but is only an Inscription, alluding to the
Serenity and Fortitude with which he bore all the injurious At-
tacks of his Enemies, and an Imprisonment of eighteen Years.

The Resemblance is as perfectly retained in the Print of Dr.
Christopher Wren, as in the former, being also from an Original.
Virtuti fortuna comes, intimates the Honours to which his distin-
guished Qualities raised him; the Doctor's own Motto (and a
very excellent one) being, *Si rectè intus, ne labora.*

De Familiâ *Wrennorum*, et Insignibus gentilitiis.
Ex schedis reverendi *Christophori Wren*, decani *Windforiensis*, &c.

Præstantissimi in Angliâ navales duces fuerunt Hawkins, Wil-
lowby, Burrows, Jenkinson, Drake, Forbisher, Cavendish, et
Greenvile: à sorore Jenkinsoni prædicti, avo nostro nuptâ, ma-
ternum genus ducimus; paternum ab illustri familiâ Wrennorum;
è quâ Matthæus, à decanatu Windforiensis, ad episcopatum Here-
fordensem primum, dein Norwicensem, et postremò Eliensem pro-

Vide Notas
MS. ad Cos-
mographiam
Petri Heylyn,
p. 267. lib. 1.
1585.
Penes me
—C. W.

†

c

motus,

† In Agro
i. arboribus.

motus, cum titulo, et privilegiis Principis Palatini: et Christophorus, fratri in eodem decanatu successor, à Carolo Rege datus; et ad munus honorarium, quod serenissimo ordine periscelidis-aureæ insignitur à secretis simul et memorialibus, subvolutus; patrem Franciscum agnoscunt Londinensem: avum Cuthbertum Dunelmensem; Dominum de Newbald-Revel, Monachorum de Kerby, dicto †: pro-avum Dominum Guilelmum, de Shirborne-house in episcopatu Dunelmensi, et de Billy-hall oriundum: abavum Franciscum, vel Antonium, (nam de fontali nomine ambigitur) in eadem familiâ, à majoribus longâ serie descendentem; quibus omni- bus insignia gentilitia fuerunt,

* A Chevron.

† A Chief.

‡ Crosses cruci-
lets.

§ A Wreath.

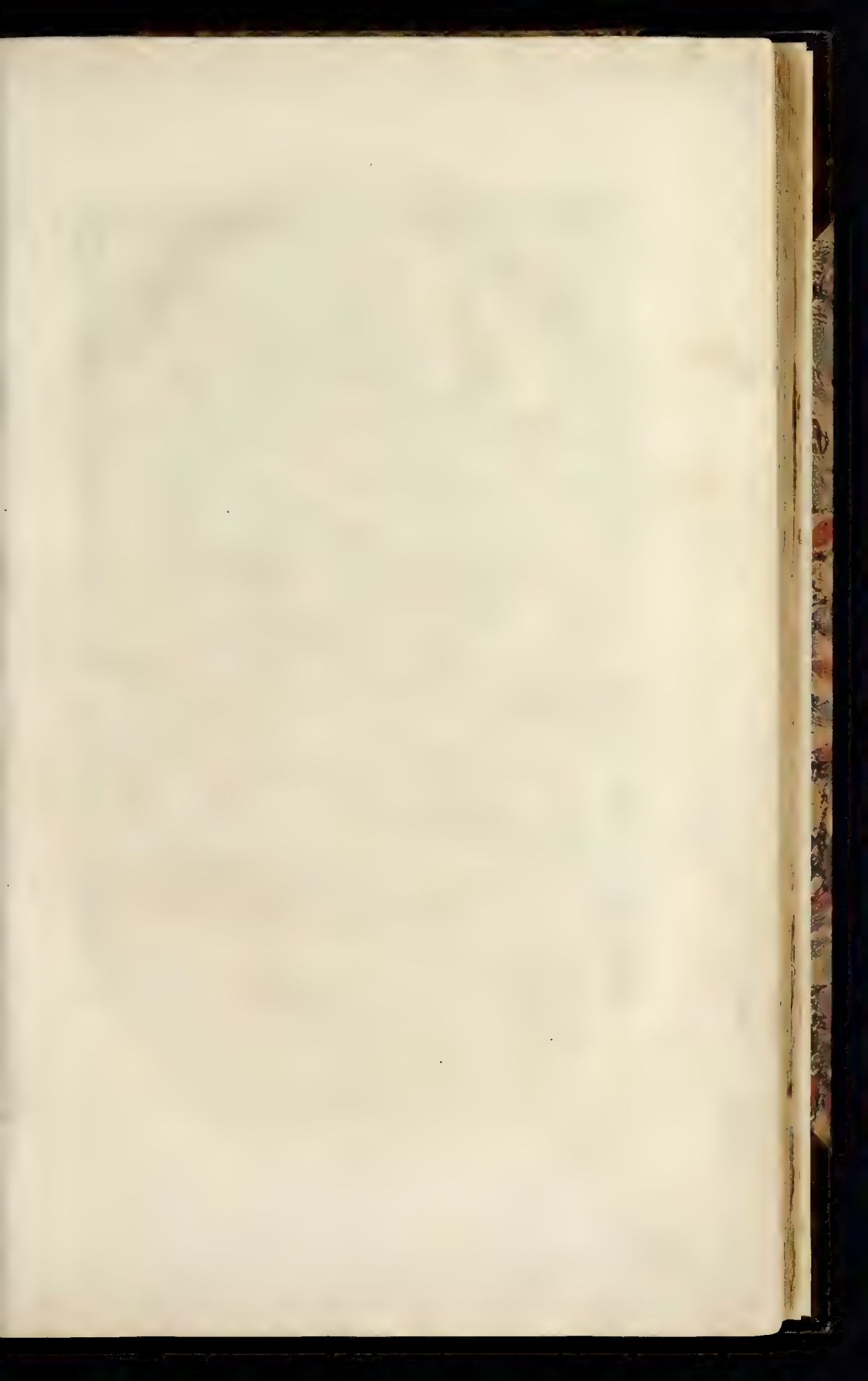
¶ Mantle.

** Doubled,
i. e. lined
throughout.

In scuto argenteo, utrinque * tignum nigrum cingunt tria leonum capita erasa, (duo superius, infra unum) purpurea; super hæc in † margine coccineo, scutum transverso, tres ‡ cruces-cruciatae, ex auro: galea, verò, sub || torque argenteo, et coccineo, contorto; § paludamentum, scuto circumjicitur, coccineum, argenteo ** duplicatum super torquem, caput leonis argenteum, erasum, lanceæ cruentæ cuspide transfixum, et collari aureo, quasi ducis in bello capti, sed vulneribus extincti cinctum.— Quæ omnia nobilitatem generis, magnificis ædificiis, tigno notatis, inclutam: affinitatem cum nobilibus, leonum capitibus purpureis, notatam; præcipuè cum amplissimis præsulibus, (uti cruces aureæ, coccineæ vesti intextæ signant) contractam innuunt. Neque enim uti nunc, sic et olim, feciales, insignia prece et pretio emendicata, sed, virtute (quæ sola est et vera nobilitas) parta pingebant. Super omnia verò, fortitudinis, et invicti in militiâ animi iconem, præ se fert, principis cujusdam, è Scotiâ, in bello capti, cæsiq; ΠΡΟΤΟΜΗ leonis eraso capite, signata.

In scuto moderno variantur, aliquâ in parte, colores; scilicet, †† Chevron. †† tignum est cæruleum, sicut, et tria leonum capita cærulea, et caput leonis cæruleum super galeam; et sine collari aureo.









T H E
L I F E
O F
MATTHEW WREN, D. D.
L O R D B I S H O P o f E L Y.



DOCTOR *Matthew Wren*, Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and Count-Palatine, (eldest Son of * *Francis Wren*, Citizen and Mercer of *London*, only Son of *Cuthbert Wren*, of *Monk's-Kirby*, in the County of *Warwick*, second Son of *William Wren*, of *Sherborne-House*, and of *Billy-Hall*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*) was born in the Parish of *St. Peter's-Cheap, London*, in the Year 1585.

Being an eminent Scholar in his Youth, of pregnant Hopes, and more than ordinary Expectation, he became, first a Student in *Pembroke-Hall*, in the University of *Cambridge*; then Greek-Scholar, and on November 9, 1605, was elected Fellow of that House; and (which was an happy Prognostick of his future Fortunes) had been invited and drawn thither by Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, the most learned, pious, and worthy Master of that Hall, afterwards Bishop

Ex orat. funeb. per Jo. Pearson, S. T. P. et col. Trin. Mag. in MS.

* *Franciscus Wren natus est Januarii 18, 1552. anno 6 Edw. VI. apud Nubald-Revel, in Kerbeia (dicta Monachorum) in agro Warwicensi, Cyclo 70, littera dominicali F.*

THE LIFE OF

of *Winchester*; by him first planted in that fruitful Soil of *Bishops*; always observed by his Vigilancy and Circumspection, encourag'd with his Countenance and Favour, and directed by his Advice; so that devoting himself to the Study of the best Learning, he, in a short Time, grew famous for his Skill in the Arts and Languages; perform'd the University Exercises with general Credit and Applause; was a strict Observer of its Rights and Customs; a punctual Exacter of its Discipline; a zealous Asserter of its Privileges; and became so great a Lover of that Place, that neither the Length of his Days, nor the Injuries of the Times could obliterate, or diminish his Affection.

After he had enrich'd and adorn'd himself with the most useful Knowledge, and all the Accomplishments of Human Learning, he came with these fair Advantages, besides a singular Desire, and most passionate Affection, into the Service, and Ministry of the Church. Indeed, Divinity hath the best Title to the smartest Wits, and happiest Dispositions, and may challenge a Right in whatever Virtue and Excellence either the Felicity of Nature, or Success of Industry can bestow upon Men. For the Strength and Vigour of our Minds, the finest Parts, and most ready Faculties, all our choicest Acquisitions, and whole Stock of Improvements can never be employ'd, or laid out better, than in promoting the Interest of Piety, adorning the Beauty of Holiness, and bringing Credit to Religion.

While he was engaged in these noble Designs, (as being by a rare Conjunction, one of the most knowing, and withal devoutest Persons of his Age) and equally endeavouring the Advancement both of University, and Clergy; tho' he seem'd to conceal himself within the Walls of his College, for which he had so great a Respect; or else did adhere with all Fidelity and Observance to *Bishop Andrews*, his very good Lord and Patron, (to whom he became Chaplain in the Year 1615, and then, Rector of *Tewkesham* in *Cambridgeshire*) yet even then, Men's Expectations concerning him, were very high; and it was the general Opinion, that there was nothing so great or considerable which might not be achieved, and compass'd by one so eminently qualified.

Nor was it possible for him any longer to escape the quick and piercing Eye of King *James*, the Reputation of whose Wisdom could not now consist with his private Condition, since our publick Schools had formerly given him Opportunities to know and understand his Worth: Wherefore, in that Point of Time, when the Family of his Royal Highness *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, needed a true Son of the Church of *England*, and one of the most approv'd Fidelity, this was the Man, whom above all others, his Majesty out of his own Inclination, and guided by his own exquisite Judgment, was pleas'd (in the Year 1621) to appoint Chaplain to his Son; to which gracious Vouchsafement it was no small Addition of Honour, that the Affair was carried on so privately, as to render it doubtful, whether he was assign'd by the King himself, or petitioned for by the Prince; which Ambiguity was still happily improv'd, in that he was equally acceptable to them both: But this was the Prelude only to a greater, and deeper Mystery.

For it is most remarkable, that this prudent Monarch had entertained and settled in his Mind a peremptory Intention to practice such a Riddle of Policy, which did not only amuse and puzzle the World, while it was transacting; but will never cease being a Wonder, now 'tis become a History: Since those Men of the most curious, inquisitive Heads, whose Business and Ambition is to dive into the Depths of Princes; to search and discuss the Intrigues of publick Negotiations, and examine all Reasons of State, after they have run through a Maze of Uncertainty, and tired their Thoughts in this subtle Speculation, find themselves still as much in the dark, as when they set out in their very first Conjectures.

It was resolv'd then by this most judicious and politick *Prince* to send his only Son, the Heir of *three Kingdoms*, the dearest Offspring of a most affectionate, and indulgent *Father*, the Delight and Hope of the Royal Family, into the Territories of *Spain*, to trust him with a cunning and wily *Nation*, of a reserv'd Humour, of close and secret Machinations, and of which we had till then no other Knowledge and Experience, than what we deriv'd from its Craftiness and Pride, and that perpetual Hatred which it bore us; and this too, not in the Head of an Army, not in the Midst of his naval Forces, nor any such military Posture, in which the *English* used to make their Visits into *Spain*: And, in a Word, to venture *Him* upon their Faith and Honour, (of which we had good Reason to be jealous) without other Guard, or Security, than his own princely Wisdom and Discretion.

When therefore this select *Person*, in so dangerous an Expedition, was become Chaplain, shall I say, or Counsellor to this excellent *Prince* (for where the Power of Godliness hath once establish'd itself, and sincere Discretion wholly seiz'd upon the Heart, there is little or no Distinction betwixt these two, which amongst others keep so wide a Distance) then did he, where-soever he came, unfold the Grounds and Articles of our Religion, with that Perspicuity and Clearness, maintain and defend them with that Strength and Spirit, and privately unravel all those sly and knotty Contrivances, which some of their most eminent Church-men had twisted to entangle the *Prince's* Affairs, with so great Acuteness and Dexterity; that no other Means whatsoever, no Artifice or Expedient could pretend to a greater Share in opening the Avenues and Passages to his *Royal Highness's* safe Return.

To what is here intimated by Dr. *Pearson*, relating to the *Prince's* Journey to *Spain*, in Pursuit of the Match with the *Infanta*, it would be proper to sub-join some historical Collections from others, and Remarks on that Subject; which may seem to clear up the *Mystery*, as he calls it; Some Accounts from others of the Spanish Journey, and Match.

"The *Prince's* Journey to *Spain* was such a Piece of Knight-Erantry, as as Preface to Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Abrid. p. 6. no Age can parallel, tho' it suited, it seems, with the *Prince's* Genius, that was somewhat inclinable to Adventures; as a late celebrated Author, who had as much Reason to know him as any Man, tells us in his *History of the Rebellion*. This great Author, who hath in his Writings an equal "Temperature of the Gentleman and the Historian, tells us a pretty Story about that Adventure to *Spain*, and lays the first Ground-work thereof on some romantick Conceits that were gotten into the Heads of the *Prince* and the then Marquis of *Buckingham*, that upon so brave and heroick an Expedition into an unknown Country, the Knight (according to the usual Events of Chivalry) would be sure to be too hard for the Giant of *Spain*, and would win and bring away the Damsel. But when by those two, this was first broke to King *James*, the Terrors and Convulsions it put the good old King into, were inexpressible: He perceiv'd the Precipice he was run upon, and (besides the Hazard of losing an only Son, and of an unavoidable Loss and Dishonour that would fall upon himself and the whole Nation, if the King of *Spain* should shew more Wit in detaining the *Prince*, than he did in sending him) presently foresaw, that this Expedient, which those two young Men had found out to facilitate the Match (on which that King had built all his Hopes and Expectations) would certainly, when *Spain* had once gotten the *Prince* in their Hands, break it to Pieces, or cause the King, to condescend to such new but intolerable Conditions, as he himself would otherwise very hardly, but his Subjects never at all, submit to. And yet King *James*, divided between those two impetuous Passions of Love and Fear, and wrought upon by the obsequious Demeanor of his Son, on the one Hand, and the huffing and blustering Temper of *Buckingham* on the other

" (to

" (to which he had been too long accusom'd) divested him of his own Reason, Judgment and Understanding, and gave Way to that unaccountable Voyage, which became a fertile Subject of Fear and Jealousy to ourselves at Home, and of Amazement, as well as Laughter to the rest of *Europe*.
 " Never were there a Pair sent Abroad to be expos'd to the Censure of a foreign and capricious Nation so ill suited.

" The Prince was of a grave, and stay'd Deportment, adapted to the Genius of the *Spanish* Nation, which had gain'd him there an universal Love; the Marquis (then made a Duke) of a light and *Frenchified* Garb and Behaviour, and given to his Pleasures, and generally thought to be wanting of those clear and quick-sighted Intellectuals which were requisite for the Management of that high Concern.

" Innumerable were the Mischiefs King *James* was involv'd in by this rash and hot-headed Voyage to *Spain*; and the King liv'd to see himself a true Prophet, the Match by that very means being dash'd to Pieces; for while the Earl of *Bristol*, the greatest Statesman we had then left, and who negotiated the Match, proceeded therein with slow and wary, but yet as sure Steps as the subtle and intriguing Genius of the *Spaniard*, and the different Interests and Sentiments of the Pope, Emperor, and Duke of *Bavaria* (who had all their Parts to play in this Affair as well as the King of *Spain*) would permit; there was some solid tho' slippery Ground for the King and Prince to set their Feet on. The Articles of Religion were agreed on, and temporal Articles near a Conclusion; but by the Prince's and Duke's Arrival in *Spain* all was unravell'd, and the subtle *Spaniard* would not easily grant that any Match had been before seriously treated of, or intended: So all was to begin again, and the whole Affair rested on the Duke's Shoulders, which (God knoweth) were too feeble to bear the Weight of it. He betook himself therefore to a Work more suitable to his Temper and Strength, and pursuing his Revenge for the Affronts he receiv'd in *Spain*, disavow'd his old Master to the highest Degree, (at least in that King's Opinion) by ravishing from him his Darling, the Match, and delivering her up to his *Parliament*, who made short Work with her, and immediately tore her to Pieces."

Dr. Wel-
wood's Me-
moirs, p. 22.

King *James*, in order to obtain of the Emperor the Restoration of his Son-in-law, the King of *Bohemia*, was wheedled into that inglorious Counsel of sending Prince *Charles* into *Spain*, for a Match with the *Infanta* that was either never design'd him, or too late: And it was more owing to King *Philip* the Third's Generosity, than to King *James*'s Politicks, that he ever saw *England* again.

P. 69.

Prince *Charles* in his Temper was brave, magnificent, liberal, and constant. — It was his noble and generous Behaviour, that took so much with the King of *Spain*, when he went thither to court the *Infanta*, that he rejected the repeated Solicitations of his Council to seize him; and paid him more Respect than could have been well expected, if he had been King of *England* at that Time.

P. 24, 27.

When the Parliament of *England* was zealous to restore the *Palatine-Family* by force of Arms, as the most effectual Means to do it, and had offer'd great Supplies for that Purpose; yet King *James* was so lull'd asleep with the Insinuations of *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, that he could be brought to no other Methods but those of Treaty: And when several Princes were upon entering into a League for Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and the House of *Austria* was beginning to doubt the Success, *Gondomar* play'd this Engine, among others, to break their Measures, by proposing a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the easiest and surest Way to restore the *Palatine-Family*; which, like all the rest, was only to amuse King *James*,

James, and was equally unsuccessful. The Ills that attended this Affair were these, that thereby "the Protestant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the *Palatine Family*, the *Palatinate* itself lost, the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown, and the famous Library of *Heidelberg* was carried to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning."

So that *Gondomar* had good Reason to say, in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, printed in the History of that Duke's Life, p. 28. "That he had lull'd King *James* so fast asleep, that he hoped, neither the Cries of his Daughter, nor her Children, nor the repeated Solicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their Behalf, should be able to awake him."

The learned *Spanhemius* in his History of *Louise Palatine*, Electrice Palatine, (Daughter of *William Prince of Orange*, and Mother to the King of *Bohemia*, who out-liv'd her Son, and was one of the greatest Patterns of Virtue, that any Age has produced) sums up what relates to this Affair, with this Remark, "That never Prince was more oblig'd to a Sister, than King *Charles the First* was to the Queen of *Bohemia*; since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of *England*, that prevail'd with the Court of *Spain* to permit him to see *England* again."

In Opposition to these Accounts, generally receiv'd of the *Spanish Match* and *Palatinate*, this Passage in our noble Historian, [*Lord Clarendon*] is to be taken Notice of.

"Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was Secretary to the Prince, and not grown Courtier enough to dissemble his Opinion, had given the Duke [of *Buckingham*] Offence, before his Journey into *Spain* *, — and improv'd that Prejudice after his coming thither, by disposing the Prince all he could, to the Marriage of the *Infanta*; and by his Behaviour after his Return, in justifying to King *James*, who had a very good Opinion of him, the Sincerity of the *Spaniard* in the Treaty of the Marriage, That they did in Truth desire it, and were fully resolv'd to gratify his Majesty in the Business of the *Palatinate*; and only desir'd in the Manner of it, to gratify the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria* all they could, which would take up very little Time." All which being so contrary to the Duke's Purposes and Resolutions, his Displeasure to *Cottington* [afterwards *Lord Cottington*, and Chancellor of the Exchequer] was sufficiently manifest.

But to conclude; the Relation of the *Spanish Affairs*, and Journey to *Spain*, given with Solemnity, by the Prince himself and the Duke, at a Conference between the two Houses of Parliament, (which Conference his Royal Highness and the Duke were desir'd to manage) required in all Reason, and good Manners, to be judg'd by that Age and Posterity most credible and authentic, viz.

When, at this Conference, the Prince had made a short Introduction to the Business, and said some very kind Things of the Duke, of his wonderful Care of him whilst he was in *Spain*, and the great Dexterity he us'd in getting him away, he referr'd the whole Relation to him; who said, "That the true Ground of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which he well knew had begot such a terrible Panting in the Hearts of all good Englishmen, had been only to make a clear Discovery of the Sincerity of the *Spaniard*; and, if his Intentions were real, to put a speedy End to it, by

* The Offence was, by giving his Opinion to King *James* against the Journey; in that he believ'd, it would render all that had been done towards the Match fruitless; for that *Spain*, when they had the Prince in their Hands, would make new Overtures more advantageous to them, especially concerning Religion, and the Exercise of it in *England*. *Clarend. Book I. p. 15.*

"marrying of the *Lady* upon the Place; if he found it otherwise, to put his *Father* and *himself* at Liberty, to dispose of *himself* in some other Place. That the Ambassador, in whose Hands that great Affair was solely manag'd, when, in one Dispatch, he writ, that all was concluded; in the next, used to give an Account of new Difficulties, and new Demands; and when all Things were adjusted at *Madrid*, some unexpected Scruples discovered themselves at *Rome*, with which the Councils in *Spain* seem'd to be surpriz'd, and appear'd to be confounded, and not to know what to say. These Ebbs and Floods made the *Prince* apprehend, that the Purpose was to amuse us, whilst they had other Designs in secret Agitation. And thereupon, that his *Highness* had prevail'd with his *Father*, (how unwilling soever) to permit him to make the Journey, that he might make that useful Discovery, which could not otherwise be made in any seasonable Time.

"That they no sooner came to *Madrid*, then they discover'd (though the *Prince* was treated with all the Respect due to his Greatness, and the Obligation he had laid on that Nation) that there had never been any real Purpose that the *Infanta* should be given to him: That, during so long an Abode as his *Royal Highness* made there, they had never procur'd the Dispensation from *Rome*, which they might easily have done: And that at last, upon the Death of the Pope, *Gregory XV.* the whole Process was to begin again, and would be transacted with the Formalities, which they should find necessary to their other Affairs."

What next follows in the *Duke's* Relation, confirms and illustrates the wise conduct of *Dr. Wren*, under the *Divine Assistance*, in the Guardianship of the *Prince's* Conscience, by his *Royal Highness's* Defence, and steady Maintenance of his Religion, against all the most strenuous Attacks of the Church of *Rome*. "Instead of Proceeding (continues the *Duke*) upon the Articles, which had been pretended to be concluded, they urg'd nothing but new Demands; and in Matters of Religion so peremptorily, that the principal Clergymen, and the most eminent of that King's Preachers, had frequent Conferences with the *Prince*, to persuade him to change his Religion, and become a *Papist*. And in order to move him the more successfully thereunto, they procur'd the *Pope* to write a Letter himself to his *Highness*, putting him in mind of the Religion of his *Ancestors* and *Progenitors*, and conjuring him to return to the same Faith; but that it had pleas'd God not only to give the *Prince* a constant and unshaken Heart in his Religion, but such wonderful Abilities to defend the same in his Discourses and Arguments, that they stood amaz'd to hear him, and upon the Matter, confess'd, that they were not able to answer him," &c.

In further Illustration of that Part of the *Duke of Buckingham's* Speech to the two Houses of *Parliament*, relating the *Prince's* great Abilities in Defence of his Religion, to the immortal Honour of himself, and Commendation of his spiritual Guide, a Passage in a Speech deliver'd in the *Star-Chamber*, by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, June 16, 1637, at the Censure of *Bastwick*, *Prynne*, and *Burton*, (for infamous libelling) is proper to be observ'd.

Dr. Laud.

*Rushworth's
Coll. Part II.
Vol. II. Appen-
dix p. 118.*

"For his Majesty—this I know, and upon this Occasion take it my Duty to speak: There is no Prince in *Christendom* more sincere in his Religion, nor more constant to it than the King. And he gave such a Testimony of this, at his being in *Spain*, as I much doubt, whether the best of that [Puritan] Faction durst have done half so much as his Majesty did, in the Face of that Kingdom. And this, you my Lord the Earl of *Holland*, and other

"Persons

"Persons of Honour, were Eye and Ear-Witnesses of, having the Happiness to attend him there."

The common Voice in *Spain* went, that the *Prince* was come (as they call'd it) to be a Christian; and the Prime Minister *Olivarez*, at his first Visit told him, that the Match should be made presently, and that the Kings of *Spain* and *England* should divide the World between them; for he question'd not but he came thither to be of their Religion: Whereunto the *Prince* answer'd, "He came not thither for Religion, but for a Wife." After all Endeavours were us'd to allure the *Prince* to Popery, by Popish Books, Popish Pictures, and carrying him to religious Houses, and to Persons famous for pretended Miracles, &c. his Highness remain'd stedfast, and express'd no Shew of Change.

The Conference ended in a wonderful Applause in both Houses, of the *Prince* and *Duke's* Behaviour and Carriage throughout the Affair; and in a hasty Resolution to dissuade the *King* from entertaining any farther Motions towards the Match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*.

The famous Library of *Heidelburgh*, having been mention'd before, from a Quotation of *Spanhemius*, it might be an Omission, not to insert this curious Record, as falling in our Way.

Bibliotheca Heideburgensis totâ ferè Europâ celeberrima, epistolam D. Pauli Anno 1622. manu exaratum præ se ferens, partim Romam, partim aliò transportata est; et præter hanc D. Pauli epistolam, aiunt Pentateuchum manuscriptum tantæ vetustatis, ut Judæi genuflectentes illum exoscularentur, inde Romam etiam translatum, et alia præclara monumenta. ex schedis C. W. et Helvici Chron. p. 158.

The *Alexandrian MS.* in the *King's* Library is believ'd to be as old as that in the *Vatican*, which is allow'd to be twelve hundred Years old.

There is a Copy of *St. Paul's* Epistles, in the *French King's* Library, and another in the Library of the *Benedictines* of *St. Germain's*, which are concluded to be a thousand Years old at least.

By the Particulars in the foregoing Conference between the two Houses of *Parliament*, it is evident, *King James* was not mistaken in the prudent Choice he had made of *Dr. Wren*, for the Office of Preceptor and spiritual Guide to his Son in *Spain*; by whose Learning and Skill, in all ecclesiastical Affairs, and the most important Controversies between us, and those of the Church of *Rome*, and by a rational Instruction of his Royal Highness in the fundamental Verities of the Protestant Faith, the *Prince* stood like a Rock, firm, and immoveable in the true Religion; and in the end, triumph'd over all the Efforts, Policy, and Machinations of the *Romish* Churchmen, and the Courts of *Rome* and *Spain*.

It was a notorious Instance of the great Injustice, and Uncharitableness of the Times which ensued, and of the *Calvinian* Faction; that this orthodox Divine, who, from his earliest Appearance in the World, did, on all Occasions, as well as on this of the *Prince's* Journey to *Spain*, defend and maintain the sound Doctrine of the Church of *England*, with great Learning, Vigilance, Christian Courage, and Resolution against Popery, Superstition, and Innovation; should himself (as will appear) be accus'd, and publicly impeach'd in *Parliament*, under the odious Imputation of a *Papist*, *Idolater*, and *Innovator*.

"—Innovation in Religion (says a great Historian) was an unlucky Word, and couzen'd very many honest Men into Apprehensions very prejudicial to the King, and to the Church." Moreover, it was the usual Maxim and Practice of the Puritans, and the factious Party, in their Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops, to call every Man they did not love *Papists*. "Arch-bishop *Laud*, had all his Life, eminently oppos'd Cal-

vin's

Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, B. I. p. 74.

Cal-Pag. 72.

"vin's Doctrine, and thereupon (says the same *Historian*) for want of another Name, they call'd him a *Papist*, which no body believ'd him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary, in his Disputations and Writings, than most Men had done." Particularly by his Conference with *Fisher the Jesuit*, of which he himself had that Sense, as to insert *this Article* in his last Will and Testament, viz. Item, "I do heartily pray my Executor to take care, that my Book, written against Mr. *Fisher the Jesuit*, may be translated into *Latin*, and sent *Abroad*; that the *Christian World* may know, see, and judge of my Religion. And I give unto him that translated it 100l." He appointed the Bishops *Juxton*, *Curle*, *Wren*, and *Duppa*, Overseers of his Will. *This Religion*, the good *Arch-bishop*, like his royal Master, maintain'd as well with his Blood as his Ink; and both, when they were murder'd and martyr'd upon the Scaffold (no Time for Dissimulation) died with the Profession of it. But to enlarge a little on this Subject, with regard to the Observations of an eminent political Writer.

L'Estrange's
Hist. p. 181.
Rushworth,
B. II. Vol. II.
pag. 1326.

"The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* stands aspers'd in common Fame, as a great Friend (at least) and Patron of the *Roman Catholics*.—True, it is, he had too much and long favour'd the *Romish* Faction; but as upon what Account he favour'd them, is uncertain; so was it but the *Romish* Faction (not the *Romish* Faith) he favour'd. He tamper'd indeed to introduce some Ceremonies bordering upon Superstition, disused by us, and abused by them; from whence the *Romanists* collected such a Disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began not only to hope, but in good earnest to cry him up for their Profelyte. Upon this Hypothesis, this Supposition, they grew excessive proud and insolent; as well they might, knowing how grand a Confident and Trustee he was of the King's, had not their Perfidiousness mislead them. But the Arch-bishop finding, that his tacit Reservedness in Point of Opinion, and former Compliance with the *Papists*, was no longer expedient for his Designs, and did begin to create ill boading Jealousies in another Party, resolv'd to speak out, and unguile them both. And first, in the Year 1637, openly at the Council-Table, he passionately complain'd to the King of their audacious Resort to *Denmark-House*, using some Expressions of Vehemency; more particularly against the haughty Department of Mr. *Walter Montague*, and Sir *Tobias Matthew*. But that which most despight'd them, was, his publishing the next Year, the Relation of his Conference with the Jesuit *Fisher*; wherein he declared himself so little theirs, as he hath for ever disabled them from being so much their own as they were before; it being the exactest Master-piece of polemick Divinity of all extant. Pity his thoughts, which were in other Affairs a Thought too high, had so fatal a Diversion from his Studies. But what one is excellent in every Thing? Now the Arch-bishop thus professedly owning the Protestant Cause, and having so potent an Influence on the King, it was no wonder if he became formidable to the *Romanists*, as *Hannibal* was to the *Romans*, (and where *Hannibal* was, there his Enemies judg'd the Life and Soul of the *Carthaginian* Strength to reside) and consequently his Destruction, the main Concernment of their Interest."

Laud.

The Arch-bishop in Defence of himself, before the House of Lords, on his Impeachment, has these memorable Expressions, in the Article of Religion.—"Let nothing be spoken but Truth, I do here challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in Point of my Religion.—If I had any Purpose to blast the true Religion establish'd in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong Way to it; for, my Lords, I have staid more going to Rome, and reduc'd more that were already gone, than, I believe, any Bishop or Divine in this

"Kingdom

" *Kingdom* hath done; and some of them, Men of great Abilities, and some " Persons of great Place, and is this the Way to introduce *Poper*?" — Then, briefly naming some of his respective Converts, concludes. — " And now, let " any Clergyman of *England* come forth, and give a better Account of his " Zeal to the *Church*." But this Zeal, equally offensive to the *Romanists* on the one Hand, and *Seſtaries* on the other, was not to be forgiven by such powerful and malignant Enemies, who labour'd and mutually rejoyc'd in the Persecution of the Church.

From this Deviation we now return to the Purpose, in order of Time.

In the Year 1624. Dr. *Wren* was presented to the Rectory of *Bingham* in *Nottinghamshire*, and a Prebend of *Winchester*. In 1625, he was rather call'd than prefer'd to the Mastership of St. *Peter's* College in *Cambridge*; where he exercis'd such Prudence and Moderation in his Government, that he reduced all the Fellows to one sacred Bond of Unity and Concord, and excited the Scholars to Constancy and Diligence in their Studies: Moreover, he built great Part of the College from the Ground, rescued their Writings and ancient Records from Dust and Worms, and by indefatigable Industry digested them into a good Method and Order. But seeing the publick Offices of Religion less decently perform'd, and the Service of God depending upon the Courtesy of others, for want of a convenient *Oratory* within the Walls of the college; what then he could not do at his own Charge, he compass'd by his Interest in well dispos'd Persons abroad, and procur'd such considerable Sums of Money, that he built and beautified a complete Chapel, which he dedicated *March* 17, 1632.

Being made Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, he asserted the Privileges, re- stor'd the Discipline, kept all close to their respective Duties, and taught the University at length to consider and understand itself.

In 1628. he was promoted to the Dignity of Dean of *Windſor* and *Wolverhampton*, and Register of the most honourable and noble Order of the *Garter*; in which Office he discharg'd his Duty with remarkable Gravity, Prudence, and Authority; bestow'd many accurate Writings of his own on the Society; and to his Honour " it is to be remember'd, that from the Institution of the most noble Order, until he was chosen into the Office of Register, the Annals of the Order were at no Time recorded by a Pen near so judicious and elegant, whose excellent Pattern his worthy Brother and Successor in that Office, Doctor *Christopher Wren* exactly copied."

To observe by the Way. — At the Solemnity of ratifying the Peace between King *Charles* and *Louis XIII.* King of *France*, Sept. 6, 1629, in the Chapel of St. *George* at *Windſor*, he gave the Oath (as Dean) to the Marquis of *Chasteauneuf*, the French King's Ambassador, and not the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, tho' he was then present. It is no small Privilege, that if the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* be present at the Chapel of *Windſor*, yet he sits below the Dean, nor can he consecrate there without his Licence.

In 1633. the King (who after so many Trials in every Promotion, had found him a most loyal Subject, and an approv'd Son of the Church, born as it were, and ordain'd from his Minority for the Government thereof) conferred on him the Bishoprick of *Hereford*; the Place of Clerk of the Closet; and a Prebend of *Westminster*: and altho' he did not long enjoy the See of *Hereford*, yet in that little Space of Time, he settled that Church by accurate and certain Statutes, which before was govern'd by useless, obsolete, and papistical Customs.

May 14, 1634, he was chosen a Governor of *Sutton's-Hospital*, call'd the *Charter-house*.

In 1635, translated to the Bishoprick of Norwich.

In 1635, the Bishoprick of *Norwich* became void, which at that Time required a Prelate no less resolute than wise and skilful; as it is a large and wide Diocese, and was then shaken with Schism, and Faction; therefore from *Hereford* he was translated to *Norwich*, as the fittest Man for so difficult a Province; where for the Space of two Years and upwards, he detected the Impostures, restrain'd the restless, seditious Endeavours, and broke the Spirits of all refractory Schismatics.

Lord Clarendon. *Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. p. 74.

A noble Historian, and others from him relate, "That in the Diocese of *Norwich*, he so passionately and warmly proceeded against the dissenting Congregations, that many left the Kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys and narrow Cloaths; and which was worse, transporting that Mystery to foreign Parts." But this Desertion of the *Norwich* Weavers was chiefly procured through the Policy and Management of the *Dutch*, who wanting that Manufacture (which was improv'd there to a great Perfection) left no Means unattempted to gain over these Weavers to settle in their Towns, with an Assurance of full Liberty of Conscience, greater Advantages and Privileges than they had obtained in *England*.—His Lordship's Zeal for the Service of God in the Church of *England*; his Courage and Resolution in putting into Practice impartially the legal Ecclesiastical Discipline, in a most dissolute, hypocritical Age; his warm Opposition of the *Socinian* Doctrine, and *Calvinian* Party; and his treating the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians* with a high Hand; raised an implacable Hatred against him, and first promoted Calumnies and Libels, which were soon follow'd with long and grievous Oppressions. With the View of him as a Disciplinarian, 'tis believed, the noble Author before quoted, stiled him of a severe, *sewer* Nature; but, at the same time, acknowledged him, "a very learned Man, and particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches." In truth, the Character given by that excellent Writer of Archbishop *Laud*, can very justly be ascribed also, in every Point, to his Lordship. "That he proposed no End in all his Actions and Designs, but what were pious and just; and that no Man ever had a Heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country."

Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 83.

But among all his Virtues, there were Two especially worthy Remembrance and Imitation, his *Modesty* and *Humility*; he never asked the least Reward; never solicited any Man by Word or Letter; never sought any Dignity he enjoyed, but always obtained what he never sued for; was always offer'd what he never requested, promoted to every Station, not by Importunity but Desert; disdaining the Method of those ambitious and troublesome Persons, who greedily pursue the Dignities of the Church, and lay daily siege to the Doors of great Men, and do rather extort than obtain Preferment from their Patrons. "I have always been of the Opinion, said the Lord Chancellor Hyde (in his Letter from *Brussels*, in the King's Exile) that the Method observed by Bishop *Andrews*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, [*Wren*] is the Right; and if I could help it, if the King were at *Whitehall* to-morrow, he should never prefer any Man in the Church who fought it: And I think, I have Reason to believe the King is of that Mind."

Appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick. p. 462.

In 1636, made Dean of his Majesty's Chapel.

In 1636, upon Bishop *Juxton's* Advancement to the *Treasurer's Staff*, he succeeded him as Dean of his Majesty's Chapel, one of the highest Dignities of the Court, because nearest the King: When suddenly the *Diocese*, and *Palatinate* of *Ely*, requiring a Man experienced in all Ecclesiastical Affairs; not ignorant of the Civil Law, and secular Transactions; expert also in our University Statutes and Customs, (all which Accomplishments in him were concentred) from *Norwich* he was translated to this *See*, for which he was so exactly

exactly framed and qualified, on the 5th of May 1638, where he sat to the Time of his Death. *Translated to the Bishoprick of Ely.*

Thus by his great Virtues and Abilities, he arrived to this high and honourable Preferment, to plentiful and fair Revenues, to the Bosom of a most gracious Prince, in the most flourishing Season both of Church and State.

If the Nation had understood itself, the Happiness of that Age had been too great; God, at that Time, had vouchsafed Blessings, which could no longer consist with the Wickedness of an ungrateful People, nor the Allowance of his injured Goodness; that very Happiness which corrupted the Nation, destroyed it, the Mercies which were abused, became its Ruin.

For suddenly an unexpected Storm from the North disjointed the whole Body of the Kingdom, and a violent Distemper seiz'd all the Members of it: wretched Men under the Disguise of Piety and Religion, shake the very Foundations and Pillars of the Church; commit Outrages on all the Bishops, but especially those most endear'd to the King, designing both their and his Extirpation; they stir up the Multitude; promote Murmurs and Discontent; disseminate Malice in the People's Minds, and forge bitter Articles against them, that the Odium of all might fall on the King.

On the 19th of December 1640, the Day after the Impeachment of Archbishop Laud, Mr. Hampden was sent with a Message to the House of Peers to acquaint their Lordships, that the Commons had received Informations of a very high Nature, against Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop of Ely, for setting up Idolatry and Superstition in divers Places, and acting some Things of that Nature in his own Person; and also to signify, that because they hear of his endeavouring to escape out of the Kingdom, he was commanded to desire that some Course might be taken for his putting in Security to be forth-coming, and abide the Judgment of Parliament. Thereupon the said Bishop being commanded to withdraw, the Lords ordered him to give 10,000 l. Bail; and being call'd in, he consented thereto, hoping to get Friends to be bound with him. He at present gave 10,000 l. Bond for his daily Appearance; and on the following 23d of December, the Bishops of Bangor, Peterborough, and Landaff, became bound with him in the same Penalty for his forth-coming, and standing the Judgment of the House of Lords. *Accusation of Bishop Wren in Parliament, 19th December 1640. (Rushworth)*

As the only Crime of this excellent Prelate was the extreme Grace and Favour of his Prince, the Calumnies and Reproaches of malicious Sycophants were receiv'd with great Applause, all that would clamour loudest against him were encouraged and abetted, not with regard to Truth, but the Efficacy of their Charge; till at length, in July following, a Brand of Impeachment was fixed on him for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; which soon after was seconded by an Impeachment of twelve Bishops more, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, for making Constitutions and Canons in Convocation, 1640. *Givest 10,000 l. Bail for his daily Appearance. 23d December 1640, gives the same Security for standing the Judgment of the House.*

A Report of the Committee of the Charge against MATTHEW WREN Bishop of Ely, to the House of Commons, July 5th 1641.

I. THAT the said Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, hath excommunicated, depriv'd, or banished, within the Space of two Years, fifty godly, learned, and painful Ministers. *Report of the Committee.*

II. His practising Superstition in his own Person.

III. His

III. His causing the *Communion-Table* to be placed Altar-wise, and to be rail'd in; and kneeling, and consecrating the Bread and Wine, at the West Side of the *Communion-Table*, with his Back towards the People, and bowing to, or before the *same*.

IV. Elevating the Bread and Wine high over his Head, that the People might see them.

V. Causing all the Pews or Seats to be so contrived, as that the People must of Necessity kneel with their Faces towards the East.

VI. Imploy'd his Power to restrain *powerful Preaching*; forbidding all Sermons on Sunday's Afternoon, or in the Week Days, without his Licence; and left expounding the *Catechism* and *Common-Prayer-Book*, should be as bad as Preaching, as he and some of his Officers said; therefore, he inhibits any Manner of Exposition, and enjoins only the bare Question and Answer in the *Common-Prayer-Book*.

VII. And to the End, People shall not know were there are any Sermons, commands all ringing of Bells to be alike; that so the People may not distinguish where there is a Sermon, or where there are but Prayers.

VIII. He permitted no Prayer to be said before Sermon, but that which is directed in the 39th Canon, which hath no Warrant of Law; and after Sermon, suffers no Prayer at all, but only *Gloria Patri*, &c.

IX. He did publish a Book of Articles, to which the *Church-Wardens* were to be sworn; and these 39 *Articles* contain at least 897 Questions; one whereof was this. — *Doth any Man discourse profanely at Meal-time, touching Religion, or the holy Scriptures?* Another, *Doth the Minister expound the holy Scripture, according to the Sense of the ancient Fathers?*

After some Time spent in the Debate of the said Articles, it was resolv'd upon the Question, and voted, That it is the Opinion of *this House*, that *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*, is unworthy and unfit to hold, or exercise any Office or Dignity in the *Church*, or *Common-Wealth*; and that a Message be sent to the *Lords*, to desire them to joyn with the *Commons* in petitioning his *Majesty*, to remove Bishop *Wren* both from his Person and Service.

Quis furor ò cives, quæ tanta licentia!

HOR.

July 20, 1641. Sir *Thomas Widdrington* made a severe and aggravating Speech, at the Delivery of the following Articles against Bishop *Wren* to the *Lords*.

Articles of Impeachment of the Commons assembled in Parliament in the Name of themselves, and of all the Commons of England, against MATTHEW WREN, late Bishop of Norwich, and now Bishop of Ely.

Preamble.

THAT the said *Matthew Wren*, being popishly and superstitiously affected, did at his first coming to be Bishop of *Norwich*, which was in the Year 1635, endeavour by sundry Ways and Means, to suppress the powerful and painful preaching of the Word of God; did introduce divers Orders and Injunctions, tending to Superstition and Idolatry; did disturb and disquiet the orderly and settled Estate of the Ministers and People, and Churches of that Diocese, to the great Prejudice of his *Majesty*, the great Grief, Disquiet, and Hazard of the Estates, Consciences, and Lives of many of his *Majesty's* loyal Subjects there; to the manifest bringing in and increasing of Profaneness, Ignorance, and Disobedience in the common People, as by the Particulars ensuing may appear.

I. Whereas

I. Whereas many Chancels of Churches during Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, Articles of Impeachment against Bishop Wren, July 20, 1641. and ever since, were flat, and order'd to continue as they were, by the Rubrick, he being Bishop of *Norwich*, without any lawful Authority, injoin'd in 1636, that the same should be rais'd with two or three, and sometimes with four Steps, that the Communion-Table placed Altar-wise, might be seen by the People.

II. In the same Year he order'd, that the Communion-Table, appointed by the Rubrick, to be placed in the Body of the Church, should be set at the East End of the Chancel.

III. He in the same Year enjoin'd, that a Rail should be set about the Table, within which the Minister only should enter, as being too holy for the People; some of whom, as *Daniel Wayman*, and others were punished for going within it.

IV. The more to advance blind Superstition, he in the same Year, caus'd all the Pews in the Churches to be so alter'd, that all the People might kneel with their Faces eastward towards the Communion-Table, so set Altar-wise.

V. In the same Year he enjoin'd, that after Part of the Morning-Prayer was read in the Desk, the Minister should go to the Table as a more holy Place, and read Part of the Communion-Service, now call'd the second Service, tho' no Communion was to be administer'd; whereby the Consciences of divers, both Ministers and People, have been grieved, and the Service render'd unprofitable, the People being not able to hear it in that Place.

VI. Both he and his Chaplains, and others of the Clergy by his Example, after the Table was so placed, us'd so many Bowings and Adorations towards it, as have given great Scandal to sincere and well affected Christians.

VII. He in the same Year enjoin'd all Persons to receive the Sacrament kneeling at the said Rail, and that Ministers should not give the Communion otherwise; which caus'd many good People, for fear of Idolatry, to avoid it, who yet were excommunicated for not receiving.

VIII. In the same Year he enjoined, that there should be no Sermons on the Lord's-Days in the Afternoons, or Week-Days, without his Licence, and that there should be no Catechising, besides such Questions and Answers as are contain'd in the Common-Prayer, not allowing the Ministers to explain the same to the Auditors. And the more to confirm the People in profaning the Lord's-Day, he enjoin'd the Ministers to read publickly in the Churches a Book allowing Sports on it; for not doing which, several were suspended by him, as Mr. *William Leigh*, &c. and some depriv'd, as Mr. *Jeremy Burroughs* and others.

IX. There having been formerly different ringing of Bells, when there was a Sermon, from what was us'd when there were only Prayers, he to hinder the People's Edification, order'd, in the same Year, that this Difference should be left off.

X. Whereas many godly Ministers, to prevent unworthy receiving the Lord's-Supper, us'd to preach a Preparation Sermon two or three Days before the Communion, he prohibited the Ministers of his Diocese doing it any longer.

XI. Endeavouring to suppress the Power and Efficacy of Prayer, he in the same Year enjoin'd, that no Minister should pray before Sermon, but only move the People to pray in the Words of the 50th Canon, which is not warrant'd by Law; and when he has been where the Preacher did pray, he us'd to discountenance the same, by sitting on his Seat without any Reverence.

XII. The more to alienate the People's Hearts from hearing of Sermons, he, in the said Year, commanded all Ministers to preach in their Hood and Surplice, a Thing not used before in the Diocese; and caused Prayers to be omitted two Lord's-Days in the Church of *Knatshall*, for want of a Surplice.

XIII. During his being Bishop of *Norwich*, which was about two Years and four Months, he caused fifty godly Ministers to be excommunicated, suspended, or depriv'd, for not reading the Service at the Communion-Table; for not reading the Book of Sports; for using conceiv'd Prayers, and for not complying with some other illegal Innovations, to the Ruin of their Families, whereby some of them were forced to go beyond Sea.

XIV. He by unlawful and vexatious Ways, forc'd the Parishes within his Diocese to contribute to the unnecessary Expences of raising their Chancels, railing in the Communion-Table, &c.

XV. He several Ways molested, and vex'd many of his Majesty's Subjects, by Fees, Excommunications, Penances, and other Censures, for not coming up to, and kneeling at the Rail in receiving the Communion; for not standing up at the Gospel, &c.

XVI. By rigorous Prosecutions, &c. he caused 3000 of the King's Subjects (many of whom using Trades, employ'd 100 poor People each) to go into *Holland*, and other Places beyond Sea, where they have set up, and taught the Manufactures, to the great Hindrance of Trade, and impoverishing the People of this Kingdom.

XVII. Finding the People dislike his Innovations, he often publicly said, he introduced them by the King's Command, and thereby endeavour'd to raise an ill Opinion of his Majesty in the Hearts of his Subjects.

XVIII. He in the same Year 1636, in a Church at *Ipswich*, used idolatrous Actions in administering the Lord's-Supper, consecrating the Bread and Wine with his Face towards the East, and his Back towards the People, elevating them so high, that they might be seen above his Shoulders, and bowing low either to or before them, when set down on the Table.

XIX. To manifest his Popish Affections, he in the same Year, caus'd a *Crucifix* to be engraven on his Episcopal Seal.

XX. He has employ'd such Men for his Commissioners, &c. as he knew to be affected towards his Popish Superstitions, and unsound in Judgment and Practice.

XXI. He has by filling up Vacancies with his own Chaplains, &c. much oppress'd several Patrons, constraining them by chargeable Suits to recover their own Rights, and that sometimes when he had promised the contrary in *verbo Sacerdotis*.

XXII. He enjoin'd Penance to several Church-Wardens for not presenting, according to a Book of Articles (many of which were ridiculous) fram'd by him for increasing the Profits of his Visitations; which Church-Wardens were forced to have their Presentments written by Clerks appointed for that End, who exacted extravagant Rates for them, to the grievous Oppression of his Majesty's poor Subjects.

XXIII. He by divers violent Means forced the Inhabitants of *Norwich* to pay two Shillings in the Pound of their Rents as Tithes, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and the antient Usage of that City.

XXIV. He assum'd an arbitrary Power to compel the People of his Diocese to pay excessive Wages to Parish-Clerks, threatening to prosecute such as refus'd in the High Commission-Court.

To these Misdemeanors the Commons pray'd the said *Matthew Wren*, now Bishop of *Ely*, might answer, and receive such Punishment as Law and Justice requires.

The

The Bishop, after all this Violence, was never brought to a Trial, for Reasons best known to his Prosecutors; so that the noble Defence he had prepar'd for himself was not made publick; however, here some few Remarks may be made on the *Articles* against him, recited chiefly from the *Answers* occasionally given by Arch-bishop *Laud*, whose Case was much the same.—The Speech of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to the *Lords*, on the Transmission of the *Impeachment* (which is subjoin'd) in another Place displays in some Measure, the Spirit of *Puritanism*, with the fantastical, canting Oratory, so much in Vogue at the Bar and Pulpit, in those Times of Hypocrisy, Faction, and Schism.

The Substance of this preceding *Charge*, seems to have been taken from *Some Observations on these Articles against Bishop Wren, and in Mr. Prynne's Libel against the Bishop, when in the See of Norwich, intitled, News from Ipswich.* *his Defence and Justification.*

The putting the Laws in Execution, and nothing but what was warrantable by Law, against Preachers of Schism and Sedition (who contended with Obstinacy and affected Sanctity, to seduce the People from the orthodox Religion establish'd in *England*, and to withdraw the Hearts of the Subjects from their Love and Allegiance to their Sovereign) was, in the Language of those Times interpreted, the persecuting *godly, painful Ministers*; restraining powerful Preaching, and the advancing of Popery and Superstition.

But what gave most grievous Offence to the *Puritans* and *Sectaries*, was the placing the *Communion-Table* *Altar-wise*, inclosing it with a Rail; kneeling and bowing before the same; which in their Sense, was to advance and usher in Popery and Superstition. To this Arch-bishop *Laud* in his excellent Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, made Answer, "That it is no Popery to set a Rail to keep Profanation from that Holy Table, nor is it any Innovation to place it at the upper End of the Chancel as the Altar stood. And this appears both by the Practice, and by the Command and Canon of the Church of *England*." *See Article 3d. June 16, 1637. Rushworth's Coll. Part. II. Vol. II. Appendix, p. 116.*

"*First*, by the Practice of the Church of *England*. For in the King's Royal *P. 127.* Chapels, and divers Cathedrals, the Holy Table hath ever since the Reformation stood at the upper End of the Choir, with the large or full Side towards the People.

"And though it stood in most Parish Churches the other Way, yet whether there be not more Reason, the Parish Churches should be made conformable to the Cathedral and Mother Churches, than the Cathedrals to them, I leave to any reasonable Man to judge.

"And yet here is nothing done either by Violence or Command, to take off the Indifferency of the standing of the Holy Table either Way, but only by laying it fairly before Men, how fit it is there should be Order and Uniformity; I say, still reserving the Indifferency of the standing. *P. 128.*

"But howsoever, I would fain know, how any discreet moderate Man dare say, that the placing the Holy Table *Altar-wise* (since they will needs call it so) is done either to advance or usher in Popery? For did *Queen Elizabeth* banish Popery, and yet did she all along her Reign from first to last, leave the *Communion-Table* so standing in her own Chapel Royal in *St. Paul's* and *Westminster*, and other Places; and all this of Purpose to advance or usher in that Popery which she had driven out?

"And since her Death, have two gracious Kings kept out Popery all their Times, and yet left the Holy Table standing, as it did in the *Queen's* Time, and all of Purpose to advance or usher in Popery which they kept out?

"Or, what is the Matter? May the holy Table stand this Way in the *King's Chapel*, or Cathedrals, or Bishops Chapels, and not elsewhere?

"Surely,

" Surely, if it be decent and fit for God's Service, it may stand so (if Authority please) in any Church : But if it advance, or usher in any Superstition and Popery, it ought to stand so in none. Nor hath any King's Chapel any Prerogative (if that may be call'd one) above any ordinary Church to deserve God in, by any superstitious Rites.

" Secondly, this appears by the Canon, or Rule of the Church of England too, for it is plain in the last Injunction of the Queen ; that the holy Table ought to stand at the upper End of the Choir, North and South, or Altar-wise ; for the Words of the Queen's Injunctions are these : — *The holy Table in every Church* (mark it, I pray, not in the Royal Chapel, or Cathedrals only, but in every Church) *shall be decently made, and set in the Place where the Altar stood.* Now the Altar stood at the upper End of the Choir, North and South, as appears before by the Practice of the Church. And there to set it otherwise, is to set it cross the Place, not in the Place where the Altar stood : And so *stulti dum vitant vitia*, weak Men run into one Superstition, while they would avoid another ; for they run upon the Superstition of the Cross, while they seek to avoid the Superstition of the Altar. So you see, here is neither Popery nor Innovation in all the Practice of Queen Elizabeth, or since.

Rushworth,
p. 129.

Injunct. ult.

" And once more, before I leave the *Holy Table, Name, and Thing*, give me leave to put you in Mind, that there is no Danger at all in the Altar, Name, or Thing. For, at the Beginning of the Reformation, though there was a Law for the taking down of the Altars, and setting up of Holy Tables in the room of them, yet in some Places the Altars were not suddenly removed. And what says the Queen in her Injunction to this ? Why, she says, *That there seems no Matter of great Moment in this, saving for Uniformity, and the better Imitation of the Law in that Behalf.*

" Therefore for any Danger or Hurt that was in the Altar, Name or Thing, they might have been left standing, but for Uniformity, and the Imitation of the Law.

" But howsoever, it follows in the same Injunction, *That when the Altar is taken down, the holy Table shall be set in* (not cross) *the Place where the Altar stood ;* which (as is aforesaid) must needs be Altar-wise.

" The Objection and Offence concerning kneeling, bowing, or doing Reverence at Church, or at our nearer Approaches to the Communion-Table, construed to be Idolatry, and the worshipping the holy Table, or God knows what ;" the Archbishop thus answer'd, in the Spirit of holy Wisdom.

P. 125.

" First, That God forbid we should worship any Thing but God himself.

" Secondly, That if to worship God when we enter into his House, or approach his Altar, be an Innovation, it is a very old one.

" For Moses did Reverence at the very Door of the Tabernacle, Numb. xx. 6. Hezekiah, and all that were present with him, when they had made an end of offering, bowed and worshiped. (2 Chron. xxix. 29.) David calls the People to it with a Venite, O come let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker, (Psalm 95.) And in all these Places (I pray mark it) it is bodily Worship.

" Nor can they say, that this was Judaical Worship, and not to be imitated : For long before Judaism began, Bethel, the House of God was a Place of Reverence, (Gen. xxviii. 17, &c.) Therefore certainly, of, and to God.

" And after Judaical Worship ended, venite, adoremus, as far upwards as there is any Track of a Liturgy, was the Introitus of the Priest all the Latin Church over.

And

“ And in the daily Prayers of the Church of England, this was retained at the Reformation; and that Psalm in which is *venite, adoremus*, is commanded to begin the Morning Service every Day. And for ought I know, the Priest may as well leave out the *venite*, as the *adoremus*; the calling the People to their Duty, as the Duty itself when they are come.

“ Therefore even according to the Service-Book of the Church of England, the Priest and the People both are called upon, for external and bodily Reverence, and Worship of God in his Church. Therefore they who do it, do not innovate; and yet the Government is so moderate, (God grant it be not too loose the while) that no Man is constrain’d, no Man question’d, only religiously called upon, *venite adoremus, Come, let us worship*, &c.

“ In Bishop Jewel’s Reply to Harding’s Answer, where Harding names divers Ceremonies, and particularly bowing themselves, and adoring at the Sacrament; I say, adoring at the Sacrament, not adoring the Sacrament: There Bishop Jewel approves all, both the kneeling and the bowing,—and further adds, *That they are commendable Gestures, and Tokens of Devotion, so long as the People understand what they mean, and apply them unto God.* Now with us, the People did ever understand them fully, and apply them to God, and to none but God, till these factious Spirits, and their like, to the great Disservice of God and his Church, went about to persuade them, that they are superstitious, if not idolatrous Gestures; as they make every thing else to be, where God is not served slovenly.”

Further to recite the Expressions of the same Prelate, (used upon another Occasion) in Defence of external Worship of God.—“ Ever since I came in Place, I have laboured nothing more, than that the external Worship of God (so much slighted in divers Parts of this Kingdom) might be preserved, and that with as much Decency and Uniformity as might be; for I evidently saw, that the publick Neglect of God’s Service in the outward Face of it, and the nasty lying of many Places dedicated to that Service, had almost cast a Damp upon the true and inward Worship of God, which while we live in the Body, needs external Helps, and all little enough to keep it in Vigour: And this I did to the utmost of my Knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, &c.”

It must surely appear very strange and unaccountable in all After-times, that “ *Contriving Pews in Churches to face the East; regulating Prayers and Sermons, and ringing of Bells; * Enquiries, whether any Persons discourse profanely at Meal-time, of Religion, or the Holy Scriptures; whether Ministers expound the Holy Scriptures in the Sense of the primitive Fathers;* all necessary Branches of Pastoral Care and Authority in a Diocese, should be deemed highly criminal in a Christian Bishop, by a *Sect* affecting Christian Purity, and the Denomination of Saints.

It happen’d providentially, that the Bishop of Ely was not brought to a Trial, so that his *Apology* and the *Arguments* he had prepared to defeat the *Articles of Impeachment*, came not to the public Ear.—The Case in short, was this; — When his *Lordship* had received Notice to prepare for his Trial, on a Day appointed, he compos’d a just and nervous Defence of himself, with a Serenity of Mind, and Courage, consistent with his Innocence: The Manuscript containing what he intended to urge in his Vindication, was (with Injunction of Secrecy) put into the Hands of a Lawyer, a reputed

* In Observance of the Ninth Canon, (*Nemine dissentiente*) in the Convocation, May 1640. entitled, “ One Book of Articles of Enquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations; confirmed under the Great Seal.” [Rushworth’s Coll. Part II. Vol. II. p. 1187.]

Friend, for Advice in some Forms and Points of Law: The Person thus intrusted, discovering (on the Perusal) Matters of such Moment, as he conceived might be very expedient for the *Prosecutors* to be forewarn'd of; betray'd his Trust, and to ingratiate himself, treacherously delivered up *all the Bishop's Papers* to the chief Persons in Power, of the governing Faction. The Consequence thereupon was—That the Resolution which had been taken to bring him to Trial for Life, was suddenly countermanded, and an Order, by the *House of Commons*, made to continue him in Prison, during Pleasure, which he endur'd with Patience and Resignation, until (it pleas'd God) their Tyranny was overpass'd. In this Manner, the Bishop, who had been impleaded by *Malice*, was preserv'd by *Treachery*.

The true Grounds of the Persecution of the Bishop and some others in the *Hierarchy*, are briefly noted by Arch-bishop *Laud*, with reference to himself, and such of his Brethren, as were Fellow-labourers for the good Government of the Church, and Maintenance of the Orthodox Faith profess'd therein, among which, no one was more intensitive than Bishop *Wren*, who constantly assisted in all his Councils for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Archbishop's
Speech in the
Star-Chamber.

“ For my Care of this Church, (says *his Grace*) the reducing of it into Order, the upholding of the external Worship of God in it, and the setting of it to the Rules of its first Reformation, are the Causes (and the sole Causes, whatever are pretended) of all this malicious Storm, which has lowred so black upon me, and some of my Brethren.

“ Our main Crime is, (would they all speak out, as some do) that we are Bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other Men.

“ And a great Trouble it is to them that we maintain, that our Calling of Bishops is *Jure Divino*, by Divine Right; of this I have said enough, and in this Place, in *Leighton's Case*, nor will I repeat. Only this I will say, and abide by it, that the Calling of Bishops is *Jure Divino*, by Divine Right, tho' not all Adjuncts to their Calling: And this I say, in as direct Opposition to the Church of *Rome*, as to the *Puritan Humour*.

“ And I say further, that from the *Apostles* Times, in all Ages, in all Places, the Church of *Christ* was governed by Bishops; and Lay-Elders never heard of, till *Calvin's* new-fangled Device at *Geneva*.

“ If these Men [the *Puritans*] had any other Intention, than to stir up Sedition among the People, or if they had any christian or charitable Desire, to reform any thing amiss; why did they not modestly petition his Majesty about it, that in his princely Wisdom he might set all Things right, in a just and orderly Manner? But this was neither their Intention nor Way. For one clamours out of his Pulpit, and all of them from the Press, and in a most virulent and unchristian Manner, set themselves to make a Heat among the People, and so by Mutiny to effect that which by Law they cannot; and by most false and unjust Calumnies to defame both our Callings and Persons, &c.

“ No Nation hath ever appear'd more jealous of Religion, than the People of *England* hath ever been; and their Zeal to God's Glory hath been, and at this Day is, a great Honour to them. But this Zeal of theirs hath not been at all Times, and in all Persons alike, guided by Knowledge. Now Zeal, as it is of excellent Use, where it sees its Way, so it is very dangerous Company, where it goes on in the dark: And these Men, knowing the Disposition of the People, have labour'd nothing more, than to misinform their Knowledge and misguide their Zeal, and so to fire that into a Sedition, in hopes that they, whom they causelessly hate, might miscarry in it.”

In

In a short Time, these misguiding hypocritical Zealots obtain'd their editious Ends, to their Heart's Desire; they saw the Church in the greatest outward Desolation, her Truth questioned, her Glory vanished, her Buildings falling, her Revenues devoured, one of her chief Prelates for Dignity and Learning, driven from the See and Palatinate of Ely into a close melancholy Prison, under continual Threats of a violent Death: The Metropolitan and Primate of all England, one of the most innocent, devout, and magnificent Men of that Age, beheaded in the View of forty thousand Men; and too many of them so inhuman, as to rejoice at the Death of a Bishop; against whom, their chief Objection was, his being a Bishop. So certain it is, that an *erroneous* Devil in the Understanding, becomes a *furious* Devil in Men's Practice.

The grand Charge of *Innovation* so fiercely urged against Arch-bishop Laud, Bishop Wren, and the Orthodox Clergy of the English Church, in those Times of *Fanaticism*, was no more than what has been occasionally taken up, and made use of in Service of blind Zeal, illiterate and obstinate Bigottry. — To give a memorable Instance, — “ Before the *Reformation*, in the dark Age of Ignorance and Superstition, polite Literature, and the true Use of the learned Languages, made slow Advances in the World; the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue was very low, and the Schoolmen endeavour'd to run it down in their Pulpits, under the Notion and Charge of *Heresy*: This Aversion to good Learning remained all the Reign of King Henry the VIIth. and the Beginning of King Henry the VIIIth. about which Time, even at Oxford, a Preacher declaimed openly at St. Mary's, against the pernicious Innovation of the Greek Tongue.”

Dr. Knight's
Life of Dean
Collet, p. 58.

Sir Thomas Widdrington's * *Speech (before notified, p. 12.) at a Conference between both Houses on Tuesday the 20th of July, 1641, at the Transmission of the Impeachment against Matthew Wren, Doctor in Divinity, late Bishop of Norwich, and now Bishop of Ely.*

* Of Gray's-
Inn, Recorder
of York, &c.

My Lords,

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, to deliver these Articles against the Bishop of Ely.

May it please your Lordships first to hear them read.

My Lords,

These Articles are dipped in those Colours, in which this Bishop rendered himself to the Diocese of Norwich; they need no Gloss, or Varnish: In them you may behold the Spirit and Disposition of this Bishop; hear the Groans and Cries of the People; see a Shepherd scattering (I had almost said) devouring his own Flock: He that desir'd to paint *Hercules*, thought he had done enough, when he made a Resemblance of the Lion's Skin, which he was wont to carry about him, as a Trophy of his Honour.

I will not say, that in these, you will find a Resemblance of the Lion's Skin, I am sure you will find the Resemblance of the Skins; that is to say, the tatter'd, and ruin'd Fortunes of poor innocent Lambs, who have extremely suffer'd by the Violence of this Bishop.

In

In the Year 1635, this Man was created Bishop of *Norwich*; he is no sooner there, but he marcheth furiously.

In the Creation of the World, Light was one of the first Productions; the first visible Action of this Bishop, after his Creation into this See, was to put out many burning and shining Lights, to suspend divers able, learned, and conscientious Ministers; he that should have been the golden Snuffer of these Lights, became the Extinguisher; and when these are taken away, where will poor Men light their Candles

My Lords, this was not all.

He put out Lights, and sets up Fire-brands in their Places; suspends painful Ministers, and sets up idle, factious, and superstitious, Priests (to use their own Language) in their Places; yet it is the Fortune of these Men at this Time, like Rivers in the Ocean, to be buried in the extreme Activity of their Diocesan.

He made a Scourge not of small Cords, but of new Injunctions and numerous Articles, tied about with a strong Twist of a most dangerous Oath, and with this he whips not out Buyers and Sellers, but the faithful Dispensers of the Word out of their Churches, out of their Estates, out of their dear Country.

This *Noah*, (if I may so call him without Offence) as soon as he enter'd into the Ark of this Diocese, he sends, nay, forces Doves to fly out of this Ark, and when they return unto him, with Olive Branches in their Mouths, of peaceable and humble Submissions, he will not receive them into this Ark again, unless like Ravens they will feed upon the Carrion of his new Inventions, they must not have any Footing there, he stands like a flaming Sword to keep such out of his Diocese.

My Lords, unless he had done this, he could never have hoped to have brought that great Work, he undoubtedly aim'd at, to any Perfection.

Whilst the *Palladium* of *Troy* stood, that City was impregnable, the *Greeks* had no sooner stolen that away but they instantly won the City; so then, he first put out the Candles, then was the Opportunity to shuffle in his Works of Darkness: He first beats off the Watchmen and Seers, then was likely to follow, that which the Impiety of some was pleas'd to stile the Piety of the Times.

This being done, he then begins to dress out God's Worship according to his own Fancy: this he expresseth in Injunctions and Directions, the *Minerva's* of his own Train; we find them stiled *regales injunctiões Domini Episcopi*: A Stile too sacred to baptize his Brats withal: I shall be bold to call them, *tyrannicas injunctiões Domini Episcopi*: Stories afford not a more barbarous Cruelty than to join a dead and a living Body together, the one is miserably kill'd with the Stench of the other. This Bishop, who like *Aaron* should have stood between the living and the dead, hath join'd to lively Ordinances, many dead and venomous Ceremonies, which have no other Life than what they received from the Breath of his Injunctions, and these are pressed upon the Consciencies; even these must be observ'd, as Moral Laws.

An arbitrary Government in the Church, is more dangerous, more grievous, than that in the State; this is exercised upon Men's Consciencies the most tender Part, and is the very Pinnacle of Tyranny, and of all other most intolerable; that Blow which will hardly be felt by the Arm, will put out the Eye.

My Lords, in the Time of King *Richard I.* one of this Man's Predecessors, a valiant Bishop, went unto the *Holy War*; this Bishop hath raised a War at Home, in his own Diocese; a War not against *Saracens*, *Barbarians*, *Turks*, or *Infidels*, but against good and well disposed People; I know not what

what Stile to give this War; without doubt, my Lords, this was no holy War.

The Weapons of this Warfare were thirty-eight Injunctions, one Hundred thirty-nine Articles, containing eight Hundred seventy-nine Questions.

The Soldiers were Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, Commissioners, Rural Deans, &c.

Himself commanded in chief.

The Ways of assault and killing were by Excommunications, Suspensions, Deprivations,---I stop here, *Mille modis morimur mortales*.

The Magazine wherein all these were originally hatched and lodg'd, was the superstitious and malicious Breast of this Bishop.

This Diocese was the Stage, where the direful Tragedies of this War were acted, by the Space of two Years and upwards

Thus did he trouble *Israel* in the Time of Peace; nay, by these he put some of the Chariots and Horsemen of *Israel* to Flight; out of these he raised a Farm of 500 Pounds for his primary Visitation, if it be consider'd *cum pertinentiis*, it was not dear, yet well improv'd, for formerly but 40 Pounds in the Time of some of his Predecessors.

Will it please your Lordships, with Patience to cast your Eyes upon the Model of this Bishop's Zeal, Piety, and Religion? Let his Affection to Prayer and Preaching, speak for all the rest.

First, for Prayer. It was his hap to find a Prayer which is no Prayer, pretended to be prescrib'd by a Canon which is no Canon, I mean the 55th Canon, set forth in the Year 1603, and no other Prayer must be used in his Diocese before Sermons. That Monster of conceiv'd Prayer (pardon the Expression, it's not my own) seem'd as bad to him as a Spell or Charm; 'it must not be used upon any Occasion. Without Doubt, he would never have been so strait laced and severe in this Particular, if he had but dream'd of that Strait which a Minister, a Friend of his, was put to by this Means; the Story is short.

A Butcher was gored in the Belly by an Ox, the Wound was cured, the Party desired publick Thanksgiving in the Congregation, the Minister finding no Form for that Purpose, reads the Collects for Churching of Women.

Next for Preaching. That he is most able in this Kind is agreed by all: But that he ever preach'd in this Diocese, save once, I never heard affirm'd by any.

His next Care was, that others should not preach too often; if they did, they must be put into his black Bill: He changed that golden Sentence of *Vae mihi, si non predicavero*, into *Vae aliis, si predicaverint*; he was so far from the Practice of *St. Paul*, the great Preacher of the Gentiles, who, we read preach'd till Midnight, that there must be no Sermons in the Afternoon; there may be, nay, there must be Sports and Pastimes then. And, as if he stood in fear of the inarticulate Language of Bells, which might foretel a Sermon, he cannot endure to hear the Noise of a Sermon in the Toll of a Bell.

In a Word, he adorn'd Churches at the Charge of other Men; and spoil'd Pulpits, which ought to have been the greatest Part of his own Charge.

My Lords, you have now presented to your Lordships a Brother, nay, one whose Place engag'd him to be a Father of the Clergy, yet one who like *Joseph's* Brethren, hath taken the Coats from *Joseph*; nay, they were forced to fly from him as *Joseph* from his Mistress, or else they must taste of his forbidden Waters; but in their going away, he rents their Skirts, nay, their whole Garments and Livelihoods from them; he hath taken the Locks from

many *Samsons*, and done what he could to put out their Eyes, and to make them grind in the Mill of his pernicious and dangerous Innovations.

He should like *Moses* have led his Flock. *Moses* led the Children of *Israel* through the Red-sea; this Man drives part of his Flock over the Sea, but went not himself.

Like *Nimrod*, he hath invaded the Laws and Liberties of the Subject; he hath been as great a Robber, as ever has been presented to your Lordships; he hath robbed the King of his Subjects, the greatest Glory of Kings; the Kingdom of Trade, of Tradesmen, the Supporters of it.

He that deprives the King of one Subject, you know his Punishment; and what shall be the Punishment of him, who hath robb'd the King of so many Subjects?

16 H. 3. F.
Waff, 128.

In the Time of King *Henry* the Third, we find a Tenant in Dower punish'd in Action of Waste, because she had destroy'd two rich Villains, and made them Beggars.

I appeal to your Lordships, what is his Offence, who hath committed so much wilful Waste and Spoil, beggar'd Hundreds, not Villains, but freeborn Subjects?

He robb'd the Souls of that sweet Manna, which is *pasulum animarum*, the Word of God.

My Lords, I have not yet recounted all his Robberies; he hath robbed God of part of his Day; makes part of that a Day of Sports; he hath robbed the Subjects of their indubitable Birthright, the Laws of the Kingdom.

The Citizens of *Norwich* must pay Tythes for the Rents of Houses; there's no Law in *England*, nor Custom in *Norwich* for it; nay, and that they may be sure to be robb'd of Justice too, the Suit for these Tythes must be in his own Consistory, from whence there must be no Appeal, no Prohibition.

The true Patrons of Churches are robb'd of their Presentations, others who had none, or small Pretence of Right, are admitted upon this unhallowed Maxim, that if he should institute those who had Right, the Pretender was without Remedy; by this, he inverted a fundamental Law of this Nation, to invest remediless Rights with unjust Possessions.

My Lords, I cannot tell you all, but you can measure a Lyon by the Paw.

I am commanded to lay this great Malefactor at your Doors, one who hath been a great Oppugner of the Life and Liberty of Religion; and who set a Brand of Infamy (to use his own Words) upon *Ipswich* Education.

In sum, one who is a compleat Mirror of Innovation, Superstition, and Oppression; he is now in the Snare of those Articles, which were the Works of his own Hands.

The Rod of *Moses* at a Distance was a Serpent, it was a Rod again when it was taken into his Hands; this Bishop was a Serpent, a devouring Serpent in the Diocese of *Norwich*; your Lordships, peradventure will by handling of him, make him a Rod again; or, if not, I doubt not but your Lordships will chastise him with such Rods as his Crimes shall deserve.

My Lords, I am commanded by the House of Commons, to desire your Lordships, that this Bishop may be required to make Answer to these Articles; and that there may be such Proceedings against him, as the Course and Justice of Parliament doth admit.

This furious Speech, deliver'd with so much Rancor against the Bishop of *Ely*, (suitable with the fashionable Malice, and Uncharitableness of the Age,
against

against the whole Order of Bishops; in Affront to the *King*, the great Lover and Protector of the Hierarchy in the Church of *England*, with whom this Prelate was in special Favour) had been preceded, (little more than two Years before) by an Address to his *Majesty* from the *same Person*, in the like Extravagancy of Stile, varnish'd over with fulsome Adulation, and high Strains of Loyalty; a Recital of which may be somewhat diverting, considering the Quality of the *Man*, and the Figure *he* afterwards made, in the Times of the ensuing Rebellion and Tyranny, to which, on every Occasion, he too much contributed.

This Gentleman (of *Gray's-Inn*) of the Profession of the Law, was Recorder of the City of *York*, and of *Berwick*, for which Town *he* was return'd a Member to sit in *Parliament* in the Year 1640. Upon the execrable Murder of the *King*, in the Year 1648, *he* was appointed one of the three Commissioners (jointly with *Whitlock* and *John Lisle* a Regicide) of the counterfeit Great Seal, in the *Usurpation*. In 1655, *he* was a Commissioner of the Treasury. *He* was chosen Speaker in *Cromwell's* Third *Parliament*, in the Year 1656, by which *Cromwell* was confirm'd Protector, and solemnly inaugurated by this Speaker. In 1658, *he* was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. And in 1659, *he* was made by the *Rump*, one of their Council of State.

Rushworth
Part II.
p. 1109.

March 27, 1639, King *Charles* took his Journey Northwards, against the *Scots*, and arrived at *York*, the 30th of *March*, to whom Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Recorder of *York* and *Berwick*, made the following Speech.

" Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

" **B**E graciously pleas'd to pardon this Stay, that we, the least and meanest Motes in the Firmament of your Majesty's Government, should thus dare to cause you (our bright and glorious Sun) to stand; give us Leave, who are the Members of this ancient and decay'd City, to make known unto your Majesty (even our Sun itself) where the Sun now stands,

Rushworth's
Hist. Col-
lections, Part
II. p. 187.

In the City of York.

" Which (like an ill-drawn Picture) needs a Name: A Place so unlike it self, that we may boldly say, *Niobe* was never so unlike *Niobe*; never old Man so unlike himself, himself being young; as is the City of *York* unlike the City of *York*; heretofore an imperial City, the Place of the Life and Death of the Emperor *Constantius Chlorus*, in whose Grave a burning Lamp was found many Centuries of Years after. The Place honour'd with the Birth of *Constantine* the Great; and with the most noble Library of *Egbert*.

" I might go farther, but this were only to shew, or rather speak of ancient Tombs.

" This City was afterwards twice burn'd, so that the very Ashes of these Antiquities are not now to be found: And if later Scars had not defaced our former Glory, what was it truly in Respect of what we now enjoy?

" The Births, Lives, and Deaths of Emperors, are not so much for the Honour of *York*, as that King *Charles* was once Duke of *York*. Your Royal Aspect surmounts our former Glory, and scatters our later Clouds.

" It is more Honour for us, that King *Charles* hath given us a new Life, Nativity and Being, by a most benign and liberal Character, than that *Constantine*

stantine

" *stantine* the Great had his first Being here. And for the Lamp found in the Grave of *Chlorus*, your Majesty maintains a Lamp of Justice in this City, which burns more clearly than that of *Chlorus*, and shines into five several Counties, at which each Subject may light a Torch, by the Lightness whereof, he may see his own Right, and find, and taste part of that sweet and wholesome Manna here at his own Door, which dropt from the Influence of your Majesty's most just and gracious Government.

" So that, if the Library of *Egbert* were now extant among us, that very Idea of Eloquence, which the most skilful Orator could extract out of it, would not be able to express what we owe to your Majesty, there being not any Acknowledgment answerable to our Obligations: For besides all this,

" The Beams and Lightnings of those eminent Virtues, sublime Gifts, and Illuminations wherewith you are endow'd, do cast so forcible Reflections upon the Eyes of all Men, that you fill, not only this City, this Kingdom, but the whole Universe with Splendor.

" You have establish'd your Throne upon two Columns of Diamond, Piety, and Justice; the one gives you to God, the other gives Men to you, and all your Subjects are most happy in both.

" For ourselves, most gracious King, your Majesty's humblest and meanest Subjects, Obedience, the best of Sacrifices, is the only Sacrifice which we have to offer to your most sacred Majesty. Yet vouchsafe to believe (most mighty King) that even our Works, such as they are, shall not resemble those Sacrifices, whereout the Heart is taken, and whereof all the Head, nothing is left, saving only the Tongue; our Sacrifice is that of our Hearts; not of our Tongues."

Ecce iterum Crispinus.

Speech to the King at Berwick, in his Progress to Scotland, in the Year 1633; by the same Hand, in the like justian and affected Style.

" Most gracious and dread Sovereign.

*Redworth's
Hist. of the
Towns, Part
II. p. 179.*

" **W**HAT the Noise of useless and obsolete Canons, what these strong yet desolate Walls, what the Reliques of sometimes warlike Soldiers, what the Ruins of a poor, yet ancient Burrough, what all those would say, (if they could say any Thing,) and what all we your Majesty's humblest and meanest Subjects desire to express, with an unanimous and cheerful Acclamation, is no more but this, That your Majesty's Presence doth now bring as much Joy and Comfort to us all, as ever the Loss of this Town of *Berwick* brought Sorrow to the *English* or *Scottish* Nation.

" It were unseasonable for us to represent to your Majesty's View, the gloomy Cloud of our Pressures and Wants: No, I need not do it, the Mite we are to cast into your Majesty's *Treasury*, will quickly tell you them; we cannot do it, for that Cloud is suddenly vanish'd, by the radiant Beams of your Sun-like Appearance. By whose Approach, these rusty Ordnances, these solitary Walls, these Soldiers, this now despicable *Town*, have all instantly receiv'd their former Life, Lustre, and Vigour; and hence we are induced to think, that this Year (being the Year of your Majesty's most Royal Progress) is like the Year dream'd on by *Plato*, wherein all Things were to return to their former Life, Splendor, and Excellency.

" You

" You have in your Majesty's Eye the representative Body of the poor
 " Town of *Berwick*, yet a Town (for *fuimus Troes*) that hath been the De-
 " light, nay, the Ransom of Kings; a true *Helena*, for which many bloody
 " Battles have been fought, lost, and regain'd several Times, within the
 " Compass of one Century of Years. A Town, the strongest Fortress of
 " both your Majesty's most flourishing Kingdoms, yet upon each Discord
 " and Dissention, banded as a Ball between them; if held in the Hands of
 " one, then tossed by the other Kingdom, a Ball that never found Rest un-
 " til the happy Union.

" A Town, at this Day as useless, as Arms in Time of Peace, yet may
 " serve for your Majesty to cast your Eye upon, as a little Map of both your
 " great Kingdoms, as participating of the Nature of both, yet doubtful
 " whether most beyond the ordinary Limits of the one, and without the Ju-
 " risdiction of the other Kingdom, but conspicuous in the Eye of both.

" A Town, neither wholly regulated by *English* or *Scottish* Laws, but by
 " Customs and Usages, in some Things different from both; yet rather in-
 " clin'd to *English* Laws, and more affecting *Scottish* Fashions and Language,
 " as being oftner saluted by the Rescripts of the one, and seeing and hearing
 " oftner the other.

" Although now *English*, and so hath continu'd since the Time of King
 " *Edward IV.* yet such is our Distance from the Center of the Kingdom,
 " that the Lines of those Felicities now enjoy'd by that Kingdom, by your
 " Majesty's happy Government and Residence there, do not so happily
 " concenter in us,

" We well know (as indeed who knoweth not?) that royal Blood running
 " in your Majesty's Veins, to be extracted from the most renown'd Kings of
 " both these Kingdoms, and by those Kings (most dread Sovereign) especially
 " your Royal Father of ever blessed and happy Memory, hath this Town,
 " though in the Skirts of either Kingdom, been richly embroider'd with
 " many Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities; and, therefore, we doubt
 " not but your Majesty, in whom each Man may behold the Worth of all
 " your Ancestors, you being no less rightful Inheritor of their Virtues, than
 " of their Crowns, will graciously maintain, what they have most benignly
 " granted.

" But few Words are best to be used to Kings, especially when they are
 " spoken by an unskilful Orator. We dare boldly say (most gracious and
 " mighty King) that our Hearts are better than our Tongues, being most of
 " all unhappy in this, that they are linked with so bad Expressions.

" Yet we hope, that your Majesty may see in our Countenances, what
 " you hear not so fully express'd by our Tongues; we humbly crave your
 " free Pardon of the one, and your gracious Interpretation of the other.

" Your Majesty is now going to place a *Diadem* upon your most sacred
 " Head, which God and your own Right hath long since given into your
 " Hands.

" Our humble Prayers are, that not only that, but all your other Crowns,
 " may be unto your Majesty Crowns of Roses, without the Mixture of any
 " Thorns.

" And we most affectionately wish, that the Throne of King *Charles*, the
 " great, and wise Son of our *British Solomon*, may be like that of King
 " *David*, the Father of *Solomon*, establish'd before the Lord for ever."

These high Professions of Loyalty, this dutiful Regard to his Majesty's sa-
 cred Person, and exalted Virtues, so publickly and reverentially display'd in
 the two foregoing Speeches, in the Years 1633 and 1639, were soon after,

Dr. Stilling-
fleet's *Grounds*
of Protestant
Religion. De
divit.

most strangely succeeded by the bitter, virulent, and unchristian *Invective* (above cited) against the Bishop of *Ely*, in 1641, which was entertain'd by the Seditious with great Applause, and became the *immediate Prelude* to the Imprisonment and Oppression of his *Lordship*; and of others, his *Brethren*; and, in the End, to the Abolition of *Episcopacy*; and the total Subversion of *Church and State*. That *they* should both fall together, was of certain unavoidable Consequence; for, *Loyalty* to the Crown is inlaid in the very *Foundations* of the reform'd *Church of England*, which stands on those two *grand Principles* of Religion and Government; "the giving to God the Things that are God's, and to *Cæsar* the Things that are *Cæsar's*." When by the *Providence* of God, upon the happy *Restoration* of the Monarchy, the *Church of England*, which before had been triumphed over as *dead*, obtain'd a glorious *Resurrection*, it was with the *Influence* of *supreme Authority*, which hath caused so close an Union and Combination of *Interests* between them, that the *Church of England* and the *Crown*, have, like *Hippocrates* his *Twins*, both *wept* and *rejoyced* together. And nothing doth more argue the excellent Constitution of our *Church*, than that therein the Purity of *Christian Doctrine* is joyn'd with the Acknowledgment of the *regal Power* and *Supremacy*.—But to proceed,

All this Persecution and Storm, rais'd by the factious, and fomented by Parliament, the Bishop of *Ely* bore with a sedate and compos'd Mind, supported by his Innocence; and resolving, that if he perish'd, it should be without his own Weakness, or any poor Desertion of himself; he privately prepar'd a just *Apology* and *Defence*, which being fortunately discover'd, by the Treachery of his *Counsel*, prov'd the miraculous Means of his Preservation; so that he who was impleaded by Falsehood and Malice, was saved and protected by Perfidiousness.

Therefore, without any visible Reason, or the bare Formality of an open Trial, they committed him to the *Tower of London*, relying on the Plausibleness of their Conspiracy that had gotten so many noted Abettors, and taking no other Evidence against him, but the unjust Prejudices of their own Associates; then had they free Leisure to invent Crimes, that might touch both his Life and Estate; and lest, there should be any Way left for his Relief, they proceed at last to a *publick Sentence*, that they might exclude him from all Hopes or Possibility of Favour.

Short History of the Troubles of England, and Treaty of Uxbridge, p. 741. Oxford 1681.

Of the Propositions agreed upon by the mutual Advice and Consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, united by *solemn League and Covenant*, tender'd to his Majesty at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, Nov. 23, 1644. was,

"*First*, That the Persons who shall expect no Pardon, be *Rupert* and "*Maurice*, Counts *Palatines* of the *Rhine*, *James* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Earl of *Bristol*, *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, *John* Lord *Powlet*, *George* Lord *Digby*, *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, *William* *Laud*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Matthew* *Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*; with many others, "*Lords* and *Gentlemen* of eminent *Quality* in the two Kingdoms."

Thus was he loaded with Calumnies, and malicious Imputations, and debarr'd of all Means to vindicate and defend himself; oppress'd with Violence and Tyranny, expos'd to the Mercy of Rapine and Sacrilege, divested and stript of all his Fortunes, abridg'd and depriv'd of his Liberty, and condemn'd to the Solitude of a close and tedious Imprisonment in the *Tower*, (in which he continued near eighteen Years.) And yet in all these, he behav'd himself like one that was made to bring Afflictions into Repute; the Church beheld his Sufferings, and saw by him, that nothing in Christianity was impracticable, and the World did almost pardon his Enemies for the Pleasure and Benefit of Example.

Such

Such cruel Usage, and barbarous Indignities as these, were to be pitied and lamented by all, except him that endur'd them; for the wisest and best of Men have a greater Sense of Baseness than Misfortune, and use to be more affected with their own Defaults than the Injuries of others. It pleased the Divine Providence, that those latent Virtues which are less conspicuous amidst the Smiles and Compliments of Fortune, and almost disappear in a smooth and undisturb'd Course of Felicity, being (as it were) kindled at this fiery Trial, should break forth into a more glorious Flame to enlighten and adorn the darker Side of Adversity.

For he stepped forth, and appear'd with an innate Ability to undergo the greatest Extremities; to slight and contemn all Menaces and Terrors, as well enur'd and harden'd by Discipline and Custom, as by Nature and Constitution made and fram'd for this noble Experiment; and, that we may not question, but that he was brought into these Circumstances by the special Appointment of Heaven, he was of so impregnable a Spirit, of such incredible Constancy and Resolution, buoy'd up with a most certain and pregnant Hope, exalted with an earnest and cheerful Expectation, prepared to meet the utmost effects of Cruelty, always apt and forward to anticipate, and that with the great Assurance of a more pleasant Scene and happy State of Affairs; that by the Aids and Encouragements of Conscience, and the secret Testimonies of his own Integrity, he blasted the Villainies which had been hatch'd against him, disgraced and shamed all the Affronts that were offered him.

If it happen'd that any had the Curiosity to visit a Person so bravely miserable, if any felt a Desire (more prevalent than the Danger that accompanied it) to behold Virtue struggling with Calamity, he met with one only Man, a most upright and elevated Soul, that built and bore up itself upon its own Foundation; and all the Hopes and Confidence of the Kingdom, the Prospect and Expectation of better Times, reduced into one Corner, and miraculously preserv'd in the Breast of one single Person.

March 14, 1648. Upon a Report from the Council of State to the House of Commons, it was voted, That Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely, and the Marquis of Winchester, be not tried for Life, but imprisoned till further Order of the House. Whitlock's
Memoirs, p.
380.

June 26, the same Year, a Note was sent to Dr. Burges in his Pulpit, desiring him to give Thanks to God, for preserving his Majesty from poisoning; and to pray for the Forces under the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale,

Order'd by the House of Commons, That the Militia of London, do send for the Parties whose Names are subscribed to this Note; and, that Bishop Wren, and Mr. Capel, the Lord Capel's Son, be added to those, who are to be sent Prisoners to his Excellency, [Fairfax] and to be exchange'd for, or used as the Committee of Essex, in Restraint with the Lord Goring, are. Whitlock's
Memoirs, p.
310.

In the Time of the Bishop's Imprisonment, this Incident so remarkable for the Consequence, claims a perpetual Record.

Colonel George Monk, (the Fabius Maximus of his Country, qui cunctando restituit rem,) was taken Prisoner in 1643-4, commanding an Irish Brigade in the King's Service, at the Siege of Nantwich (garrison'd by the Rebels) and secur'd first in Hull, and thence remov'd to the Tower of London, where he continu'd for some Years: here he found an Opportunity to gain the Acquaintance of his Lordship of Ely, to whom, by Connivance, or Inadvertency of the Warders, he had free Access: the Bishop understood perfectly well the Character and Temper of his Fellow-prisoner, and concluding he might possibly have it in his Power some time or other, to do signal Services to the royal Cause, took all Occasions

Vita D. Johannis Barwick, P. 16. Lond. 1721.

occasions to *animate and confirm him*, in his *Principles of Religion and Loyalty*. "After a long severe Confinement in the *Tower* with his Lordship, and no Hopes left of recovering his Liberty (the *royal Cause* daily growing more desperate) when *Cromwell* knowing his Courage and Experience in military Affairs, had long courted him to come over to his Side, and at last offer'd him a Command in the *Irish Service*, *Monk* was, to obtain his Liberty, persuaded to accept the Offer; but with this Protestation, that he would bear Arms against the *Irish* Rebels, but by no Means against his *King*: And when all Matters were agreed, and he was going to take leave of his Friends, he came to the *Bishop*, and throwing himself at his Feet, begged the venerable *Prelate's* Benediction; binding himself at the same time with this solemn Engagement, *that he was going to do his Majesty the best Service he could do against the Rebels in Ireland, and hoped he should one Day do him Service in England*. And it is most certain, this illustrious Warrior, in a religious Observance of his Engagement with his *Lordship*, never fought either in *Ireland* or in *Scotland*, for his Deliverers in *England*; but employ'd all his Policy and Force against those who had created his *Majesty* all his Troubles and Disturbance; and in the End extinguisht a *Rebellion*, that had rag'd near twenty Years."

Notwithstanding the Grievances and Inquietudes of a close Restraint, he heighten'd and improv'd that incomparable Greatness of his Mind, by the Solace and Delight of Study; and when he was destitute of all Advantages of Books, he betook himself to the Explication of the holy Scriptures, assisted only by the Strength of his Parts, the Solidity of his Judgment, and that Stock of Learning, which he had treasur'd and maintain'd in a faithful Memory; and accounting that which others term Imprisonment an Opportunity of Study, he bestow'd all his Time in Meditation, and Writing, and searching into the sacred Mysteries (by his Skill in Three Languages) and committed to Paper an infinite Number of Annotations; completing so many Volumes, that Posterity must imagine he spent more than eighteen Years in the *Tower*; all which he copied himself in fair and accurate Manuscripts, of which one great Work was intitled,—*Meditationes criticae in*

MS. in Bennet Coll. Library, Cambridge. Printed. Bishop Kennet's Register, p. 707. Lond. 1728.

S. Paginam, de genuino sensu atq; exactâ nostrâ versione divinatorum textuum. — Epistolæ variae ad viros doctissimos; among whom was *Ger. Jo. Vossius*.—*The abandoning of the Scotch Covenant: A brief theological Treatise touching that unlawful Scottish Covenant*, which in the late ungracious Times, was (with Fraud enough and Force) obtruded upon the People of *England*: written, first, upon sundry private Occasions in Prison, by *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, after the Manner of a *Sermon* upon these Words, *Psalms* xlv. 18. *Nor behave ourselves forwardly in thy Covenant*. But now viz. June, 1662.) thought fit to be publish'd by him, for the present Use of this Diocese: the reader to prepare all therein (Divines and others) for that due Abrenuntiation of the said *Covenant*, which they are (out of Hand) to make by Virtue of the *Act of Uniformity*.—Concluding, "For the Love of God, then I beseech you all, have some care of your Souls, and be not thus fool'd out of them. Away with all other Devices, all these *Baal-Beriths*, these Idol, new-fangled Covenants: avaunt all, but the Covenant of Grace in *Christ*. Let us take care not to put such foul Scorns upon him, as if he needed our lying, and could not well be God any longer, without our abominable dissembling, which was the Badge *Christ* put upon the old *Pharisaism*, and is the very Soul of that new *Scottish Covenant*. Now God be merciful unto them all, that lie but within the Shadow of it."

This

This Covenant, as it deserv'd, had no better Treatment in the Complaint or Remonstrance of the University of Cambridge, viz.

A Covenant with Hell, began between Munster and Mecha, by the Help of a Jesuit, the most impious and unchristian Confederacy, that their grand Master the Devil could contrive; the chief End whereof is to dethrone the Lord's anointed, and throw down the Church, and apostolical Government thereof; and to force not only their Fellow-subjects to contradict their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, but even their most gracious Sovereign to Perjury, in violating his sacred Oath, which he solemnly made at his Coronation. And to compleat that their most horrid and heinous Sin, to join in Arms with a foreign Nation, to lay desolate their own native Country, to stain this Earth with the Blood of their own Country-men and Fellow-Subjects, and to expose the Treasures of England, the Cream of these fruitful Vallies, to the empty and hungry Maw of a rebellious Scot, and then vow never to have Peace, but what shall be written in the Blood of their Enemies, (his Majesty and his loyal Subjects;) and lastly, most cruelly and wickedly to exhort and solicit all Protestants in the Christian World, to undertake the like Course with them by rising in rebellious Arms; thereby exposing the Throats and Lives of all our Brethren the Protestants of France, and elsewhere, to the just Jealousy of their several Princes: and yet this Covenant is made the Foundation of the great Work of their glorious Reformation.——The Contrivers of this Scheme of Iniquity have reduc'd this renown'd University almost to a meer Munster, and have done more in less than three Years, than the Apostate Julian could effect, in all his Reign, viz. Broken the Heart-strings of Learning, and learned Men, and thereby luxated all the Joints of Christianity in the Kingdom."

Querela Cantab. p. 204.
5th Edit.
Lond. 1732.

The End of this Scotch Covenant which had occasioned such incredible Miseries to the Nation for many Years, was this.

Die Lunæ, 20 Maij, Anno 1661.

THE Lords in Parliament assembled, having consider'd of a Paper sent unto them from the House of Commons, for burning of an Instrument or Writing, call'd the solemn League and Covenant, by the Hand of the common Hangman; do order, that the same Instrument or Writing, call'd the solemn League and Covenant, be burned by the Hand of the common Hangman, in the new Palace-yard at Westminster; in Cheapside; and before the Old Exchange, on Wednesday the 22d of this Instant, May: And that the said Covenant be forthwith taken off the Record in the House of Peers, and in all other Courts and Places, where the same is recorded; and that all Copies thereof be taken down out of all Churches, Chapels, and other Places within England, and Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed, where the same are set up.——Printed by Order of the House of Lords, 1661."

Bishop Kennet's Register.
p. 450.

But, previous to this happy Occurrence, (whilst the Bishop was wholly dedicating himself to the Service of God, and his King) the Yoke of Tyranny began to sit loose; and the new Models of the upstart Politicians to faint and fall asunder; and all those happy Things were accomplish'd, which he had fram'd and fashion'd in his Thoughts; which he alone had Prudence to foresee, and Courage to hope for. Whilst impudent and wicked Men highly conscious of their own desperate Exploits, reflect at last, upon what they had formerly committed, and seem to be asham'd of their Share in Villainy, the

THE LIFE OF

reverend *Prelate* is so suddenly and unexpectedly snatch'd out of Prison, that of all those Changes which had been brought about, his own Freedom was the only Thing that had escap'd his Foresight; and that he might the rather hold himself oblig'd to own this as a divine Indulgence; 'tis very observable, that he came out of the *Tower of London*, that very Day whereon before he had consecrated *St. Peter's Chapel* in *Cambridge*. — The secluded Members of the Long-Parliament being restor'd to their Seats in the House (*Feb. 21, 1659-60.*) that great Step towards the Settlement of the Peace of the Nation; among the first Transactions of Moment, which were the apparent Dawnings of a glorious Change, — It was order'd *March* the 15th following, that *Dr. Wren, Bishop of Ely, be discharged of his Imprisonment; and that the Lieutenant of the Tower of London be, and is hereby requir'd to discharge him accordingly.*

Yet was he not for all this admitted to his own Palace, but expos'd to an uncertain and hired Habitation, and seem'd rather to enjoy an Inlargement than a Restoration, till King *Charles the II.*, whose Return was the great Desire, whose Appearance was the solid Joy of all loyal Hearts, came arm'd with Majesty and Power, and sat down upon his Father's Throne.

In the Beginning of the great *Rebellion* and *Confusions*, several Persons continu'd to make a regular Presentation of their Clerks to the Bishop of the Diocese: and the Bishop gave them Institution, though without Power of giving them Possession.

Instanted in the Diocese of *Ely*, even while the *Bishop* was a Prisoner in the *Tower of London*.

From the Register of *Bishop Wren, of Ely*, for the first three Years following the *Restoration*, we know several Matters of Fact relating to Patrons, Clerks, and Benefices, of singular Use and Application, in the Knowledge of Things, and Times, and Men. And one Particular will appear, that there were but very few of the Parochial Clergy, depriv'd within this Diocese in 1662, for not submitting to the Act of Uniformity, though more of the old legal Incumbents had been sequestred about the Year 1644, than in Proportion within any other Diocese; (this being one of the associated Countries) under the early pretended Reformation made by the then prevailing Powers: and though the Zeal of this *Bishop* was distinguish'd above all his Brethren in purging his Diocese from disaffected Ministers, a Zeal that was apt to carry him beyond the Bounds of the Law.

There is at least one Instance of it in the Case of the Rectory of *Leverington* in the Isle of *Ely*, which had been some Years possess'd by a worthy Person, *Mr. Richard Reynolds, M. A.* who having been episcopally ordain'd, and having no surviving Predecessor, and conforming to the *Act*, had a lawful Title to it; and yet the Bishop not liking the Man, because he had come in without his Patronage, gave a new Collation, *Feb. 9, 1662.* to *Mr. John Randolph, M. A.* who being denied Admittance, commenced a Suit against *Mr. Reynolds*, who in the Issue obtain'd an Eviction of his rightful Title: in the mean time he got a Friend to complain to the King of the needless and chargeable Vexation given to him; and his Majesty was so gracious as to speak to the Bishop to give no farther Disturbance: but his Lordship was so unyielding, as to insist upon defending the Rights of his See; and when the King seem'd to expect to be obey'd, the Bishop bluntly said, *Sir, I know the Way to the Tower; wherein his former long Confinement, and his now declining Years might be some Apology for his hasty Humour.*

Little Credit can reasonably be given to the last Particular in this Relation, and less to the following Story tack'd to it and recited by the same Collector, viz. — And this might make the Story more probable, that a Gentleman of

“ good

March 15.
1659-60.

Whitlock's
Memoirs, p.
— 20.

Wid. Regist.
ep. Elyens.

Bishop Kennet's
Register.
p. 885.

Said to be Mr.
Rogers.

Kennet.

good Reputation, (a Church-royalist) who held an Estate by Lease from this See, and had so much Honour as to pay the Bishop his resery'd Rent during all his Lordship's Sufferings; outliving the Usurpation, and having one Life in the Estate remaining, he waited on his Lordship to treat for filling up the Lives, decently intimating, that he had been a good Tenant in the worst Times, and perhaps the only one, who had duly paid his Rent, while his Lordship had no Power to demand it; for which he hoped to be made the more easy in a new Lease. But the Bishop (it is said) chid him for seeking to be paid for what he ought to have done out of pure Conscience, and would make no Abatement of the full *Fine* he requir'd. "Weak Men betray their Rights, and wise Men are sometimes too jealous and tenacious of them."

Although in general the whole Tenor of his Lordship's Life, so exemplary for great Benefactions, and always guided by a most generous public Spirit, is sufficient to refute all Detractions, especially Tales that have no other Foundation but a bare *Hearsay*; and as 'tis said. Two particular Testimonies, however of his Moderation, and Benevolence, clear of all selfish private Views, may, not improperly be here noted; the first taken from *Bishop Pearson's* Oration at his Lordship's Funeral; the other from the *Appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick*, among the Letters of Lord Chancellor Hyde, viz. Printed Lond. 1724.

"*Neque verò familiæ suæ, quâ tantoperè recreabatur, nimium prospexit, pari et in hac exornandâ continentie studuit. Non, ad eam ditandam, aliena involavit, non omnia quæ ad ipsum pertinebant arripuit: successoribus, ex in-dustria, non spicilegium, sed amplam messem reliquit.*"

Episcopatus Herefordens. Memorandum, N^o. XXXVII.

"There is an impropriate Rectory, the Name of the Place I know not, of three hundred Pounds *per Annum*, belonging to the Bishop of Hereford, within four Miles of that City, with a very good House upon it, which was let for Lives; and there was but one Life in being, when the now Bishop of Ely, was Bishop there; and though his Lordship was proffer'd a thousand Marks, and believes he might have had a thousand Pounds to renew the Lease, yet he refused it, on Purpose that it might be resery'd in Demefne to the Bishop for the Time to come; and accordingly he gave his late Majesty an Account of it, who very much approv'd of what he had done, and gave Command to Bishop Field, and Bishop Cooke successive-ly not to renew it; so that in Probability it is now clearly expir'd, and may be a good Improvement to that Bishoprick."

The noted William Prynne, a stigmatized Presbyterian, a busy, pragmatial, restless Man, and an inveterate Enemy against the Hierarchy of Bishops, wrote a scandalous Libel, suiting the Uncharitableness of those seditious Times, entitled, *News from Ipswich*; printed three Times in 1636, and another Time in 1641, intended chiefly against Doctor Wren, when Bishop of Norwich, who had taken up his Dwelling in that Town: and fell as scandalously foul on the Archbishop himself, and some of the other Bishops also, and such as acted under them. For therein he defcanted very trimly (as he conceiv'd) on the Archbishop himself, with his *Arch-Piety, Arch-Charity, Arch-Agent* for the Devil, &c. with like Reproach he fell on the Bishops; generally calling them *Luciferian Lords Bishops, execrable Traitors, devouring Wolves*, &c. with many other odious Names not fit to be used by a Christian, and more particularly on Bishop Wren; and yet this very Man, who by his numerous vile Writings, especially his *Hillio-*

Appendix to the Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 548.

Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Hereford, in the Year 1634

Dr. Theophilus Field, succeeded Bishop Wren in the Year 1635.

Athenæ Oxon. p. 311.

William Prynne's Libel against Bishop Wren, and the Bishops, the Nation, King, Queen, and Court.

His Punishment, Triumph, and late Repentance.

massix had disgraced the Nation, defamed the Church, Discipline, and Members thereof, dishonour'd the King and Queen, reproach'd the Court, with some Things that were thought to be tending to the Destruction of his *Majesty's* Person; and thereupon had been justly sentenced to Fine, Pillory, and Imprisonment; was, in the Year 1641, by an Order of the *Blessed House of Commons*, (as it was call'd by the *godly Party*) releas'd from his Prison, and on his Journey back to *Town* met and carreis'd by Multitudes in several Parts of *England*, and brought triumphantly into *London*; to the great Defiance and Contempt of Authority and Justice. At length, this snarling Zealot, when it was too late, and that he had seen fully to what great Woe, Misery, and Confusion, the *godly Party* had brought the King and the Nation, did heartily repent, and wished that when they had cut off his Ears, they had cut off his Head; in the End, to make some Attonement for his former Crimes, he became in some Manner, instrumental in the most happy *Restoration*.

John Lilburne, and *John Warton*, the two Printers and Publishers of Mr. *Prynne's* seditious libel above cited, call'd, *News from Ipswich*; were deservedly punish'd by Censure in the *Star-Chamber*, upon Information prefer'd in that high Court by the King's Attorney-General.

The barbarous Invectives of the two other great Incendiaries of the *Time*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Burton*, were all of a Piece with the Malice and Venom of *Prynne*, against the Hierarchy of the Church, wherein the *Arch-bishop*, and Bishop of *Ely*, were principally pointed at. Dr. *Bastwick*, in his Answer to the Charge against him in the *Star-Chamber*, has these abominable Passages. "That the *Prelates* were Invaders of the King's Prerogative-Royal, "Contemners and Despisers of the whole Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, "Superstition, Idolatry, and Prophaneness; also, that they abus'd the King's "Authority to the Oppression of his loyal Subjects, and therein expres'd "great Cruelty, Tyranny, and Injustice; and in the Execution of this impious Performance, they shew'd neither Wit, Honesty, nor Temperance; "nor were they either Servants of God, or of the King, (as they ought to "be indeed) but of the Devil, being Enemies of God and the King, and of "every living Thing that was good; all which he declar'd he was ready to "maintain." For these, and the like horrid Defamations and Slanders, the three Delinquents, *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and *Burton*, were sentenced by the Court, consistent with Law and Justice, though some misguided People thought with too much Rigour; and, as an additional Mark on *Prynne*, more than the others, it was decreed, that he should be stigmatiz'd on both Cheeks with S. L. signifying a *seditious Libeller*. It was very happy for this Man, that he liv'd to repent publicly, (and it is to be hop'd sincerely) his seditious and rebellious Practices, and to see an End of the most abject Slavery and Distress of his Country, in a miraculous Deliverance, by the blessed *Restoration*.

Upon the glorious Scene and Alteration of Affairs in Church and State, by the long wish'd for Return of the King, the Bishop of *Ely*, with the * Eight other surviving Prelates (who had out-liv'd the Persecution and Confusion of the Times) were restor'd; but no Man's Restitution seem'd of so great Importance as his; for, into his Breast the *Church of England* betook herself, as to the only Man that had Skill and Courage to repair and reinforce her

* Upon a Resolution of filling up the vacant Sees, there was deliver'd to his *Majesty* this List of the nine surviving Prelates who had outliv'd the Persecution and Confusion of the Times. Dr. *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*; Dr. *William Piers*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*; Dr. *Robert Skinner*, Bishop of *Oxford*; Dr. *William Roberts*, Bishop of *Bangor*; Dr. *John Warner*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Brian Duppa*, Bishop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *Henry King*, Bishop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *Accepted Brewen*, Bishop of *Litchfield and Coventry*. Bishop *Kennet's* Register, p. 252.

disused, and reeling forgotten Discipline. When therefore he was courted by the highest Preferments; and the Concerns of the Church could not well be manag'd by a less Wisdom and Authority than his, even then he was void of all ambitious Thoughts; he sought not Advancement but Restoration; contented to recover, restrain, and die in his own former Dignity. In the greatest Affluence of Prosperity and Plenty, he gave no Way to Pleasure, but study'd and practis'd the highest Degrees of Temperance and Anxiety; he drank no Wine for almost twenty Years, (except that of the sacred Chalice,) and would eat on no other than a wooden Trencher; he persever'd to macerate his Body with Abstinence and Fasting, indulgent enough to others, severe to none but himself, as if he had been weary of this Life, and made haste to Eternity. Nor though his own Family was most dear to him, did he ever exceed the Bounds of his usual Moderation in providing for it; he caught not at other Mens Estates to augment his own, but many Times receded from his lawful Rights; and particularly to his Successor, left not some few Gleanings, but a large Harvest of Fines. The first Money he receiv'd after his Restitution, he bestow'd on *Pembroke-Hall*, and to the Honour of Almighty God, to whose Service he had wholly devoted himself; for the Ornament of the *University*, which he always affected with a fervent and passionate Love; and in a grateful Remembrance of his first Education, which was in that Place receiv'd, and thankfully acknowledg'd, he built that most elegant *Chapel* there, at the Expence of above *five Thousand Pounds*, compleatly finish'd, and endow'd it with *perpetual Revenues* for Repairs. This, however noble and magnificent, is the least of those Monuments he hath left to Posterity.

It is not to be forgotten, that the only bodily Exercise *he* could obtain, during his long Imprisonment, and which in some Degree might conduce to his Health, was in walking on the Leads of the Tower, (by the Connivance of his Warder) where, upon a just Computation, *he* walked round the *World*.

"The *Earth* is affirm'd by the best Writers to be 21,600 Miles in Com-^{Heylen's} pass, which is demonstrable enough: For being there are in every of the ^{Geography, p. 22.} greater Circles 360 Degrees, every Degree being reckon'd at 60 Miles; let 360 be multiplied by 60, and the *Product* will be 21600, as before is said. So that, if it were possible to make a Path round about the *Earth*, an able Footman going constantly 24 Miles a Day, would compass *it* in 900 Days; and so in Proportion of Time and Miles."

A remarkable Instance (among the many) should not be pass'd over in Silence, of *his* Magnanimity, Resolution, and Contempt of Adversity; which may convey a further Idea of *his* Character. Some Space before the Decease of *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Christopher Wren*, (only Son of Dr. *Christopher Wren*, and Nephew of the Bishop of *Ely*,) became acquainted with Mr. *Claypole*, who married the *Usurper's* favourite Daughter. This Gentleman being a Lover of Mathematicks, had conceiv'd a great Esteem for him, and took all Occasions to cultivate his Friendship, and to court his Conversation, particularly by frequent Invitations to his House, and Table; it happened upon one of these Invitations, that *Cromwell* came into the Company as they sat at Dinner, and without any Ceremony, (as his usual Way was in his own Family) took his Place; after a little Time, fixing his Eyes on Mr. *Wren*, "Your Uncle (says he) has been long confin'd in the Tower."—"He has so, Sir, but bears his Afflictions with great Patience and Resignation."—"He may come out if he will."—"Will your Highness (so he was called) permit me to tell him this from your own Mouth?"—"Yes, you may." As

soon as he could decently retire, he hasten'd with no little Joy to the Tower, and informed the *Bishop* of all the Particulars of this his Interview with *Cromwell*; upon which his Lordship express'd himself warmly to this Effect.——“ That this was not the first Time he had receiv'd the like Intimation from that *Miscreant*, but disdain'd the Terms projected for his Enlargement, which were to be, a mean Acknowledgment of *his* Favour, and an abject Submission to his detestable Tyranny.—That he was determin'd patiently to *tarry the Lord's Leisure*, and owe *his* Deliverance, (which he trusted was not far off) to *him* only.”

*Acts, Chap.
xvi.*

Such was the exemplary Courage, and resolute Behaviour of *St. Paul* and *Silas* in the Prison, towards the Magistrates of *Philippi*, when, “ They sent their Serjeants, saying, Let those Men go.” And the Keeper of the Prison told this Saying to *Paul*; “ The Magistrates have sent to let you go.” But *Paul* said unto them, “ They have openly cast us into Prison uncondemn'd, and now do they thrust us out privily. Nay, verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out.”

He pay'd his last Debt to Nature, at *Ely-House* in *Holbourn*, *London*, on the 24th of *April*, in the Year 1667, aged 81, and upwards. His Body was convey'd to *Cambridge*, by the Heralds, with all decent Pomp and Ceremony; and deposited in a Stone Coffin in a Vault under his own Chapel; the *Vice Chancellor*, *Heads of Colleges*, and the whole *University* attending the Solemnity of his Obsequies; and the very eminent and learned Doctor *John Pearson*, then Master of *Trinity-College*, (afterwards Bishop of *Chester*,) made his Funeral Oration in Latin; from a Manuscript of which, the preceding Characters and other material Passages of his Life, (with some additional Memoirs interspers'd) have been here transcribed.





A P P E N D I X O F R E C O R D S

To the ACCOUNT of

Bishop *W R E N*.

N U M B E R I.

Extracts of LETTERS between Doctor John Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's, London, and the Lord Chancellor Hyde, Earl of Clarendon ; relating to the Affairs of the Church of England, negotiated chiefly with Doctor Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, in the Time of the Exile of King Charles II. the Originals of which are repositied in the Library of St. John's College, in Cambridge.

Dr. Barwick, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, June 21, 1659.



“ Cannot more reasonably presume of doing some good Page 410.
“ by it *, than by making Use of the first Fruits of it, in * Perhaps a
“ the Service of God and his Church. And *First*, in tend- Cypher.
“ ing the most humble Submission of the Reverend Fa-
“ thers of it, to his sacred Majesty by your Lordship's
“ Mediation, and their dutiful Acknowledgement of his
“ pious and princely Care of her; and next, in presenting their humble
“ Thanks to your Lordship, for the many good Offices you have done for
“ her; and in this Rank the Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Duppa*, Bishop of *Sal-*
“ *isbury*, desire to have a particular Mention, as being more particularly
“ oblig'd to your Lordship for your particular Expressions to them. The
“ grand

“ grand Affair of the *Church*, is still in Motion towards that happy Conclusion, which his sacred Majesty is so piously zealous for, with what Speed may reasonably be used in a Matter of so great Importance and Difficulty.

“ I have no more to add upon this Account, but only, that seeing none is yet nominated to *Carlisle*, it is the Bishop of *Ely*’s Opinion, (and his Pleasure, I should signify it as such,) that your Lordship may do his Majesty good Service in minding him, that it hath been always the Prudence of our former Princes, to keep some Equality of the Balance between the two Universities (*cæteris paribus*) for the general Encouragement of Learning (whereunto his Majesty may still cast in a Grain, in the Nomination to this Place, if so it be his Pleasure) which otherwise he observeth will be over-poised, when he considers, both who are already in the Stock, and who are design’d for the Supply. I must add his Protestation, that this is said, without Insinuation of any particular Person, which both he and the rest desire may proceed freely from his Majesty’s Choice, and they bless God for his Majesty’s Care and Prudence in making Choice of so many worthy Persons, for that great Burthen of the Government of the Church, and the Settling the Affair thereof, when it shall please God to vouchsafe us so great a Mercy.”

S I R,

Brussels, July 8, 1659.

P. 423.

Dr. Alestry,
Provost of
Eaton College.

“ I Am so fully convinced by your Discourse in the Business of the Church, that I think myself oblig’d to make some Apology for the Obstinacy I might seem to have, when Mr. *Alestry* was here, and to tell you from whence it proceeded. You must know, that we have always thought this Affair of such a Nature, that it is as necessary to make it a Secret here, as where you are; and the Truth is, except it be to my Lord of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, and myself, there is not the least Thing of it known; nor, upon my Conscience, imagin’d. It hath been no small Affliction to me, that I have not had any to converse with, in a Point of so much Difficulty, who understands more of it than myself; which God knows is too little; and, that Affliction hath been increas’d by the very positive Difference of Opinions between those, by whom I am very willing to be instructed. The Bishop of *Derry* [Dr. *Bramhall*] was, and I think still is so positive for the *Irish* Way (which I think he wishes introduced into *England*) that no Way seem’d so safe to him, as consecrating all the Persons to void Sees in *Ireland*, and then removing them to others in *England* which he thought would clearly elude all those Formalities, which seem to perplex us. Dr. *Cofins*, (who to my Judgment understood the Affair much better, and in no Degree liked the other Way) assur’d me, that he had the Bishop of *Ely*’s full Approbation of the former proposed by him, of which I inform’d his Majesty. And upon that Ground, and that Foundation, we adher’d to that Method and Order; much preferring the Bishop of *Ely*’s Judgment and Advice, in that Point, before any Man’s: And upon the same Ground his Majesty is very willing to change, and acquiesce in the Opinion and Resolution now propos’d; and leaves the whole Dispatch of it entirely to their Care, both for the Time and the Manner. Only, I must desire, that the Form of such a Commission, as is there judg’d necessary, may be sent us to a Letter, since I cannot have any Help here; and then I will be accountable for the Secrecy.

P. 427.

“ — I pray remember my Service will all imaginable Reverence to my Lord of *Ely*, and assure him, that the King will always return that Candor, Benignity, and Equality to both the Universities, which he wishes; and I
“ hope

“ hope all, who shall be intrusted by him in that great Affair, will be as just
 “ and dispassion’d in all their Interpositions, and look upon them as equal
 “ Lights to Learning and Piety, and equally worthy of all Encouragement
 “ and Protection. And, if at present my Lord of *Ely* will recommend any
 “ Person to his Majesty for the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, he shall be approv’d
 “ and if my Lord will transmit a List of Persons to be specially recommended
 “ to the King for any Dignities in the Church; I dare promise, the Persons
 “ shall find, that they could not have been better recommended.

SIR,

Brussel, July 25, 1659.

“ **F**OR the Matter of the Church, I can add nothing to what I said P. 431.
 “ to you in my last; and, if my Lord of *Ely* will recommend a Person
 “ to the See of *Carlisle*, he will be added to the rest by the King.

Hyde.

SIR,

Brussels, July 28, 1659.

“ **Y**OU must never forget my Service to my Lord of *Ely*, and if he P. 433.
 “ please to recommend some of his Friends to the King, they will find
 “ the Fruit of it in all Ways.

Hyde.

Dr. Barwick to Lord Chancellor Hyde, Sept. 14, 1659.

“ **M**Y Lord of *Ely* returns all dutiful Acknowledgements to his P. 439.
 “ Majesty, and his humble Service to your Lordship; I perceive
 “ you misunderstood him, as to the poizing the Number between the
 “ two Universities; for he never suspected his Majesty’s equal Favour to
 “ both; nor thought him worthy of the Office of Bishop, that is not of the
 “ same Temper: But however, he has observ’d it, as a good Encouragement
 “ to Learning, when young Students could recount such and such Bi-
 “ shops of the same University, or College with themselves. It is not now
 “ indeed so considerable; seeing the Rule of *Æn. Sylvius*, which was always
 “ good, is now indispensably necessary,—*Non hominibus dandas esse digni-*
 “ *tates, sed dignitatibus homines*; and for this, and other Reasons, (with all
 “ dutiful Thanks) the Bishop of *Ely* desires to be excus’d, as to the recom-
 “ mending of any Person either to *Carlisle*, or any other Dignity; though he
 “ will not omit his Prayers, that God would direct his Majesty always for
 “ the best, and at this Time more particularly; when the Settlement both
 “ of the Church and the Universities is like to have so great an Influence,
 “ not only upon the Souls of Men, but also upon his Majesty’s Government,
 “ to all future Ages. I have heard *him* say, (and I know another of the
 “ same Temper) that he never was a Suiter for any Place in the Church;
 “ and I have heard others say both of *him* and Bishop *Andrews* [of *Win-*
 “ *chester*] before him, that neither of them ever gave any to any that were, &c.

SIR,

Brussels, Sept. 29, 1659.

“ **T**HE King hath done all that is in his Power to do; and if my Lords P. 449.
 “ the Bishops will not do the rest, what can become of the Church?
 “ the Conspiracies to destroy it are very evident; and, if there can be no
 “ Combination to preserve it, it must expire. I do assure you, the Names
 “ of

“ of all the Bishops who are alive, and their several Ages, are as well
 “ known at *Rome*, as in *England*; and both the Papist and Presbyterian
 “ value themselves very much, upon computing in how few Years the
 “ Church of *England* must expire. — I have the King’s Commands to
 “ write very earnestly to you, to speak with the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and by
 “ his Advice to press any of the other Bishops in his Majesty’s Name, to con-
 “ secrate those Persons which are design’d by his Majesty, who is most con-
 “ fident, that the Bishop of *Ely* will give all the Assistance and Advice,
 “ which his Restraint will permit him to do.

Hyde.

S I R,

Brussels, October 17, 1659.

P. 453. “ I Do beseech you, present my humble Service to my Lord of *Ely*, whose
 “ Benediction, I do hope to live to receive at his own Feet.

Hyde.

S I R,

Brussels, Nov. 21, 1659.

P. 460. “ I Do assure you the King is not more fix’d in any Principle than in the
 “ Belief, that the Church can never be restor’d and repair’d by any Ex-
 “ pedient, but the Learning, Virtue, and Reputation of the Churchmen;
 “ and he will be so careful in making that Provision, that I have heard him
 “ often say, that he would abhor that Churchman, who would give the least
 “ Sum of Money for the greatest Preferment, and turn away that Servant,
 “ who would endeavour to get Money that Way; and I think him as unlike
 “ to swerve from that Resolution, as ever Prince was. God send our good
 “ sick Friend perfect Health, [supposed to be Dr. *Juxton*, Bishop of *London*,]
 “ and preserve it to my Lord of *Ely*, that he may live to help in the Repair-
 “ ing of the Ruins that are made.

Hyde.

S I R,

Brussels, Nov. 28, 1659.

P. 462. “ I Can say no more with Reference to the Church, but that if there be
 “ nothing hinders it but the Winter, it will be quickly over, whilst Pre-
 “ parations are making; and yet God knows, it will be almost a Miracle, if
 “ the Winter doth not take away half the Bishops that are left alive; and I
 “ must still lament, that some Way is not found, that the Bishop of *Ely* may
 “ be at Liberty; which would carry on this Work more than any Expedient
 “ I can think of. Concerning any Assurance we have, of any Consent from
 “ the Persons named, to undergo the Charge design’d to them, I can give
 “ no Satisfaction; not knowing that any one of them hath been communi-
 “ cated with to that Purpose; and I have always been of the Opinion, that
 “ the Method you say was observ’d by Bishop *Andrews*, and the Bishop
 “ of *Ely*, is the right, and if I could help it, if the King were at *White-*
 “ *hall* To-morrow, he should never prefer any Man in the Church, who
 “ fought it; and I think I have Reason to believe, the King is of that
 “ Mind.

Hyde.

S I R,

SIR,

Brussels, Feb. 20, 1660.

"IT would be very good News, if I could hear of my Lord of *Ely*'s being in full Liberty; to whom I pray present my humble Service. The Truth is, I have little Hope of the Business of the Church, but by his being at Liberty; and therefore, I hope he will make no Scruple of accepting it, if it be offer'd, or if it can be reasonably obtain'd.

P. 496.

Hyde.

SIR,

Breda, April 22, 1660.

"THE King knows not what to say more of the Business of the Church, and presumes that my Lord of *Ely*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* will be able to make a Judgment how Things are like to succeed, and proceed accordingly."

P. 522;

Hyde.

The Form of Prayer, and Thanksgiving for the 29th of May, was introduced to the Convocation by the Lord Bishop of *Ely*.

Appendix ad
synod. Ang.
Octavo.

Die sabbati, Maij 18, 1661, dominus Eliensis episcopus introduxit preces de et super nativitate domini nostri regis et restauratione sua.

Bishop Ken-
net's Regist.
p. 449.

N U M B. II.

Oratio habita Cantabrigiæ, in capellâ Pembrochianâ, ad exequias reverendi admodum in Christo patris MATTHÆI WREN episcopi Eliensis.

Anno 1667.

Per JOHANNEM PEARSON, S. T. P. et Coll. Trin. magistrum

Reverendissime domine, domine procancellarie; nobilissimi juvenes; viri ornatissimi spectatissimique,

SI unquam mihi in ullo reipublicæ literariæ negotio exoptandum fuit ut feliciter cederet, et officio auspicate suscepto eventus responderet, certè hoc potissimum tempore votis omnibus expetendum videtur, ut digna nobis, digna præfule contingat oratio: ne vel academici existimatio, vel ecclesiæ honos et dignitas, aut animi mei imbecillitate, aut verborum penuriâ, aut infirmitate judicii evilescat.

Neque enim hætenus amplissimo huic artium domicilio quod habitamus, justior sese efferendi occasio indulta est, neque religionis quam colimus illustrior unquam splendor emicuit, quam in ejus antistitis vitâ, rebusque gestis, ac varietate fortune, cujus exequias funebri solemnitate celebramus: in quo uno viro, si hæc musarum sedes, quicquid honestum, nobile, gloriosum ostendere potuit, non exhibuit; in quo, si fama ab omnibus meritisimè elicienda, extorta, ad nos non maxima redundavit, de honore literis vendicando in ætèrnum planè desperandum est.

Afficiete sacras insulas vobis quasi in lyceæ ante oculos positas, cogitate hæc episcopatus insignia, tanquam tropicæ ad Athènas reducta, sed præcipuè Matthæum præfulem vestrum animo memoriaque recolite, cujus feretrum non magis manifestè hæc ornamenta gestavit sustentavitque, quam ipse dum viveret sacrum illum ordinem dignitatemque suffulcivit, excoluit, ornavit.

Erit

Erit igitur operæ pretium, (viri gravissimi) et vobis gratâ cogitatione revolvere, et mihi luculentæ orationis filo explicare, quibus auspiciis consummatissima quæque agressus est; quibus gradibus ascenderit, per quas ambages et diverticula tranſierit; ut ejus vestigia legentes, illius exemplo ducti, illius virtutibus ornati, tantum ducem sequi discamus, et ad tam ardua, tamque præclara anbelemus.

Ut familiam mirè antiquam ac satis nobilem, cæteraque quæ in exemplum trahi minus possunt, præteream; ad academiam accessit summæ spei juvenis, nec vulgari expectatione, aut aliorum more missus; sed (quod felicissimi ominis fuit) à Lancelotto Andrewisio laudatissimo hujus aulæ præposito expetitus, accersitus, adductus: illius manu in hoc feraci episcoporum solo primulùm positus, illus curâ diligenter observatus, consiliis perpetim instructus, favore pertinaci excitatus, bonarum literarum studiis totum se dedit, perpetuis vigiliis animum excoluit, corpus maceravit, attrivit, exhaustit.

Brevi, artium linguarumque insigni peritiâ notissimus, publicis academici munis, exercitiisque summâ cum laude perfunctus, ritus religiosissimè observabat, disciplinam acerrimè exercuit, privilegia gravissimè tuebatur, tamque altum animo harum sedium amorem concepit ac fixit, ut non ætatis longinquitas, non iniquitas temporum, aut obliterare, aut diminuire potuerit.

Postquam omnibus humanioribus literis, liberalissimisq; studiis eruditus, excultus, et perpolitus evaserat; totâ mente, atque omni animi impetu in ecclesiam incubuit. Et sanè eximia acerrimæque ingenia, hominesque omni doctrinæ genere, et illuſtris cujusdam notæ dotibus maximè florescentes, theologia quasi jure suo sibi vendicat; neque enim meliùs omnes animi vires, quam in pietate excolendâ, in cultu Dei exornando, in rebus divinis celebrandis, exerceri, et impendi possunt.

Dum in his versatur vir, rarâ conspiratione et doctissimus, et pientissimus, et ad promovendos academici fines et ecclesiæ pariter intentus; quamvis inter hos parietes quos tanto-perè coluit, delitescere videretur, aut Lancelotto suo fidiſsimè obsequentiſsimèque adhæresceret, in summâ expectatione esse cæpit: nihil erat tantum, quod non ab illo perfici atque obtineri posse omnes judicabant.

Neque perspicacem sapientissimi regis JACOBI oculum latere potuit, cui erat ante, vel ex subſelliis nostris satis cognitus atque perspectus: quare eo temporis articulo, quo familia principis verum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, et exploratissimæ fidei filium postulare, hunc potissimum suâ sponte, et ex judicio proprio (hoc est maximo) à sacris CAROLO suo assignavit: cui rei hic etiam honoris cumulus accessit, quod iam secretò gesta sit, ut in dubio relinqueretur, an daretur à rege, an peteretur à principe; quæ dubitatio adhuc etiam felicissimè aucta est, quod utrique pariter carus esset: et in illo secreto, hoc certè apertum et perspicuum fuit, quod majori arcano præluderet.

Ecce enim altè insedit animo prudentissimi regis rei-gerendæ certissimum consilium, quæ toti terrarum orbi, cum ageretur, miraculo fuit, et postquam gesta est, fortassè nunquam deserit: adèd satigantur et caligant hominum ingenia, qui arcana principum rimari, et publicorum negotiorum causas discutere, ac rationes pernoscere satagunt, ambiuntque.

Statutum est regum solertissimo, filium unicum, regni triplicis hæredem, paternæ familiæ spem, ei solatium CAROLUM, indulgentissimi patris dilectissimam prolem, in oras Hispaniæ mittere; prudentissimæ occultorum consiliorum genti, nobis hætenus ex versutiâ, superbiâ, et diuturnâ inimiciâ notæ; non exercitu cinctum, non classe armatum, (quali apparatu Angli Hispanos petere solebant) concredere, et eorum fidei satis suspectæ, suâ tantum prudentiâ munitum committere.

Cum igitur Matthæus vester optimo principi in negotio periculossimo, à sacris (dixerim an à secretis?) esset: (ubi enim vera pietas radices egit, et pectus haud sicutâ

scilicet religione penitus imbutum est; hæc, apud alios tam latè discrepantia, aut nihil aut parum differunt.)

Tum verò religionis nostræ fundamenta tam disertè ubique explicavit, nervosque defendit, et nodos ab ecclesiasticis viris, ad res principis implicandas nexos, tanto cum acumine privatim dissolvit, ut nec ullis aliis artibus reditus principis ad patrem magis apertè patuerit.

Cæterum si ullo indicio, (viri gravissimi) reputare cupiamus, quanta academiæ nostræ illà tempestate æstimatio fuit, non aliunde conjecturam faciendam reor, quàm quod eam tam ardentè deperiret, ut buc à reduce principe convolveret: CAROLUS tantà curâ dignatus, tantâ indulgentiâ prosecutus sit, aut ad eam ornandam à suo quasi latere, Matthæum dimitteret.

Prætereo beneficii opimitatem, quâ statim remuneratus; præbendæ dignitatem quâ ornatus; ad collegii divini Petri gubernacula admotus potius quam erectus, cum socios omnes moderatione animi atque imperii ad summam concordiam pertraxisset, juventutem ad studia bonarum literarum excitasset; nova etiam ædificia extruxisset; archiva collegii blattis et tineis erepta, excusso pulvere, summâ industriâ in luculentum ordinem redegisset; videretque pietatis officia, ob defectum sacrorum in sinu collegii conventuum, et emendicatam quandam Deo serviendi extrâ pomeria licentiam minis decore peragi: quod proprio sumptu tunc temporis efficere non potuit, alieno impendio, sed suâ apud bonos auctoritate, capellam extrui et ornari curavit.

Pro-cancellarius factus, disciplinam collapsam restituit, omnes in officio continuit, academiam ipsam docuit ut se tandem aliquando intelligeret.

Verùm enim verò serenissimus rex ferre non potuit, ut diu à se abesset, et in academico pulvere decertaret; quare privati oratorii clericum adscivit, et capellæ suæ apud WindSORam decanum præfecit; ubi non tantum officiis divinis ut ritè et decore fierent, sed etiam summæ hujus imperii dignitati utque splendori, (qui in clarissimæ pericelidis ordine consistit) inferviret; quem non tantum insigni gravitate, prudentiâ, auctoritate, rexit; sed scriptis accuratissimè perpensis ornavit, et locum amplissimum fratri, exemplum posteris omnibus reliquit.

Cum enim eum ad publicum ecclesiæ regimen quasi natum et comparatum, non jam conjecturâ rex prospiceret, sed omnibus experimentis probè perspectum haberet, Herefordensi episcopatu admovit; quem vix attigisse crederetis, nisi brevissimo illo temporis spatio, ecclesiam, aut ambiguam, aut mutilam, aut auctoritatis nullius statutis fluctuantem, certis ac definitis statuminaisset, accuratis et elegantibus ornasset.

Ecce Norwicensis diœcesis sedes vacua, larga quidem illa ac patens, schismate etiam quassata atque dirupta, gnarum, prudentem, fortem, consultum præfulem efflagitabat: buc igitur qui solus tanto negotio par videbatur, ab Herefordiâ translatus est: ubi per biennium, et quod amplius fuit, schismaticorum fraudes detexit, conatus repressit, animos fregit.

Interim ad regiæ-capellæ decanatum, quo altius in aulâ non ascenditur, (hoc est regi propinquius non acceditur) transit: et cum ad episcopatum Eliensem rectè administrandum non tantum in rebus ecclesiasticis peritia, sed et aliqua legum civilium cum academicorum etiam institutorum notitiâ conjuncta requiratur; cumque in illo uno hæc omnia tam manifestè concurrerent; sedem etiam illam, ad quam factus esse videbatur, occupavit.

Ita tandem ad dignitatis fastidium, ad proventus uberrimos, ad sinum indulgentissimi principis, florentissimo et imperii et ecclesiæ tempore, magnis virtutibus contendit.

Interea hæud postremo loco ponendæ, et apud vos præsertim memorandæ, modestia et moderatio; neminem unquam rogavit, neminem vel verbulo sollicitavit, honorem nullum quem consecutus est, ambivit: impetratum semper est, quod non erat expetitum, oblatum est quod non postulabatur.

M

Facestant,

Faceſſant, qui honoribus eccleſiæ inſtant, qui fores magnatum aut præſulum obſident, qui dignitatem non tam acquirunt quam ſurripiunt; illum vobis præponendum iudico, quem non ſua vota, ſed merita evexerunt; qui in ipſo penè felicitatis apice, cum lætiſſimâ conjuge, et numeroſâ prole, magnum ſarventiſſimi numinis exemplum ſtetit.

Nimirum, (academici) eâ ætate, nimium felices fuimus; ea tunc temporis nobis indulſerat Deus, quæ nec ingratiæ gentis ſclera ferre, nec longanimitas clementiſſimi numinis diutiùs pati potuit, ipſa felicitas quos corruptit, perdidit: ipſa beatitas quos depravavit, peſſundedit.

Subitò enim ab aquilone orta tempeſtas regni compagem protenus luxavit, omniaque membra peſtis pervaviſt; ſub larvâ pietatis ſcleratiſſimi homines eccleſiam convellunt; in episcopos omnes, ſed præcipuè regi caros involant, quòd non tam eos quam CAROLUM peterent; accuſationes corradunt, turbam concitant, invidiam conſtant, odia inſtigant, eo tantùm ſine, ut in regem transferant.

Præſulem imprimis noſtrum ſolo principis ſui favore ſcleratum, gratiâque neſarium, inſimulant: non querunt quam verè, ſed quam fortiter calumniantur: coram ſupremo tribunali facinora exponunt, ultimumque ſupplicium expoſcunt.

Interim ſe datiſſimi animi præſul, innocentia fretus, et non ſua culpâ perire certus, deſenſioni juſtæ ſetacitè accinxit, quæ eum mirâ felicitate prodita ſervavit, ut quem fraus accuſarat, perfidia protegeret.

In carcerem igitur cauſâ incognitâ conſciunt, conjurationis celebritati et ſuorum opinioni conſiſi; vitæ et fortunarum omnium reum faciunt; ab omni indulgentiæ ſpe et expectatione publico decreto ſecludunt.

Ita calumniis onuſus, deſenſione nudatus, potentiâ oppreſſus, rapinæ expoſitus, bonis omnibus exutus, decreto conſoſus, libertate privatus, latebris incluſus, perpetui carceris pædore ſædatus, dignum eccleſiâ, dignum orbe terrarum non tam ſpectaculum quam exemplum factus eſt.

Indigna hæc quidem, ærumnoſa, miſeranda omnibuſque deſenda, præter illum qui paſſus eſt.

Homines ſapientes turpitudine, non infelicitate, et delicto ſuo, non aliorum injuriâ commoventur. Voluit divina providentia ut cæteri virtutes in proſperâ, æquabili, perpetuâque fortunâ minùs conſpicuæ, hæc tandem quaſi flammâ accenſe emicarent, et illuſterioribus radiis illuſceſcerent.

Comparuit enim ad duriffima fortitis perſerenda, ad contemnendas minas ingenti quâdam firmitudine non tam inſtitutus quam natus atque formatus.

Et ne cum dubitemus in his anguſtiis divinitùs conſtitutum, aded erat obſervati animi, conſtantiæ incredibili, æquabilitatis inauditiæ, ſpe certiſſimâ ſuſcultus, expectatione ſemper erectus, ad ſerviſſima perpetiendâ paratus, ad optima quæque, lætiſſimæque ingenti ſiluciâ præcipienda proclivis et promptus, ut conſcientiâ rectæ voluntatis, et honeſto præſidio infamarit injurias.

Si quem aliquandò, virum tam fortiter miſerum videndi cupidò invaderet, ſi virtutis infelicitis ſpectandæ deſiderium, periculo ſuo potentius illiceret, videbat unum hominem, erectiſſimum animum ſe ſolo ſuſtinentem, et totam regni ſpem, ac temporum meliorum expectationem ad unum angulum redactam, in uno pectore conſervatam.

Quin etiam hanc inconcuſſæ mentis firmitatem inſuper ſtudioſum ſilatio nutrit, et quem omnia penè librorum ſubſidia deſtituerant, ad ſacras literas ſuo ingenio, acumine, doctriâ, judicio, memoriâ, illuſtrandas animum appulit. Quodque alii incarcerationem vocabant, ipſe liberale otium ratus, totum meditando ſe et ſcribendo impendit; intimos ſ. codicis ſenſus triplici linguarum peritiâ rimatus, innumeras chartarum paginas furtim conſcripſit, totque volumina conſecit, ut eum plures quam octodecim annos in carcere tranſegiffe facile crediderit poſteritas.

Quæ

Quæ quidem omnia ipse eleganter et accuratè delineavit, testamentoque curavit, ut amicorum doctissimorum iudicio, in publicum, si ita videretur, prodirent.

Dum in his totus esset, tyrannidis jugum paulatim collabi, et novæ reipublicæ gubernacula satiscere cæperunt; omniaque quæ mente conceperat, quæ solus speraverat, prospexeratque, contingunt: dum nefarii homines sui facinoris satis confitii, quod fecerant cogitant, et insectum cupere videri volunt; carcere tam subito tam inopinato, eripitur, ut ex omni mutatione rerum sola suavis liberatio fuerit ipsi improvisa; quod ut divinæ indulgentiæ singulari acceptum referret, eodem die a turri Londinensi penè incitus prodit, quo capellam Petrensem consecrandam curaverat.

Nec dum tamen ædibus suis restitutus, sed incerto lari expositus est, ut è carcere potius eiecus quam liberatus videretur; donec CAROLUS omnium votis exoptatus, bonorum omnium gaudio exceptus, supremam auctoritate armatus, in paterno solio locatus constitit.

Quam memorem verjam illam rerum faciem? licet enim hoc triste spectaculum sit et luctuosum, neminem tamen esse arbitror, quem non illius diei recordatio ab hoc mærore aliquantisper recreavit.

Ille cum cæteris quidem, iisque paucis restitutus, sed haud pari momento rediit; confugit ad sinum ejus concussa ecclesia, qui aut solus aut inter paucissimas disciplinam collapsam extinctamque renovare et novit et ausus est; in illo penè uno et liberatis ejus, et salus, et securitas fundabatur.

Cum igitur eum summa poscerent, videturque ecclesia non aliter quam illius humeris sustentari potuisse, ad altiora minime aspiravit, non provehi cupidus, sed restitui contentus, in suâ sede resistere, senescere, obdormire cupivit.

In magnâ bonorum copiâ affluentiâque nihil voluptati indulsit, summæ continentiæ, temperantiæque inservire oblinaverat animum; ne vini quidem guttulam per viginti penè annos hausit, gustavit.

Corpus inediis, jejuniisque macerare perseveravit, aliis satis indulgens, sibi soli crudelis, quasi hujus vitæ pertæsus, festinaret ad cælos.

Neque vero familiæ suæ, quâ tantoperè recreabatur, nimium prospexit; pari et in hac exornandâ continentiæ studuit: non ad eam ditandam aliena involavit, non omnia quæ ad ipsum pertinebat, arripuit.

Successoribus, ex industriâ, non spicilegium, sed amplam messem reliquit.

Et banc insuper aulam adoptavit in familiam, in hæreditatem ascrivit, pecuniam ex proventibus primò receptam, in hoc ærarium præmisit.

Hic in honorem Dei O. M. cujus jugi venerationi se totum semper dicaverat, in academicæ decus, quam incredibili curâ, et flagranti quodam amore constantissimè prosecutus est; in memoriam primæ institutionis, quam gratissimo animo quotidie recolbat, capellam banc impendio maximo extruxit, perpetuis redditibus dotavit, precibus suis ritè consecravit; sub hac dormitorium condidit; huic tandem corpus concredidit; illustre quidem hoc, sed minimum tamen ex monumentis quæ reliquit.

*Extracts from Mr. ATWOOD's Memoirs, [Aulæ Pemb. foc.]
relating to Bishop WREN.*

*Historiolam custodùm, sociorumque omnium [Aulæ Pembrochianæ] ab incunte collegii ævo, summâ fide, studio, atque arte conscriptam, ad sua ferè tempora perduxit.**

In the Bishop's Diary, in his own Hand, December 25, 1585. *Natus sum Londini. Miserere Deus!* Mar. 10, 1614. *Respondi in philosophiâ, coram rege Jacobo, jubente senatu Cantabrig.* [Summâ cum laude.]

Though the Bishop was born in London, yet was he descended from an antient Family of the *Wrens* of *Binchester*, in the County of *Durham*, which having been a *Roman Station*, might inspire him with Antiquities; for he was a true Antiquary, and may be traced by his Collections, wherever he came; at *Pembroke-Hall*, where he was Fellow; at *Peter-House*, where Master; at *Windsor*, where Dean; and *Ely*, where Bishop; several of which I [*Atwood*] have seen: Besides his Register, which seems in Part to have been drawn by himself; several Strokes whereof bear his Impression; and it is pretty remarkable, that he kept a Register, whilst he was Prisoner in the Tower, where he could have no Assistance.

His Charities were great, his Chapel at *Pembroke-Hall*, is said to have cost him near 4000 *l.* [above 5000 *l.*] which he endow'd with an Estate at *Hardwick, Com. Cant.* for Reparations, &c. and yet, tho' he had provided well for a numerous Family, his Family is extinct in the male Line, but remains in the Female.]

It must be allow'd, that he was arbitrary to the last, [*cum ratione & justitiâ*] as appears by his admitting † *Dr. Beaumont* to the Mastership of *Peter-House* as Visitor by a Stretch of Power, notwithstanding the College had nominated *Dr. Luc. Skippon*, and *Dr. Isaac Barrow*, two deserving Persons.

The Manner of his Interment may be had from Mr. *Worthington*, taken from the Heralds-Office.

Christopher Wren, S. T. B. Oxon. Incorporatus Cantabrigiæ, July 5, Anno 1630, Reg. Acad. Cant.

Christopher Wren, S. T. P. Cantabrigiæ, Anno 1630. Ibid.

This was probably in order to succeed his Brother *Matthew Wren*, as Master of *Peter-House*, for Anno 1634, Feb. 6. *Socii Coll. Petri nominaverunt Epif. Elienf. ex parte australi Angliæ, Christophorum Wren, S. T. D. et ex parte boreali Johannem Cofin, S. T. D.* But though *Dr. Wren*, was first in Nomination, the Bishop [*Francis*] preferr'd *Dr. Cofin*, probably the rather, because he was of his own College, viz. *Caius*, and Feb. 8, 1634. *Johannes Cofin, S. T. D. admissus est magister, a Francisco Epo. Elien. reg. Coll. Petri.*

Per omniâ vitæ munia, Matthæus Wren, Epif. Elien. eâ gravitate, ac probitate morum; spectabili aded pietate, eâ demum disciplinæ apostol. observantiâ se gessit, ut homines improbi eum non magis metuerent, quam oderint: hoc fonte derivata sunt illa quæ passus est, &c. in arcem Lond. conjicitur—emissus tandem è carcere, quum per duodeviginti plus minus annos cum bestiiis, propè dixerim, strenuè dimicaverat, restituitur, Anno 1660.

En autem animi verè magni clarissimum indicium! etsi ingentia detrimenta atque damna eâ tempestate pertulerit, necesse est; annus tamen custodiâ liberato

* Mr. *Atwood* has wrote a Continuation of this M. S.

† *Dr. Beaumont* Regius-Professor of Divinity, was one of the most famous Men that ever sat in that Chair; he lived to a great Age, an Honour to the University.

quintus haud prius excurrit, quam sacellum, illud elegantissimum decus Pembrochianum, suis ipsis sumptibus fundatum, extructum, egregie exornatum, dotatumque, Deo sospitatori consecrat. Usque adeo vera virtus vinci est nescia. [Euge!]

Obiit vir desideratiss. April 24, 1667. octogenario major, solemniterque exequias celebrante ipsa academia, in sacello a se haud ita pridem condito, juxta altare depositus est. (This observed before.)

From the MS. History of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge. By an uncertain Hand.

Matthew Wren, Greek Scholar, B. A. chosen Fellow, Nov. 5, 1605. M. A. Junior Treasurer 1610, Senior Treasurer 1611. When James the First made a Progress to Cambridge, Wren kept the Philosophy-act with great Applause. Bursar 1621. President of the College 1616. Had a Testimonial, June 30, 1618. Chaplain to Bishop Andrews. Chaplain to Prince Charles in his Voyage to Spain. Doctor in Divinity. Resign'd his Fellowship, Nov. 8, 1624. Vice-Chancellor, 1628. Master of Peter-house. Dean of Windsor. Bishop of Hereford. Bishop of Norwich. Dean of the King's Chapel. Bishop of Ely—He was severely handled by the long Parliament; and imprison'd in the Tower, almost twenty Years, without ever being brought to a Trial for his pretended Misdemeanors. In 1660, he was restored to his episcopal Function. He was a very great Benefactor to the College in Money and Books; but especially, in erecting at his Charge (it cost him near 4000*l.*) that goodly Fabrick the new Chapel; the Altar of which, he furnish'd with his own Chapel Plate; and endow'd it with the Royalty of Hardwick in this County, to keep it in repair. He died in the Year 1667.

* *A Transcript of a certain Narrative, written by the late Bishop of Ely [Dr. MATTHEW WREN] with his own Hand, of that remarkable Conference, which, after his Return from Spain with Prince Charles (Anno 1623,) he had with Dr. Neale, then Bishop of Durham; Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of St. David's, touching the said Prince; whereat, something propheticall was then said by that reverend Bishop of Winchester.*

AFTER our Return from Spain, my Lord of Winchester (among other great Expressions of his Respects to me) made me promise to him, that, upon all Occasions of my coming to London (for I abode still at Cambridge) I would lodge with him; to which End, he caus'd three Rooms near the Garden to be fitted and reserved for me; and twice or thrice I had lodged there.

And at another Time coming suddenly to London and late, I lodged at my Sister's in Friday-street, and the next Day, being Friday, I went to Winchester-house to Dinner, and crav'd his Lordship's Pardon, that I lodg'd not there; because that my Business was to treat with some Country Gentlemen, who lay in Holbourn, whom I should not meet with, but in the Evening and Morning, when it would not be safe for me to pass the Bridge, or the Thames; and so after Dinner I took my Leave of him, hoping to return for Cambridge on Monday.

* *Ex MS. Dugd. (in Museo Ashmoleano) E 2. sub finem, published by Mr. Thomas Hearne, Oxford, at the Theatre, 1725. in the Publisher's Appendix to his Preface to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, Page cccviii.*

But on *Saturday*, going to do my Duty to my Lords of *Durham* and *St. David's*, and telling them of my sudden Return, they would needs over-rule me, and made me promise them, though I had taken Leave of my Lord of *Winchester*, yet, to meet them next Day at *Whitehall*, at my Lord's Chambers, at Dinner; I did so, and there we sat, after Dinner, above an Hour. And then, I shewing them, that on the Morrow my Business would be dispatched, and I would be gone on *Tuesday*, I took my Leave again of the mall. But, on *Monday* Morning by Break of Day, (before they used to be stirring in *Friday-street*) there was a great knocking at the Door where I lay; and at last an Apprentice, who lay in the Shop, came up to my Bed-side, and told me, there was a Messenger from *Winchester-house* to speak with me; the Business was to let me know, that my Lord, when he came from Court last Night, had given his Steward Charge to order it so, that I might be spoken with, and be required, as from him without fail, to dine with him on *Monday*; but to be at *Winchester-house* by ten of the Clock, which I wonder'd the more at, his Lordship not using to come from his Study till near twelve. My Business would hardly permit this; yet because of his Lordship's Importance, I got up presently, and into *Holbourn* I went, and there made such Dispatch, that soon after ten o'Clock I took a Boat, and went to *Winchester-house*, where I found the Steward at the Water-gate, waiting to let me in the nearest Way, who telling me, that my Lord had called twice to know if I were come; I asked where his Lordship was^{re}; He answered in his great Gallery (a Place where I knew his Lordship scarce came once in a Year) and thither I going, the Door was lock'd; but upon my lifting the Latch, my Lord of *St. David's* opened the Door, and letting me in, lock'd it again.

There I found none but those three Lords, who causing me to sit down by them, my Lord of *Durham* began to me, "Doctor, your Lord here, will have it so, I that am the unfittest Person, must be the Speaker; but thus it is, After you left us Yesterday at *Whitehall*, we entering into farther Discourse of those Things, which we foresee and conceive will e're long come to pass, resolv'd again, to speak to you before you went hence.

"We must know of you, what your Thoughts are concerning your Master the Prince. You have now been his Servant above two Years, and you were with him in *Spain*; we know he respects you well; and we know you are no Fool, but can observe how Things are like to go. What Things, my Lord? (quoth I.) In brief, said he, how the Prince's Heart stands to the Church of *England*, that when God brings him to the Crown, we may know what to hope for."

My Reply was to this Effect, that, however, I was the most unfit of any to give my Opinion herein, attending but two Months in the Year, and then at a great Distance, only in the Closet, and at Meals, yet seeing they so pressed me, I would speak my Mind freely; so I said, "I know my Master's Learning is not equal to his Father's; yet, I know his Judgment to be very right; and as for his Affections in these Particulars, which your Lordships have pointed at, for upholding the Doctrine and Discipline, and the right Estate of the Church, I have more Confidence of him, than of his Father, in whom they say (better than I can) is so much Inconstancy in some particular Cases."

Hereupon, my Lords of *Durham* and *St. David's* began to argue it with me, and requir'd me to let them know, upon what ground I came to think thus of the Prince; I gave them my Reasons at large, and after many Replies (above an Hour together) then my Lord of *Winchester*, (who had said nothing all the while) belpake me in these Words; "Well Doctor, God
" send

“ send you may be a true Prophet concerning your Master’s Inclinations in
“ these Particulars, which we are glad to hear from you ; I am sure I shall
“ be a true Prophet ; I shall be in my Grave, and so shall you, my Lord of
“ *Durham*, but my Lord of *St. David’s*, and you, Doctor, will live to see
“ that Day that your Master will be put to it, upon his Head and his Crown,
“ without he will forsake the Support of the Church.”

Of this Prediction made by that holy Father, I have now no Witnesses but
mine own Conscience, and the eternal God, who knows I lie not ; no Body else
being present when this was spoken, but these three Lords.

*A remarkable Record among the Papers, and Evidences of Bishop
WREN, preparatory to his Defence, upon his Impeachment by
the House of Commons.*

I N D O R S E M E N T.

*Arch-bishop Laud’s Certificate to the King [Charles I.] touching Nor-
wich Diocese, and the King’s Notes upon the same, 1636.—Extract.
ē registro principali sedis archiepiscopalis Cantuariensis.*

F O R this Diocese, my Lord [of *Norwich*] hath given me a very care-<sup>[Dr. Matthew
Wren, Bi-
shop.]</sup>
ful and punctual Account, very large, and in all Particulars very con-
siderable ; and I shall return it to your Majesty as briefly as I can reduce it.
And *First*, he hath for this Summer, but by your Majesty’s Leave, lived
(from both his episcopal Houses) in *Ipswich*, partly because he was inform’d,
that, that Side of his Diocese did most need his Presence, and he found it so ;
and partly, because the Chapel at his House in *Norwich* was possessed by the
French Congregation ; but Warning hath been given them to provide elsewhere
by *Easter* next.

His Lordship found a general Defect of catechising quite through the
Diocese, but hath settled it ; and in *Norwich*, where there are thirty-four
Churches, there was no Sermon on the *Sunday* Morning, save only in four,
but all put off to the Afternoon, and so no catechising. But now he hath or-
der’d, that there shall be a Sermon every Morning, and catechising in the
Afternoon in every Church.

For Lectures, they abounded in *Suffolk*, and many set up by private Gentle-
men, even without so much as the Knowledge of the Ordinary, and without
any due Observation of the Canons, or Discipline of the Church. Diverse
of these, his Lordship hath carefully regulated according to Order, especially
in *St. Edmund’s-Bury*, and with their very good Content ; and suspended no
Lecturer of whom he might obtain Conformity. And at *Ipswich*, it was
not unknown unto them, that now *Mr. Ward* stands censur’d in the high
Commission, and obeys not, yet the Bishop was ready to have allow’d them
another, if they would have sought him, but they resolve to have *Mr.*
Ward, or none, and that (as is conceiv’d) in despite of the Censure of the
Court.

At *Yarmouth*, where there was great Division heretofore for many Years,
their Lecturer being censur’d in the high Commission about two Years since,
went into *New-England*, since which Time, there hath been no Lecture,
and very much Peace in the Town, and all ecclesiastical Orders well observ’d.
But in *Norwich*, one *Mr. Bridge*, rather than he would conform, hath left<sup>Let him go,
we are well
berid of him.</sup>
his Lectures, and two Cures, and is gone into *Holland*. The Lecturers in
the Country generally observe no Church Orders at all ; and yet the Bishop
hath

hath carried it with Temper, and upon their Promise, and his Hopes of Conformity, he hath inhibited but three in *Norfolk*, and as many in *Suffolk*, of which one is no Graduate, and hath been a common Stage-player.

*I approve
your judgment
in this; I only
add, that Care
must be taken,
that even
those qualified
by Law, keep
near but con-
formable Men.*

*Bishop's Cer-
tificate in this
Case must be
most unque-
stionable Evi-
dence.*

His Lordship humbly craves Direction what he shall do with such Scholars (some in holy Orders, and some not) as Knights, and private Gentlemen keep in their Houses, under Pretence to teach their Children. As also, with some Divines that are beneficed in Towns, or near, but live in Gentlemen's Houses. For my Part I think it very fit, the beneficed Men were presently commanded to reside upon their Cures; and for the rest, your Majesty's Instructions allow none to keep Chaplains, but such as are qualified by Law. All which notwithstanding, I most humbly submit, (as the Bishop doth) to your Majesty's Judgment.

For Recusants, whereas formerly there were wont to be but two or three presented, his Lordship hath caused above forty, to be indicted in *Norwich* at the last Sessions; and at the Assizes in *Suffolk*, he deliver'd a List of such as were presented upon the Oath of the Church-wardens, to the Lord Chief Justice, and his Lordship to the Grand Jury; but they slighted it, pretending the Bishop's Certificate to be no Evidence. But the true Reason is conceived to be, because he had also inserted such as had been presented to him for Recusant-separatists, as well as Recusant-romanists.

His Lordship's Care hath been such, as that though there are above 1500 Clergymen in that Diocese, and many Disorders, yet there are not thirty excommunicated, or suspended, whereof some are for Contumacy, and will not yet submit; some for obstinate Denial to publish your Majesty's Declaration; and some in contemning all the Orders and Rites of the Church, and intruding themselves without Licence from the Ordinary, for many Years together.

Last of all, he found that one half of the Churches in his Diocese had not a Clerk able to read, and to answer the Minister in Divine Service; by which Means the People were wholly disused from joining with the Priest, and in many Places from so much as saying, *Amen*. But concerning this, his Lordship hath strictly enjoyn'd a Reformation.

*His Suit is
granted; and
assuredly his
negative Con-
sequence shall
follow.*

If this Account given in by his Lordship of *Norwich* be true, as I believe it is (and ought to believe it, till it can be disprov'd) he hath deserv'd very well of the Church of *England*, and hath been very ill rewarded for it. His humble Suit to your Majesty is, that you will be graciously pleas'd, in your own good Time, to hear the Complaints that have been made against him, that *he may not be overborn by an Outcry for doing Service*.

In a MS. concerning the Bishops of England, writ in Archbishop Sancroft's own Hand.

WINCHESTER.

LANC. *Andrews*: After the Prince's Return from *Spain*, Dr. *Wren*, who was there with him, lodg'd still (when he was in *London*) at *Winchester-house* where he had three Rooms reserv'd for him; but being to go for *Cambridge* by Break of Day, he went the Night before to his Sister's House in *Friday-street*, having taken his Leave of the Bishop. But before he could get up in the Morning, there came a Message from the Bishop, that he must without fail be at *Winchester-house* by ten o'Clock. He went precisely at the Time, and though he us'd not to come from his Study till near twelve, yet he found him now in his great Gallery (a Place where he scarce came once a Year) where he was lock'd up with the Bishops of *Durham* and St. *David's*, (*Neil* and *Laud*) sitting all down again, the Bishop of *Durham* said, Doctor, after you left us Yesterday at *Whitehall*, we entering further into Discourse

of

of Things which we foresee will e'er long come to pass (they meant King *James's* Death) resolv'd to speak with you again, before you go hence. We must now know of you, what are your Thoughts concerning your young Master the Prince. You have been his Servant above two Years, were with him in *Spain*; he respects you well, you cannot but have observ'd how Things are like to go. What Things my Lord, said he. In brief, (quoth the Bishop) how the Prince's Heart stands to the Church of *England*. The Doctor replied, however I am most unfit to give my Opinion herein, attending but two Months in the Year; and then at great Distance, only in the Closet, and at Meals; yet being thus prest, I'll speak my Mind freely, I know my Master's Learning is not equal to his Father's, yet I know, his Judgment is very right, and as for his Affections in the Particulars you point at (for upholding the Doctrine and Discipline, and right Estate of the Church) I have more Confidence of him than of his Father, in whom you have seen, better than I, so much Inconstancy in some particular Cases. *Durham* and *St. David's* began to argue it with him, what Grounds he had to think thus; which he gave them at large. And after an Hour's Debate, the Bishop of *Winchester* who had said nothing all this while, said, well Doctor, God send you be a true Prophet, concerning your Master's Inclinations, which we are glad to hear from you. I am sure I shall be a true Prophet, I shall be in my Grave, and so shall you my Lord of *Durham*. But my Lord of *St. David's*, and you Doctor, will live to see the Day, that your Master will be put to it upon his Head and his Crown, without he will forsake the Support of the Church. (*Out of Bishop Wren's own MS. Relation.*) To which he adds, of the Prediction made by that holy Father, I have no Witness (the three Lords being dead) but my own Conscience, and the eternal God who knows I lie not. While King *James* liv'd, it was not easy to be imparted, nor after, but in private to intimate Friends; as to my Tutors *Dr. Hierom Beal*, *Dean Mason*, and my Brother, and perhaps to *Dr. Cofin*, and *Dr. Duncan*. Since the Event, I have told it to many, not thinking fit any longer to conceal it. He told it to me at *Ely-house*, not long before his Death, and I earnestly desired him to put it into writing.

W. S.

HEREFORD, NORWICH, ELY.

MA T T H E W Wren. He was Chaplain to Prince *Charles*, and went with him into *Spain*. He went with him too, when King, into *Scotland*, in May 1633, and came back in *July*. In the End of *August*, Bishop *Laud* being made Archbishop, and the Bishop of *London*, *Juxton*, succeeding him in the Deanery of the King's Chapel, the King designed *Dr. Wren* to be Clerk of his Closet, but gave him Time to remove his Family.

He came to *London* that Morning that *James*, Duke of *York*, was born; next Day, the King said to him, Now you are at my Elbow, there will be many Devices to set the Arch-bishop and you at odds; but I warn you of it, that you suffer no such Trick to be put upon you. And therefore, I require you both by that Faith, which I am sure you both will perform to me, to bind yourselves mutually, neither of you to believe any Report against the other; and if you meet with any such Thing, tho' you believe it not, yet presently to impart it each to other; this was done with much Alacrity.

In *November*, *Dr. Hacket* coming to wait at Court as Chaplain, and with much Art congratulating the Clerk of the Closet's nearer Access to the King; began to tell him what Hopes he and many others had, that he (*Dr. Wren*) should have been Bishop of *London*; and that, so the King first intended, had not the Archbishop interpos'd, that the Bishop of *London* should be a Man of

O

whom

whom the Archbishop hath Experience, and upon whom he may rely, and so obtained *London* for the Bishop of *Hereford*. Dr. *Wren* gave no Regard to Dr. *Hacket*'s Foolery, suspecting it to be a Contrivance of Bishop *Williams*'s, to breed in him a Dislike of the Archbishop; but resolving to keep his Faith with the King and Archbishop, acquainted him presently with all that past between him and Dr. *Hacket*. The King approv'd well his Dealing herein, and told him, there was no Truth in the Report, nor any Thing but a Plot to kindle Coals between them two.

In *November* next Year, Bishop *Lindsell* died, and the Archbishop sent Mr. *Dell* to tell him, that the King would bestow *Hereford* upon him, and the Deanery of *Windsor* upon his Brother. He was elected Bishop of *Hereford*, *December* 5, 1634. But the Archbishop's Chapel at *Lambeth* being not ready, his Ordination was deferr'd till the second Week in Lent, *March* 8.

Presently after this, his spare Time was taken up in framing an Office for the Consecration of a Church, at *Dore* in *Herefordshire*, and converting the Impropriation into a Rectory; the Gift of the noble and pious *John* Lord *Scudamore*, whose Journey, as Embassador into *France*, staid upon the Dispatch of this, which was executed by the Bishop of *St. David*'s.

Next he prepared for a Visitation of that Diocese, and calling for the Statutes, they sent him two Books, the one of some Antiquity, though without Date, very imperfect, and of no Authority, inscribed, *Hæc. leges & consuetudines ecclesie Herefordens.* The other a Body of Statutes compil'd by Bishop *Whitgift*, then of *Worcester*, upon a Mandate from the Queen, but never confirm'd by her. So there was just Doubt how Men could be put to any Oaths upon such Statutes, or Censures, for not observing them. The Archbishop told him, that Bishop *Lindsell* had the same Scruples, and therefore advis'd him to take those Books along into New-forest, (whither the King was going to hunt) and out of them, and such Observations of his own, as he could not want (having so long attended Bishop *Andrews*, been President of *Pembroke-Hall*, Master of *Peter-House*, Dean of *Windsor*, and *Woolverhampton*, Prebendary too of *Winchester*, and *Westminster*) to compile one entire Body of Statutes, for the future Government of that Church and the College of Vicars and Hospitals belonging to it. He did so.

But about *August* 20, the King without any Warning given, remov'd to *Oatlands*, and seeing the Bishop got thither the next Day, he smiled, and said, I'll reward your Diligence, I hear the Bishop of *Norwich* is dead, and I'll remove you thither, (giving him his Hand to kiss,) but I'll have you go and dispatch the Visitation, you have warn'd at *Hereford*, before you remove.

The Bishop besought his Majesty not to put that upon him, for beside that it would be construed a Point of great Arrogance in him, it would undo him too; for having deferr'd all Tenants, that desired to renew their Leases, till he should come down among them; if he went now, he should receive nothing, (though it would cost him 100*l.*) nor be able to perform his Promise to them; his Majesty having order'd, that no Bishop after he is named to remove, should let any Lease. I'll trust you, said the King. How many Tenants have been with you? He said Five. I give you Leave said the King to contract for them.

In his Visitation, Dr. *Richardson* the Dean, serv'd an Inhibition upon him, out of the Archbishop's Court; thinking his peculiar Jurisdiction would be prejudiced. The Bishop was not a little glad of it; for this shorten'd his Stay, and he forc'd the Dean to be visited by his Chancellor, the Week before he removed.

He spent three Days in visiting the Chapter, finding there diverse very reverend and learned Men, far from rigid Puritanism, wherewith they had been slander'd. He left them the Book of Statutes he had compiled, to be consider'd

consider'd of; contracted with four of the five Tenants, receiv'd of them 500 *l.* and in a Fortnight return'd, and gave the King Account of all.

But what have you done with the fifth Lease, said the King? Reserved it to your Majesty's Wisdom, quoth the Bishop. The Case was thus, Mr. Geeres of London, the fifth Tenancy to the Impropriation of *Dikvin*, had mov'd to add a Life to his Lease. But before the Bishop came thither, a second being fallen, his Agents profer'd a 1000 *l.* for a new Lease, for three such Lives as they would name. But the Bishop consider'd, that 'twas worth 300 *l.* per Annum, a convenient House upon it within three or four Miles of *Hereford*; the Life remaining (*Dr. Robotham's* Widow) above 60 Years old, so that, never could come a fairer Opportunity to augment the Bishoprick, if the King would see that no succeeding Bishop should lease it, but hold it only as Demesnes for his Time. The King was mightily pleased, and told the Bishop, he had done like an honest Church-man, and begun to let him into a Resolution which he had in his Mind to augment the lesser Bishopricks if fairly he could. And presently he gave such Order, that not only Bishop *Field* was stopped from renewing that Lease, but after him Bishop *Cook* also; tho' his Brother Sir *John Cook* was much aggrieved at Bishop *Wren* for it.

About a Fortnight after his Return, *Dr. Kerry*, the senior Residentiary (80 Years old) and *Dr. Skinner* the Chancellor came to him to London in the Name of the Chapter, to give him Thanks for the Book of Statutes which he left them, which, though somewhat to the particular Loss of some of them, (the old Doctor especially) yet were in general so much for the public Good of the Church, that they craved his Mediation to the King, that he would confirm that Book for ever to be their Rule. This he desired to be excus'd in; as having made the Book, and being now removing from them. So to the Archbishop's Palace they went, who, after the Examination of some few Things, excepted against by the Dean, having heard the Bishop's Answers, got the whole Book confirm'd under the great Seal of *England*, and sent to them. Within three Months after his Translation to *Norwich*, the King made him Dean of his Chapel; the Bishop of *London*, being made Lord-treasurer. Two Years and half he sat at *Norwich*, in that Time there was a foul Riot at *Ipswich*, with which they would have scar'd him; Sir *John Banks* pursued them for it in the Star-chamber; there was also a Conspiracy against his Life discovered out of *Holland*, by Sir *William Boswell*; whose Letters the King commanded Secretary *Windebank* by Post that Day, to convey to him, being then at *Ludham* in *Norfolk*. Two Petitions against him from *Ipswich* and *Norwich*, were secretly conveyed to the King's Hand by some great ones. But the King gave Answer to them with Check enough, and after sent the Bishop the Petitions, and told him who delivered them.

In April 1638, the King by his Letters from *Newmarket*, removed him to *Ely*; but told him one Day, he would have an Account from him concerning the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, and its State. He answer'd, that an Opportunity there would be (when he should be in his Grave, but the King by God's Grace still living to effect it) to make it one of the best Bishopricks in *England*; or rather (if he should see it more for the public good) to divide that over-great Diocese (having in it above 1200 Titles) and to make two competent ones of it. A Cathedral for *Suffolk* might be either *Sudbury*, or *St. Edmund's-bury*; there are in it two Arch-deaconries, and a Dean, and four Prebends might without great Difficulty be rais'd upon Benefices, and some other Particulars, in that County, within the Gift of his Majesty and the Archbishop. And for Supply of Maintenance, there is, says he, a Lease of the greatest Part of the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, containing about eighty Parcels granted at very low Rents to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Dr. Scambler*
(a Chap-

(a Chaplain of Archbishop *Parker*, who so desperately pill'd the Bishoprick of *Peterborough* before, that he was by means of Secretary *Heneage*, translated to *Norwich*, to pleasure him with the like there) which would very well bear a treble reserv'd Rent, and yet yield the Lessor some competent Fine. So that, if when the said Lease should be within 20 Years of expiring, the King should order the then Bishop to grant no new Demise of any Parcel thereof, without reserving a treble Rent upon the same, it would be an Increase of a 1000*l. per Annum* to that See.

His Majesty liked it, and resolv'd to look to it; but God hath taken him away. And at the Writing hereof by Bishop *Wren*, May 25, 1660, the Opportunity of doing this was at the Height; the Lease being within eight Years of expiring.

May 13, 1663. Dr. *Frank*, Master of *Pembroke-Hall*, did in the Name of Bishop *Wren*, and in the Presence of divers Heads of Colleges (Dr. *Pearson* of Trinity, &c.) and of the Dean, Arch-deacon, and many of the Prebendaries of *Ely* lay the first Stone of the Foundation of the new Chapel of *Pembroke-Hall*, which the said Bishop since finish'd at his own Charge. Out of Bishop *Wren's Autographum*.

Good Sir,

Ch. Ch. Sept. 14, 1734.

Letter to the
Rev. Mr.
Bateman.

BY Barn's Oxford Waggon, which comes to the King's Head in the Old-*change*, on Tuesday Night, I have sent a Box of Papers relating to Bishop *Wren*, directed for yourself, and to be left in the Warehouse till call'd for. So that I must desire you to send some trusty Person, to enquire there after the same, and to convey them to Mr. *Wren*, whose Habitation I know not.

He has full Liberty to transcribe, or make what Use he pleases of them.

I conceive the Bishop's Answer to the Articles of Impeachment to be so well drawn up, and to be so effectual a Reply to all the Clamours rais'd against that Prelate, that it should be printed; — and indeed, great Part of the other Papers are only Materials for that Defence. — I have also caus'd to be transcribed two remarkable Passages out of some MSS. of Archbishop *Sancroft* relating to Bishop *Wren*, which I think were never printed.

I have, I am sure, several other Letters and Papers of this Bishop's; — but I have unfortunately left behind me in *Wales*, the Catalogue of my Manuscripts, so know not where to meet with them, till I can receive it thence.

This Bishop was certainly a Person of great Capacity for Business, and of vast Industry; I have seen exact Abridgments of all the Registers and Institution Books in the Bishop's Offices, at *Norwich* and *Ely*, under his own Hand.* — I think some of them are at *Ely-House*.

I have some Letters of Sir *Christopher Wren*, and Schemes of his, about the rebuilding of *Paul's*, bound up in a Folio Collection of Papers belonging to that Church, which I lent last Year to the Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, and he has it still by him. — Mr. *Wren* may have the Use of the Book, when my Lord comes to Town.

Dr. *Knight*, Prebendary of *Ely*, has a very good Picture of Dr. *Christopher Wren*, Dean of *Windſor*.

* Bishop *Wren* made a new Body of Statutes for the Cathedral Church of *Ely*, and got the same confirm'd under the Great Seal, 166..

My humblest Duty to his Grace, when you have Opportunity ; Service to the Dean of *Canterbury*, and to all in your Family that remember,

S I R,

Your very affectionate Friend and Brother,

THOMAS, *Asaph*.

N U M B. III.

MATTHEW Wren, the eldest Son of Dr. *Matthew Wren*, Lord Bishop of *Ely*, was originally a Student in *Cambridge*, and afterwards for several Years (in the Time of the Usurpation) in the University of *Oxford*, not in a College or Hall, but a private House. After his Majesty's Restoration, he became Secretary to *Edward*, Earl of *Clarendon* ; was elected a Burgess for *St. Michael's* in *Cornwall*, to serve in that Parliament that began at *Westminster*, May 8, 1661. After the Fall of the Lord *Clarendon*, he was made Secretary to his Royal Highness *James*, Duke of *York*, in whose Service he continued to the Time of his Death, which happened in 1672. aged about 42 Years. His Body was conveyed to *Cambridge*, and there buried in *Pembroke-hall* Chapel, in the same Vault wherein his Father had been deposited five Years before.

Fest. Oxon.
Vol. II. p.
819.

This ingenious Person hath written.

I. *Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Common-wealth of Oceana, restrain'd to the first Part of the Preliminaries*, Lond. 1657.—Before these Considerations is a large Letter sent by the Author to Dr. *John Wilkins*, Warden of *Wadham* College (afterwards Bishop of *Chester*) by whom the said Author was desired to give his Judgment concerning the *Common-wealth of Oceana*.

II. *Monarchy Asserted: Or the State of monarchical and popular Government ; in Vindication of the Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Oceana*, Lond. 1659, and 1660.

III. *Increpatio Bar-jesu; sive polemicæ adsertiones locorum aliquot s. scripturæ ab imposturis perversionum in catechesi Racoviana ; collectæ hinc inde ex opere prægrandi medit. critic. in S. Paginam conscript. a patre suo episcopo Eliensi in solitudine suâ carcerariâ.*

The reverend Dr. *Barwick* had recommended to Mr. *Matthew Wren*, to answer the pernicious *Leviathan* of Mr. *Hobbs*, from which Mr. *Wren* excused himself as insufficient, and would have had it undertaken by some professed Divine.

Extract of a Letter from Chancellor Hyde, to Dr. Barwick,

Brussels, June 27, 1659.

" I Should be glad to hear, that you had prevailed with the young Gentleman [Mr. *Wren*] to bestow some of his Time upon *Leviathan*; and beseech you present my humble Service to his Father [the Bishop of *Ely*] upon whom no Man looks with more Reverence. And I pray God, that his not being at Liberty, be not the Cause that nothing is done in the Business of Ordination. I am sure the King can do no more in it, and is exceedingly afflicted, that they who can, do not, when they know his Majesty's Pleasure so particularly in all Things concerning it. I pray, tell me whether my Lord of *Ely* doth not think, that my very good Friend Dr. *Comenius* hath proceeded farther than he needed to have done, upon any Provocation Mr. *Fuller* could have given him. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily.

S I R,

Your most affectionate Servant,

HYDE.

From the same Hand to Dr. Barwick.

Brussels, July 25, 1659.

*Appendix to
Dr. Barwick's
Life, p. 429.*

" I Hope, it is only Modesty in Mr. *Wren*, that makes him pause upon undertaking the Work you have recommended to him; for I dare swear by what I have seen of his, he is very equal to answer every Particular of it; I mean, every Part that requires an Answer; nor is there Need of a professed Divine to vindicate the Creator from making Man a verger Beast, than any of those of the Field; or, to vindicate Scripture from his licentious Interpretation. I dare say, he will find somewhat in Mr. *Hobbs* himself, I mean in his former Books, that contradicts what he sets forth in this, in that Part in which he takes himself to be most exact, his beloved Philosophy. And sure, there is somewhat due to *Aristotle* and *Tully*, and to our *Universities*, to free them from his Reproaches; and, it is high Time, if what I hear be true, that some Tutors read his *Leviathan*, instead of the others, to their Pupils. Mr. *Hobbs* is my old Friend, yet I cannot absolve him from the Mischief he hath done to the King, the Church, the Laws, and the Nation; and surely, there should be enough to be said to the *Politicks* of that Man, who having resolv'd all Religion, Wisdom, and Honesty, into an implicate Obedience to the Laws established, writes a Book of Policy, which I may be bold to say, must be, by the establish'd Laws of any Kingdom, or Province in *Europe*, condemn'd for impious and seditious; and therefore, it will be very hard, if the Fundamentals of it, be not to be overthrown. But I must ask yours, and Mr. *Wren*'s Pardon, for enlarging so much, and antedating those Animadversions he will make upon it."

Doctor

Doctor *Thomas Wren*, second Son of *Matthew*, Bishop of *Ely*, and some-^{Fast. Oxon.} times a Student of *Cambridge*, was created Doctor of Physick, *August 2,* 1660. by Virtue of the Chancellor's Letters, which say, "That by Force of the late unhappy Times, he was constrained to leave the University of *Cambridge*, (in divers Colleges whereof his *Father* was *Visitor*) and for his Proficiency in Studies, was fain to settle himself in the Verge of the University of *Oxford*: That the Pressures under which his *Father* lay, for seventeen Years together, were such, that he could not (his Estate being taken away) allow his Children Bread, much less supply their Expences for living in Colleges, and the taking of their Degrees, only to have the Benefit of the publick Library, &c." This Person who was much addicted to Musick while he studied in *Oxford*, which was about eight Years, was made Archdeacon of *Ely*, by his *Father*, after his Majesty's Restauration, and had other ecclesiastical Preferments. He died in 1679, at *Wilberton* in the Isle of *Ely*.

After the Restauration of his Majesty King *Charles the Second*, it was his, and the Pleasure of the Marquis of *Hertford*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, and of Sir *Edward Hyde*, who succeeded in that Office in the Year 1660, that there should be a Creation in all Faculties, of such who had suffered for his Majesty's Cause, and had been ejected from the University by the Visitors appointed by *Parliament*, Annis 1648 and 9. among whom *Charles Wren*, the third Son, and Sir *William Wren*, fourth Son of *Matthew*, Bishop of *Ely*, were created Masters of Arts, *August 2,* 1660. *Charles Wren* was afterwards Burges in *Parliament* for the Town of *Cambridge*, in the Year 1685.

N U M B. IV.

KING *Charles the First*, by a Prescience, like to that of *Bishop An-*^{Fast. Oxon.} *drawes*, and divine Instinct, after he was condemned, did tell Colonel^{p. 807.} *Tomlinson*, * "That he believed the *English* Monarchy was now at an End." About half an Hour after, he told the Colonel, "That now he had an Assurance, by a strong Impulse on his Spirit, that his Son should reign after him." † His Majesty meekly resign'd to God, his own private, and the publick Cause; and by a divine Spirit, foretold the happy Recovery of both. *Nemo vir magnus, sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit*, was the Observation of *Tully*.

This Foreknowledge in great Minds, proceeds from Wisdom, Holiness, and a divine Impulse, the only Source of true Prophecy; nevertheless, it is very remarkable, that a Prefage of this King's Misfortunes, occur'd from a quite different Cause, and far distant Spring, to conformable, as (without any forc'd^{Virgil's Poëtry.} Construction) to give a Detail of his Troubles.

1. Under a most unnatural Rebellion, and destructive civil War, and to infer.
2. That he should be driven from his capital City, Palaces, Forts, and Estates.
3. Be torn away from the Embraces of his Queen and Children.
4. Be compell'd by the Necessity of his Affairs, to implore foreign Aids.
5. Be constrained to see the miserable Persecution, and cruel Slaughter of his Friends, and loyal Subjects.

* A prophetick Saying of King *Charles I.* *Aubrey's Miscel.* p. 88.

† Doctor *Sprat's* Sermon before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1677-8, pag. 41.

6. And when in extream Adversity, he should surrender himself, under the Terms of a fallacious Peace.

7. Be dethroned.

8. And execrably murdered.

9. In the full Vigour, of Life and Health.

10. And at last denied the common Rights of a Christian Burial; this sad Prefage, or *Vaticinium*, (*scil. quod vates cecinit*) being the Result only of meer Chance, upon a casual and ludicrous Trial, of the * *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and is thus recounted by an eminent Memorialist.

Dr. Wel-
wood's Me-
mors. 6th
Edit. London
1718.

" There befell the King an Accident, which tho' a Trifle in itself, and
" that no Weight is to be laid on any thing of that Nature; yet since the
" best Authors, both antient and modern, have not thought it below the
" Majesty of History to mention the like, it may be the more excusable to
" insert it.

King Charles
consults the
Sortes Virgili-
anæ and Lord
Falkland.

" The King being at *Oxford*, during the Civil Wars, went one Day to
" see the publick Library, where he was showed, among other Books, a
" *Virgil* nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord *Falkland* to di-
" vert the King, would have his Majesty make a Tryal of his Fortune, by
" the *Sortes Virgilianæ*; which every Body knows was an usual kind of
" *Augury*, some Ages past. Whereupon the King opening the *Book*, the
" Period which happened to come up, was *This*.

Æneid. Lib.

4.

(1) *At bello audacis populi vexatus; et armis;*
(2) *Finibus extorris;* (3) *complexu avulsus Juli;*
(4) *Auxilium imploret;* (5) *videatque indigna suorum*
Funera; (6) *nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquæ*
Tradiderit; (7) *regno,* (8) *aut optatâ luce fruatur;*
(9) *Sed cadat ante diem;* (10) *mediâque inhumatus arenâ.*

Faët. Oxon.
824.

" It is said, King *Charles* seemed concerned at this Accident; and that the
" Lord *Falkland* observing it, would likewise try his own Fortune in the
" same manner, hoping he might fall upon some Passage that could have
" no Relation to his Case, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any
" Impression the other might have upon him: but the Place that Lord
" *Falkland* stumbled upon, was as much suited to his *Destiny*, as the other
" had been to the King's; being the Expressions of *Evander* upon the un-
" timely Death of his Son *Pallas*.

It is not to be supposed his Majesty could be much concerned on so trifling
an Event, who early in Youth had turned his Thoughts to the Lesson of *Rea-
son*: It appears that at seventeen Years of Age, viz. 18th of *August*, 1616.
he was pleased with his own Hand-writing to matriculate himself a Member
of the University of *Oxford*, with this Symbole, or Sentence, *Si vis omnia*
subjicere subice te rationi.

There was a very memorable Paragraph, conceived with a divine Ener-
gy, and Elevation of Spirit, in his Majesty's Declaration subsequent to the *Re-
monstrance* of the State of the Nation, by the House of Commons, in 1642,
which in the End proved prophetick.

" We are, (says his Majesty) from our Soul so fully satisfied, and assured,
" that the Religion now established in this Kingdom, is the most pure,
" and agreeable to the sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practised
" in the Christian World, that as we believe we can maintain the same

*. Digression on the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, &c. *Evangelicæ*, and various Modes of foretelling fu-
ture Events.

" by

"by unanswerable Reasons, so we hope we should readily seal to it, by the
 "Effusion of our Blood, if it pleased God to call us to that Sacrifice."

O! cedro, et marmore digna.

Lord Falkland's Verses were the following, being as above *Evander's* Lamentation for his Son *Pallas* slain in Battle.

"Non hæc O Palla dederas promissa parenti,

Æneid. Lib.

"Cautius ut sævo velles te credere Marti :

11.

"Haud ignarus eram, quantum nova gloria in armis,

"Et prædulce decus primo certamine posset ;

"Primitiæ juvenis misera, bellicque propinqui

"Dura rudimenta.

This most accomplished young Nobleman was Secretary of State to the King, and followed his Fortune ; he went out as a Volontier to engage the Rebels, charging in the foremost Ranks of the Lord Byron's Horse, at the first Battle of Newbury ; and tho' dissuaded by his Friends, as having no Call to it, being no military Person, yet gallantly pushing into the Fight, was very unhappily and untimely slain.

"O dolor !

Virg. Æn. L.

"Hæc te prima dies bello dedit, hæc eadem aufert.

10.

"In this unhappy Battle (says our noble Historian) was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland ; a Person of such prodigious Parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable Sweetness and Delight in Conversation, so flowing and obliging Humanity to Mankind, and of that primitive Simplicity, and Integrity of Life, that if there were no other Brand upon that odious and accursed Civil War, than that single Loss, it must be infamous and execrable to all Posterity.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

"Thus fell this incomparable young Man, in the 34th Year of his Age, having so much dispatched the true Business of Life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense Knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the World with more Innocency. Whosoever leads such a Life, needs be the less anxious upon how short Warning it is taken from him."

There is another Passage in *Virgil* analogous to the King's Fate, tho' not so full and particular as the *Lot* which he drew.

"Hæc finis Priami fatorum ; hic exitus illum

Æneid. Lib. 2.

"Sorte tulit ; Trojam incensam et prolapsa videntem

"Pergama ; tot quondam populis, terrisque superbum

"Regnatorem Asiae jacet ingens litore truncus,

"Acuissumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.

These modern Instances of *Virgilian Prophecy*, give Occasion, for the Sake of Curiosity, to extend this Narration, and to recollect what great Honour and Veneration, in almost all Ages, has been paid to this divine Poet ; for, *Oracles in Virgil's Language.* *Prognostications* were not only taken in the usual way of opening his Book at a Venture, and dipping upon some Passage as first came to Sight ; but the *Oracles of the Gods*, in their Temples, were solemnly delivered in his Verse : And it is also further to be noted, that this Sort of Divination, deduced from the *Pagans*, became in Use among the *Rabbins* ; and was sometime practised by the *primitive Christians*, with this Difference, that they substituted the *Holy Scriptures* in lieu of the Poet. Thus St. *Augustin*, upon hearing a Voice, saying, *tolle, lege*, took up his Bible, and dipped on the 13th Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the 13th Verse, Not in Rioting and Drunkenness, not in Chambering and Wantonness, &c. and reformed his

Gregory Turon. Lib. 4. p. 16. Aliig.

Car. du Fresne in glossario de fortibus Evangelicis.

Aubrey's Miscell. p. 83.

his Manners upon it. Moreover, it was sometimes a Custom, that those who purposed to try their Fortunes, did not themselves casually open and inspect the Books of *Holy Writ*, in the common Method, but took the Omens from the Mouth of the *Deacon* reading in the Church.

But however trifling and uncertain Practices of this Kind may in general appear, there have been Examples, where Portions of *Scripture* have chanced to occur so very pertinent to the Occasion, that it may be no Argument of Superstition to believe, could not have happened, *sine numine*, without an especial *Providence*. To mention an Instance, or two most considerable.

Echard's *Hist.*
of England,
Vol. II. p. 643.

The second Lesson appointed in the Liturgy of the Church of England, on the 30th Day of *January*, is the 27th Chapter of St. *Matthew's Gospel*, containing the History of our *Saviour's* Death, which when Dr. *Juxton* Bishop of *London*, read to King *Charles the First* on that Day, the Day of his Martyrdom, and immediately before he ascended the Scaffold, his Majesty took particular Notice of it, supposing it had been selected on Purpose, and thanked him for his seasonable Choice; but the Bishop modestly told him, It was the Lesson directed by the Calendar for that Day; which highly pleased the King, as a providential Preparation for his Passion.

Clarendon's
Hist. of the Re-
bell. Book 4. p.
29.

On the eleventh Day of *January*, many thousands of the seditious Citizens, and Rabble of *London*, marched, in a tumultuous Manner, to *Westminster*. Insulting the Majesty of King *Charles the First*, and abetting the factious Party of the *Parliament*. The *Psalms*, both for Morning and Evening Service for that Day, are 56, 57, 58, &c. and are as Prophecies of the Troubles that did ensue.

Dr. Sprat's
Sermon before
the House of
Commons, Jan.
30. 1677 8.
p. 44.

The Text of the Sermon preach'd before King *Charles I.* at his Coronation, though it might then seem unseasonable, proved prophetic; which was the latter Part of those Words, *Rev. ii. 10. Be thou faithful unto Death, and I will give thee a Crown of Life.*

Lassell's *Voyage*
to Italy, Part
II. p. 109.

Francis I. King of *France*, being vanquish'd and taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Pavia*, by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, in the Year 1525, was conducted to a Monastery of the *Carthusians*; the Monks happened to be at their Devotions, chanting a Portion of the 119th *Psalms*; as the King enter'd the Chapel, he found them at this Verse, "*Coagulatum est sicut lac cor eorum; ego vero legem tuam meditatus sum*:" Whereupon, he joyn'd with them in the very next Verse, most applicable to his present Condition, and sung aloud with a Piety as great as his Loss, "*Bonum est mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas.*"

Historiæ Augu-
stusæ Sep-
toris de fortib.
Virgilianis.

Apud Spartia-
num in Ha-
driano.

But to return to the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and review them, as they appear in Antiquity, from the *Augustan* History.

Imperator Trajanus natione Hispanus ex Italico oppido Andalusizæ, à Nervâ adoptatus, ad imperium senex venit; Hadrianus ad gratulationem exercitus missus, in Germaniam superiorem translatus est, ex quâ festinavit ad Trajanum, ut primus nuntiaret excessum Nervæ; quo quidem tempore, cum sollicitus de imperatoris erga se judicio, et de successione suâ in imperio, Virgilianas Sortes confuleret, fors hæc excidit.

Ætad. L. 6.

"*Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis oliveæ*
"*Sacra ferens? nosco crines, incanaque menta*
"*Regis Romani, primus qui legibus urbem*
"*Fundabit, curibus parvis, et paupere terrâ*
"*Missus in imperium magnus; cui deinde subibit.*"

Talis insuper fors ex sibyllinis versibus ei provenisse dicitur. Habuit quoque præsumptionem imperii futuri, ex sano Jovis Nicephori manante responso. [Sic subtilia concordant ingenia.]

Cum

Cum Clodius Albinus Cæsar fortem de fato suo tolleret, in templo Apollinis Apud Jul. Capitolinum, in Albino.
Cumani, his verbis ei responsum est.

"Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
"Sistet eques, sternet Pænos, Gallumque rebellem." Æneid, L. 6

In Gallâ quidem eum multas gentes domuisse constat.

Ipse autem suspicabatur de Imp. Septimio Severo sibi prædictum, sternet
pænos; quod Severus Afer esset.

Imperatori Severo Alexandro, cui mamma mater fuit, cunctis hominibus Apud Ælium Lampridium, in Severo Alex.
amabili, hæc Sors, in templo Fortunæ Prænestinæ extitit, cum illi Heliogabalus
insidiaretur.

"——— Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
"Tu Marcellus eris."

Ipse etiam cum parentis hortatu, animum à philosophiâ, et musicâ ad alias
artes traduceret, Virgilii fortibus bujusmodi illustratus est.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra:
"Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:
"Orabunt causas melius, cælique meatus
"Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
"Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,
"Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
"Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

Aurelius Claudius Gothicus, cum factus imperator in Apennino de se con- Apud Treb, Pollionem, in Claudio.
suleret, quam diu imperaturus esset, responsum hunc accepit.———

"Tertia dum latio regnantem videret ætas.

Obiit Anno imperii sui tertio.

Item, cum de posteris suis.

"His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono.

Item, cum de fratre suo Quintillo, quem consortem habere volebat imperii, re-
sponsum est.

"Ossendent terris hunc tantum fata.—

Interemptus erat, tumultu militari, septima decimâ die imperii sui.

"In hoc genere divinandi (ait Cicero) temeritas et casus, non ratio et con- Reliq.
silium valet."

Before this Subject, of the several Ways of Divination, sacred and pro- Dr. Pri-
fane, be dismissed; it will be of Service to the Purpose, to review it in a
further Light, and as 'tis treated by the judicious and learned Dr. Prideaux, in
his Connection of the History of the old and new Testament. The whole Ac-
count being very curious, deserves to be quoted at large.
count of an-
cient Divina-
tions, sacred,
and Virgi-
lian.

"John Hyrcanus, Prince and High-priest of the Jews, was, saith Josephus, Part II. L. 4.
"honoured with three of the highest Dignities. For, he was, according to p. 328.
"him, a Prophet, as well as a Prince and High-priest, of which there are
"given two Instances; First, that he foretold, that Aristobulus and Antigonus,
"his two eldest Sons, should not live long after him, but that the Succession
"of the Government should come to Alexander, his third Son; and Second-
"ly, that when Aristobulus and Antigonus vanquish'd Antiochus Cyzicenus in
"Battle, it was made known to him the very same Moment, in which the
"Victory

Anno ante
Christum, 107.

“ Victory was gain’d, though he were then at *Jerusalem*, at the Distance of
 “ two Days Journey from the Field of Battle. The former, they say, was
 “ reveal’d to him in a *Dream of the Night*, and the other by a Voice from
 “ Heaven, which the Jews call *Bath-Kol*, i. e. The Daughter of a Voice.
 “ or the Daughter Voice. For the Jewish Writers hold, that there were
 “ three Sorts of Revelations anciently among them. The First by *Urim and*
 “ *Thummim*; the second by the *Spirit of Prophecy*; and the third by *Bath-*
 “ *Kol*. The first they say was in Use from the erecting of the Tabernacle to
 “ the Building of the Temple. The second from the Beginning of the
 “ World (but mostly under the first Temple) till the Death of *Malachi* un-
 “ der the second Temple. But that, after the Death of *Malachi*, the Spirit
 “ of Prophecy wholly ceas’d in *Israel*; and that, thenceforth they had
 “ *Bath-Kol* in its stead, which, they say, was a Voice from Heaven.
 “ That they called it *Bath-Kol*, i. e. the Daughter Voice, or the Daughter of
 “ a Voice, (for it may be interpreted both Ways) seems to be with respect to
 “ the oracular Voice delivered from the Mercy-seat, when God was there
 “ consulted by *Urim and Thummim*. That was the grand and primary Voice
 “ of Revelation; this of a secondary Dignity, and inferior to it, as the Daugh-
 “ ter is to the Mother, and therefore in respect to it, and as succeeding in
 “ its stead, it is called the Daughter Voice, the other being to it as the Mo-
 “ ther in Precedence, both of Time and Dignity. That it may be under-
 “ stood what kind of Oracle this was, I shall here give the Reader one In-
 “ stance of it out of the *Talmud*, it is as followeth.

Rabbi Jochanan and Rabbi Simeon, Ben Lachish, desiring to see the Face of
 R. Samuel, a Babylonish Doctor, let us follow said they the bearing of Bath Kol.
 Travelling therefore near a School, they heard the Voice of a Boy reading these
 Words, out of the first Book of Samuel, xxv. 1. and Samuel died; they observed
 this, and inferred from hence, that their Friend Samuel was Dead, and so they
 found it had happened. For Samuel of Babylon was then Dead. “ Many
 “ more Instances of this Sort may be produced out of the Jewish Writings,
 “ but this is enough to let the Reader see, that their *Bath-Kol* was no such
 “ Voice from Heaven, as they pretend, but only a phantastical Way of Di-
 “ vination of their own Invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the Hea-
 “ thens. For as with them, the Words first dipped at, in the Book of that
 “ Poet, was the Oracle, whereby they prognosticated those future Events,
 “ which they desired to be informed of; so with the Jews, when they ap-
 “ pealed to *Bath-Kol*, the next Words, which they should hear from any
 “ ones Mouth were the same. And this they called a Voice from Heaven,
 “ because thereby they thought the Judgment of Heaven to be declared, as
 “ to any dubious Point they desired to be inform’d of, and the Decrees of
 “ Heaven to be reveal’d concerning the future Success of any Matter, which
 “ they would be pre-inform’d of, whensoever in either of these two Cases,
 “ they this Way consulted it.

“ The *Sortes Virgilianæ*, on the Failing of Oracles, after the coming of
 “ Christ, were instead of them much made Use of by the Heathens, as long
 “ as Heathenism remain’d among the Romans. And the Christians, when
 “ Christianity first began to be corrupted, learned from them the like Way of
 “ Divination, and much practis’d it without any other Change than by
 “ putting the Book of the holy Scriptures in the Place of the Book of the
 “ Heathen Poet. This was as ancient as the Time of St. Austin, who liv’d
 “ in the Fourth-Century, for he makes mention of it. And, it was practis’d
 “ by Heraclius, Emperor of the East, in the Beginning of the seventh Century.
 “ For, being engaged in a War against Chosroes, King of Persia, and after a
 “ successful Campaign, being in Doubt, where to take his Winter Quarters,
 enjoyn’d

“ enjoyn’d a Time of fasting and praying to all his Army; and after that, consulting the Book of the Holy Scriptures in this Way of Divination, thereby determined himself as to this Matter. But it obtained most in the West, especially in *France*, where, for several Ages, it was the Practice on the Consecration of a new Bishop, to consult the Bible concerning him, by this Way of Divination, and from the Words, which they should first dip at the Opening of the Book, make a Judgment of his Life, Manners, and future Behaviour. And the *Normans* on their Conquest of this Land, brought this Usage hither with them. On the Consecration of *William*, the second *Norman* Bishop of the Diocese of *Norwich*, the Words which the Bible first open’d at for him were, *Non bunc, John xviii. 40.* sed *Barrabam, i. e. Not this Man, but Barabbas*; by which they made a Judgment, that this Bishop was not long to continue, and that a Thief should come in his Place, and so it accordingly happened. For *William* soon after dying, *Herbertus de Lozinga*, another *Norman* was made his Successor, who was chief Simony-broker to King *William Rufus*, (that King openly selling all ecclesiastical Benefices) and had simonically obtain’d of him the Abbey of *Winchester* for his Father, and the Abbey of *Rumsey* for himself, and had now by the like evil Means, gain’d this Bishoprick. At his Consecration, the Words, which the Bible opened at for him, were the same which Christ spoke to *Judas*, when he came to betray him; *Amice ad quod venisti, i. e. Friend, wherefore art thou come.* These, and *Mat. xxvi. 50.* the former Words for his Predecessor, putting home upon his Conscience, how much he had been a Thief and a Traitor to Christ and his Church, brought him to a thorough Repentance for his Crimes, and to expiate for them, he built the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, of which he laid the first Stone, in the Year of our Lord, 1096. And afterwards, having translated his episcopal Chair from *Thetford* to it, he thereby fixed the See of his Bishoprick in the City of *Norwich*, and there it hath been ever since.” —The Author concludes his Account, much in the Sense of *Tully*, (before noted) by reflecting, in general, on the great Folly of Mankind, in devising such vain and groundless Prognostics for future Events; and, in particular, on the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church in those Days, in their running into such a Practice, and making it part of their sacred Offices; for such their Ordinals were reckon’d to be, in which this Way of prognosticating at the Consecrations of Bishops was then directed.

A parallel Case to one Particular in the preceding Relation, (*viz.* “That when the two Sons of *John Hyrcanus* vanquish’d *Antiochus Cysicenus*, it was known to him the very same Moment in which the Victory was gain’d, though he was then at the Distance of two Days Journey from the Battle,”) is this: Pope *Pius V.* being at *Rome* in the Consistory, did *Aubrey’s* make known the famous Battle of *Lepanto* between the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, at the Time of the Engagement, in the Year 1571, and that the *Christians* were victorious; the Place of this Fight at Sea being 200 Miles, or more distant from *Rome*.

“ In the City of *Padua*, one *C. Cornelius*, who had the Character of a Plutarch, in good Augur, Fellow-citizen, and Friend of *Livy* the Historian, happen’d to make some augural Observations, on that very Day when the Battle of *Pharsalia* between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* was fought; and first, as *Livy* tells us, he pointed out the critical Time of the Fight, and said to those who were near him, that just then the Armies were engag’d, and the Action was hot. When he looked a second Time upon the Birds, and nicely observ’d the Omens, he leaped, as if he had been inspir’d, and cry’d

R

“ out

This Translation, by Dr. Smalridge.

"out, *Tbon*, *Cæsar art the Conqueror*."—This, *Livy* positively affirms for a Truth.

The antient Heathens had five special Ways of Divination, the first was, *Afflatu Dei*, or by *Inspiration*; the second, by *Oracles* from the *Tripods* in the Temples; the third, by the burning of *Laurel*; the fourth, by the *Stars* or *Astrology*; the fifth, by *Observation* of *Birds*, or *Augury*. All these, with great Elegance and Brevity, are compris'd by *Virgil*, in three Lines, in the Address of *Æneas* to *Helenus*, a King, Priest, and Prophet.

Æneid Lib.
III. V. 359.

"Trojugena, interpres divum, qui (1) numina Phæbi;
"Qui (2) tripodas; (3) Clarii lauros; qui (4) fidera sentis;
"Et (5) volucrum linguas, et præpetis omina pennæ."

Joel, Chap.
ii. Ver. 28.

The old Jewish Prophets usually prophesy'd by Dreams, and Visions.—The old Men shall dream Dreams, and the young Men shall see Visions. And thus, the *fili prophetarum*, the Sons of the Prophets, who were Scholars and Students in their Colleges, did sometimes, likewise foretel future Things; as they did at *Bethel*, and *Jericho* to *Elisba* of the taking up of *Elijah*, and accordingly, no less than fifty of them went to see the Assumption of the Prophet near *Jordan*.

Davideidos,
Cowleii, L. 1.
De collegio
prophetarum.

"Hinc simulacra animo depingit mystica somnus
"Molliter in viçtos simul ac defluxit ocellos;
"Transilit admissò præsentia tempora saltu,
"Ætatumque inter Silvas, et amæna vireta
"Ambulat, atque annos jam nunc exire parantes,
"Frænæque mordentes cernit, micat undique fati
"Ordo ingens, valvæque, patent, longique recessus."

Aubrey's
Miscell. L. 15.
p. 128.

Dr. Pocock of *Oxford*, in his Commentary on *Hosea*, hath a learned Discourse of the *Urim* and *Thummim*; as also, *Dr. Spenser* of *Cambridge*, both agreeing that the Priest had his Visions in the Stones of the Breast-plate.—This might give Rise to the vain Fantasy of inspecting prophetick Visions in a Beryl (one of the twelve Stones mention'd in the Revelations) or a Crystal.—**Sam. Boissardus* hath written a Book, *De divinatione per crystallum*.

Sed jam manum de tabulâ.

* I take this to be a Mistake for *John James Boissard*, a great Collector of *Roman Antiquities*, who was born at *Bezancon*, in the Year 1528, and died in 1602. His Treatise, *De divinatione, et magicis præstigiis*, was printed after his Death. [Bayl.]

NUMB. V.

STATUTA.

Nobilissimi ordinis in Angliâ dicti

A periscellide :

Adjectis aliquot ad marginem notis, in quibus

Videre erit,

Quantum statuta hæc à prioribus discefferint,

Quantum et ab his statutis recessum, ex eo tempore sit,

Quâ per novorum decretorum accessiones,

Quâ per hodiernas consuetudines denique.

Ex collectione et collatione, Matthæi Wren,

Decani Windesoriensis, et scribæ

Nobilissimi ordinis, 1631.

*Statutes of
the Order of
the Garter.*

*Extract from the Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies, of the
most noble Order of the Garter. By Elias Ashmole, Esq;
Sect. 2. Page 193.*

“ IN the Month of December, 1666. the Right Reverend Father in God, ^{Ashmole's}
“ *Matthew Wren*, Lord Bishop of *Ely*, shew'd me a Manuscript com- ^{Character of}
“ piled by himself, about the Year 1631, being at that Time, Register of ^{this Work.}
“ this most noble Order; wherein, by Way of Comment upon King *Henry*
“ VIIIth's Statutes, he briefly shews (out of the Statutes and Annals of the
“ Order) what Alteration there hath been in the Law of the Garter, both
“ before and since. It is a Work compos'd with a great deal of Judgment,
“ and exceeding useful; and had it been my good Hap to have met there-
“ with, before I had so near finish'd this Work, the ready Directions there-
“ in would have eas'd me of much Toil, whilst I was about the compo-
“ sing it.”

This Comment of Bishop *Wren's* in Latin, with his Preface, wherein he acquaints us whence he collected his Observations, &c. is publish'd by *John Anstis*, Esq; Garter King at Arms, in the Register of the most noble Order, usually call'd (from its Cover in black Velvet) the Black-book. In 2 Vol. Fol. Lond. 1724. p. 294.

NUMB. VI.

Rushworth's
Hist. Coll.
Part II. Vol.
I. p. 461.

Certificate of Dr. MATTHEW WREN, Bishop of Norwich; concerning the Book of Sports, entituled, The King's Majesty's Declaration for lawful Recreations after Evening-prayer on Sundays and Holy-days; commanded by his Majesty, to be read by all Ministers in their respective Parish Churches.

Anno 1637.
13 Caroli.

"**T**O the 12th Article, that upon Enquiry at my Visitation, whether the King's Majesty's Declaration for lawful Sports had been published, I found it had not been done in very many Places of the Diocese; having therefore, about sixty Books at Hand, I caused them to be propos'd to such Persons as I had most Doubt of, but many of them refused to publish the same, and were suspended for their Refusal; yet divers of them presently promised Conformity, and so were absolved; so that now, in the whole Diocese, consisting of about fifteen hundred Clergymen, there are not passing twice fifteen excommunicated, or suspended; whereof some so stand for Contumacy, in not appearing at the Visitation and Synod, and still refuse to submit; and others, for obstinate denying to publish the King's Declaration."

NUMB. VII.

Extracts from Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, concerning the Scotch Liturgy, and Canons. Book II. Page 83, &c.

Of the Scotch
Liturgy and
Canons, re-
vised by Arch-
bishop Laud,
Bishop Juxton,
and Bishop
Wren.
Commission'd
by the King.

IT was towards the End of the Year 1633, when the King returned from Scotland, having left it to the Care of some of his Bishops there to provide such a Liturgy, and such a Book of Canons, as might best suit the Nature and Humour of the better Sort of that People; to which, the rest would easily submit; and that, as fast as they made them ready, they should transmit them to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, to whose Assistance the King join'd the Bishop of London [Dr. Juxton] and Doctor Wren, who by that Time, was become Bishop of Norwich; a Man of a severe sour Nature, but very learned, and particularly versed in the old Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches. And after his Majesty should be this Way certified of what was so sent, he would recommend, and enjoyn the Practice and Use of both, to that his native Kingdom.

It was now two Years, or very near so much, before the Bishops in Scotland had prepared any Thing to offer to the King, towards their intended Reformation; and then, they inverted the proper Method, and first presented a Body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, they chusing to finish the shorter Work first. The King referr'd the Consideration, as he had before resolv'd to do, to the Arch-bishop, and the other two Bishops, [Dr. Juxton] the Bishop of London, and [Dr. Wren] the Bishop of Norwich; who, after their Perusal of them, and some Alterations made,

with

with the Consent of those Bishops who brought them from *Scotland*, return'd them to the King; and his Majesty impatient to see the good Work enter'd upon, without any other Ceremony (after having given his Royal Approbation) issued out his Royal Proclamation for the due Observation of them within his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

It was a fatal Inadvertency, that these Canons, neither before, nor after they were sent to the King, had been ever seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the Observation of them; nor so much as communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; it being almost impossible, that any new Discipline could be introduced into the Church, which would not much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon, or refer to the municipal Laws of the Kingdom.

It was, in the next Place, as strange, that Canons should be publish'd before the Liturgy was prepared, (which was not ready in a Year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were principally for the Observation of, and punctual Compliance with the Liturgy; which all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all Obedience to what was enjoyn'd by it, before they knew what it contained. Whereas if the Liturgy had been first publish'd with all due Circumstances, it is possible, that it might have found a better Reception, and the Canons have been less examined.

It was about the Month of *July*, in the Year 1637, that the Liturgy (after it had been sent out of *Scotland*, and perus'd by the three Bishops in *England* [*Laud*, *Juxton*, and *Wren*,] and then approv'd and confirm'd by the King) was publish'd and appointed to be read in all the Churches. And in this Particular, there was the same affected and premeditated Omission, as had been in the Preparation and Publication of the Canons; the Clergy not at all consulted in it, and, which was more strange, not all the Bishops acquainted with it; which was less censured afterwards, when some of them renounced their Function, and became ordinary Presbyters, as soon as they saw the Current of the Time. The Privy-council had no other Notice of it, than all the Kingdom had, the *Sunday* before, when it was declared, "That the next *Sunday* the Liturgy should be read;" by which they were the less concern'd to foresee, or prevent any Obstructions which might happen.

On the *Sunday* Morning appointed for reading the Liturgy, it was received in the Cathedral of *Edinburgh*, with Riot and Disorder, in Defiance of all Authority; and it fared no better in the other Churches of the City, but was entertained by the seditious Rabble, with hollowing and Outcries; and threatening the Men whose Office it was to read it, with bitter Execrations against Bishops, and Popery.

The first Actors in these Tumults, and Confusions, were really of the Dregs of the People, but soon after, more considerable Persons, and at length, some of the best Quality declared themselves of the Party against the Bishops; united themselves by subscribing a Covenant; raised an Army, under the Obligation thereof, and commenced a Rebellion; and this was the first Alarm *England* received towards any Trouble, after it had enjoy'd for so many Years the most uninterrupted Prosperity, in a full and plentiful Peace, that any Nation could be blessed with.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, makes this Memorial in his Diary on Rushworth's *April 29, 1638*.—"The Tumults in *Scotland*, about the Service-book offered to be brought in, began *July 23, 1637*, and, continued increasing by Fits, and hath now brought that Kingdom in Danger. No Question, but there is a great Concurrence between them (meaning the *Scotch* Covenants)

"venanters) and the Puritan Party here in *England*; there was great Aim
"there to destroy me in the King's Opinion, &c."

Ibid. 387.

Among the Reasons published by his Majesty for imposing the Liturgy in
Scotland, was this,—"That it was composed in Substance not different
"from that of *England*, that the *Roman* Party might not upbraid us with
"any material Differences in our Liturgies," and yet in some few Altera-
tions differing from it, that it might be truly reputed a Book of that Church's
own composing, and established by his royal Authority, as King of *Scot-*
land.

Ibid. 387.

Together with this Service-book, (which for Substance, Frame, and Com-
posure, was conformable to the Decency and Uniformity of God's Worship
in the Church of *England*) his Majesty sent certain Instructions to the
Bishops of *Scotland*; "That notwithstanding, he had establish'd it by his
"Authority, yet, they should proceed with all Moderation, and dispense
"with such Things contained in the Book, as they should find them, either
"not well perswaded of them, or willing to be informed concerning them,
"or did hope that Time and Reason might gain to a better Belief of
"them."

Bishop Laud,
Juxton, and
Wren.

Ibid. 390.

The Excellency of the Composure of the Liturgy, attended with such
cautious and wise Advice, and Direction, for the peaceable Reception, and
Exercise of it, clearly vindicate his Majesty, and his three *English* Prelates;
inasmuch, that the Misfortunes which ensued were apparently owing to the
weak, impolitick, and unseasonable Conduct of the *Scottish* Bishops, upon
whom the Lords of the Council, (in their Complaint to the King of the
Tumults) spared not to lay the greatest Blame.

Rushworth's
Hist. Coll. V.
I. Part II.
p. 321.

Upon the 19th of *April*, 1636. his Majesty, as to the Liturgy designed for
Scotland, thus expressed his Pleasure.

Charles Rex,

"I gave the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* Command, to make the Altera-
"tions expressed in this Book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of *Scot-*
"land; and wheresoever they shall differ from another Book sign'd by us
"at *Hampton-court*, *September* 28, 1634. our Pleasure is, to have these
"follow'd rather than the former, unless the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*,
"and his Brethren, who are upon the Place, shall see apparent Reason to
"the contrary."

NUMB. VIII.

Festum Sancti Georgii memorabile, Windesoræ celebratum, anno regni 4^{to} ferenissimi Caroli I. regis, & nobilissimi ordinis, à subligaculo cruris, *garterii* nomine appellati, supremi. Dr. MATTHÆO WREN, registrarii munus præstante.

AN NUS jam agebatur à Christo nato, 1628. Dies erat Septembris tertius à vigesimo, cum suprema majestas Windesoræ agens, pro inchoatione solennitatis Sancti Georgii, (quam trinis subinde edictis, in hunc usque diem urgentibus de causis, et præcipuè propter expeditionem navalem in suppetias Rupellanorum prorogaverat) dispensationem (de more) concedit pro absentia V com militum, comitum Northumbriæ, Derbiæ, Arundeliæ, Somersetiæ, atque Banburiae.

Rex Daniæ,	} Externi, atque } Rebus suis occupati.
Princeps Palatinus,	
Dux de Chevereux,	

Comes Marriæ, comes Carlioliæ, Supremo inserviebant in rebus Scoticis, aut in legatione ad externos.

Rex Sueciæ, princeps Auranæ, comes Suffolciæ, electi prius in loca ducis Brunvicensis, comitumque Suffolciæ & Leicestriæ denatorum, sed nondum inthronizati.

Dux Buckinghamiæ, (proh scelus, dolorque!) comes Wigornæ grandævus beros, nuper fato functi.

Comes Moulgraviæ, comes Suffexiæ, comes Rutlandiæ, incertum quibus de causis aberant.

Ilius igitur diei horâ quartâ a meridie, conveniunt in interius Supremi, cubiculum (solennia ordini, pro suo cujusque loco, vestimenta omnes induti) ex ipsis commilitonibus honoratissimi domini.

Willielmus Herbert, comes Pembrokiæ hospitii nî regis senescallus.

Philippus Herbert, comes Montgomeriæ, ejusdem hospitii camerarius.

Thomas Erskin, comes Kelliæ.

Edwardus Sackvill, comes Dorsetiæ.

Henricus Rich, comes Hollandiæ, cancellarius recens electus Cantabrigiæ.

Thomas Howard, comes Berkæ.

Ex officiariis verò, reverendus in Christo pater, Ricardus Neile, (qui per Roffensem, Lichfieldensem, Lincolnensem, & Dunelmensem, denique ad cathedram Wintoniensem, & sanctiora regis consilia jam conscenderat) prælatus ordinis.

Amplissimus vir D. Franciscus Crane, eques auratus, et regiæ majestati ab interiore cubiculo, cancellarius ordinis.

Matthæus Wren, S. T. P. & collegii Sancti Petri Cantabrigiæ magister (quem Supremus adhuc princeps Walliæ à sacris privatis sibi, itinerisque Hispanici participem fecerat, & decanatu Windesoriensi (inter alia) nuper donaverat) registrarius ordinis.

Amplissimus vir Willielmus Segar eques auratus, rex armorum seu fecialium vulgò dictus Garterus.

Eximius denique vir Jacobus Maxwell, regi ab intimo lecti cubiculo, nigri-virgifer seu ostiarius ordinis.

Post

Post non longam expectationem prodit ad hos Supremus conformibus indumentis coruscans, cæterisque, qui præterea ibi aderant, proceribus & aulicis omnibus exire jussis, thronum capeffit, solennitatemque Georgianam feliciter exorditur.

Ibi primum registrarius seu scriba, flexis ad thronum genibus, sacramento ordinis obstringitur, sacros codices, quos jurans tangebatur, porrigente in genibus nigri-virgifero, & rege armorum ipsius juramenti verba è vetusto registro ordinis recitante.

Dein prælatus juramentum officii sui similiter præstat; & post illum cancellarius pari jurejurando jam tandem obligatur, quod per sesquiannum aut eo plus omissum fuerat, quoniam deerat scriba qui juramenti verba, (uti nunc & ipsi & prælato novus scriba præstitit) præire posset.

His finitis, statim per augustissimum illud ambulacrum, quod pendet in boreali Windefloriensis clivæ margine, ad Capellam Sancti Georgii descenditur; pauperibus militibus, canonicisque ecclesiæ, solenni habitu et pompâ ante ambulantes.

Ibi, interea dum vespertina sacra devotissimis hymnis peraguntur, ducis Brunvicensis, comitumque Suffolciæ, & Leicestriæ insignia per præsentem commilitones (secundum ordinem suum) offeruntur, stantibus ad altare hinc prælato, illinc binis canonicis.

Sileri hic non oportet, quod mirandam festivitatem Supremo, cæterisque præbuit, nam tum quàm organa musica, atque symphoniarum magna cohors, altissimum concentum edentes, ipsam ferè capellam concuterent, scitissima avicula (erithacus seu rubellio dicta) vexillis hinc inde insidens, non illo solum vespere, sed & sequentium quoque dierum sacris constanter atque intrepidè interfuit, cantusque suos tam bellè ac clarè, extulit; ac si (sub tantis judicibus) de laudum divinarum victoriâ, cum universo choro decrèset contendere.

Post oblata insignia, exeunt Pembrochius, & Montgomerius, atque honoratissimum dominum Thomam Wentworth comitem Clevelandiæ introducunt in chorum, præpotentissimi Gustavi Adolphi Suecorum, Gothorum, & Vandalorum regis, magni principis Finlandiæ, ducis Esthoniæ, & Careliæ, nec non Ingridiæ domini, deputatum, (ex assignatione Supremi) indumentum ordinis in brachio solum gestantem, peractisque ritè obsequiis juxtâ sedem (ipsi regi Gustavo destinatum) eum collocant, quem illic stantem, (sedere scilicet deputato non licet) scriba juramento ordinis, in ipsius regis animam onerat.

Honoratissimus verò dominus Dudleius Carletonus vicecomes Dorcestriæ, et vice-camerarius regis, secundus introducit per Kellium, & Sarisburium, deputatus ipse celsissimi principis, Henrici principis Auranæ (uti ex literis principibus gallicè conscriptis patebat) et jusjurandum simile, scribâ similiter præeunte informam verborum præstat.

Tertius ingreditur honoratissimus D. Theophilus Howard comes Suffolciæ V portuum guardianus, adque sedem suam, ducentibus Dorsetio, & Hollandio, collocatus, vestimenta ordinis illic induit, juratque.

Finitis non multò post divinis, ordine omnes in palatium ascendunt, fugantque vespertinas tenebras accensæ passim lampades; & Suffolcius quidem in aulam Sangeorgianam cum reliquis commilitonibus cœnatum abiit, sed deputati personæ, quas sustinebant, statim deposuere.

Craftino mane, horâ quasi nonâ, Supremus (longissimo tam commilitonum quam officiariorum, et affectuarum, ordinis plurimorum, ordine præeunte) sub portabili testudine bolsericâ, & auro clarè intertextâ, in capellam Sancti Georgii per anteriores palatii areas, pedibus descendit, statimque inchoantur matutinæ.

Inceptâ verò litanîâ, Supremum è choro deducunt, per navim ecclesiæ, cæterorum omnium anteambulones, sacri symphoniaci dalmaticis induti: totum dein cæmeterium, quod capellæ ad austrum adjacet, devotissima processione supplicantes obeunt; redeunt denique in capellam per orientale claustrum, et peractâ, tandem
cum

cum oblationibus usitatis secundâ quoque liturgiâ, in palatium eâdem cum pompâ se conferunt denud.

Serenissima Regina toto tempore, quo oblationes, & processio fiebant, spectabat è diversis capellæ fenestris. Aderant etiam atque spectabant magnâ cum reverentiâ Legati tam Venetiarum, quam confœderati Belgii: quibus divissim, ex adverso oratorii in utroque latere chori, decanus Windesoriensis commodum, pro re & tempore, suggestum paraverat.

A meridie, horâ ferè quartâ, Supremus se cum commilitonibus confert in in domum capitularem capellæ, quæritque ecquid esset quod præsentî consultatione indigeret.

Ibi, (inter alia) scriba ordinis inopiam vasorum sacrorum in mensâ capellæ significavit, ex prioribus capituli decretis jampridem suppleri oportuisse. Uno igitur omnium voto decretum est, quod omnes commilitones curabunt, ante, sequentem Sancti Georgii anniversarium, (futurique deinceps omnes, intra annum post electionem suam) decano & capitulo Windesoriensi numerandas viginti libras (ad minimum) in usum altaris per ipsos (sub restrictâ tamen ratione commissionariis reddendâ, quoties jusserint) impendendas. Rogatus autem Supremus à commilitonibus ut & ipse (in omnium exemplum) donum aliquod conferret, libentissimè annuit.

Decretum est etiam, ut in oblationibus debinc faciendis, ipsius Supremi exemplo (devotissimo, ô Deus! & summè pio) genua singuli humillimè flecterent: Quod & dicto suo omnes impræsentiarum, & die sequente; (in egregiam Dei gloriam, & in obedientiæ suæ & christianæ pietatis singulare testimonium) factio suo sanctissimè comprobarunt.

Subjungit denique Supremus, loca ordinis gemina jam vacare, ex morte scilicet grandævi comitis Wigornensis unum, alterum ex infelici fato ducis Buckinghamiæ (quem sicarii ex ipso acheronte, accersit parricidalis cultellus ante mensam abripuerat:) cæterum haud sibi in animo esse exterum aliquem principem hoc tempore proponere, adeoque liberum ipsis esse, ad electionem jam procedere.

Itur, igitur, in chorum, ibique intereâ dum canitur hymnus, post secundam lectionem, orditur cancellarius scrutinium: peractisque demum sed sero vespere, sacris vespertinis, lampadum magna vis accenditur, rediturque in palatium,

Die jovis, horâ matutinarum, in domum capitularem denud per ambulacrum boreale pergitur, ubi cancellarius Supremo acceptum pridè scrutinium electionis exhibet.

Perpenso itaque scrutinio, Supremus honoratissimi domini Wilielmum Compton, comitem Northamptoniæ, & Walliæ præsidem, electum pronunciat, (reservato secundo loco in aliud tempus) quem Pembrokius, & Montgomerus statim introducunt in capitulum, præsentem verò, atque ad genua, cum gratiarum actione, provolutum, Supremus ipse induit vittâ byssinâ cæruleâ, cum icone Sancti Georgii appensa: Dein Pembrochius annectit tibiæ ejus subligar ordinis.

Euntes inde in chorum præcedit (sed sine habitu ordinis) Northamptonius, & ante sedem sibi destinatam perstat, aperto capite, dum sacra omnia cum oblationibus peraguntur.

Benedictione ad postremum acceptâ, redeunt omnes in palatium.

Vacabat jam locus prælati, ex obitu egregii præsulis Wintoniensis, Lancelotti Andrews, Τῆ Πάυ, cujus incomparabilem sanctimoniam, eruditionem, integritatem, charitatem, constantiam, omne ævum meritis admirabitur, ejusque vices supplebat episcopus Dunelmensis.

Scrutinium electionis Gustavi Adolphi regis Sueciæ, et Henriçi principis Auraniæ, &c. in nobilissimum ordinem Garterii.

Anno 1627, Aprilis 22. Solennitate Sancti Georgii appropinquante, Supremus sacellum Albaulense Westmonasterii adiit in vespertinis, publiceque eâ nocte cœnavit cum commilitonibus.

In crastino, qui Sancti Georgii erat, sacellum denuò solenniter aditur, atque inde devotissimâ processione, extima aulae area circumlustratur, (spectante e fenestrâ, serenissimâ reginâ) rediturque ad sacras oblationes faciendas.

Ante vespertinas ejus diei Supremus in capitulo significat, cum tria jam loca vacent, placere sibi, ut de exteris principibus, (quorum nominatio ad se solum spectat) eligant regem Sueciæ, & principem Auranîæ: tertius verò locus ipsorum arbitrio atque optioni relinquitur.

Sacellum confestim adeunt, ubi dum decantatur hymnus, [magnificat anima] scrutinium electionis initur à cancellario in hanc formam.

N O M I N A B A N T.

	PRINCIPES.	BARONES.	EQUITES.
Comes Berkîæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Percy.	Johan. Ogle.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Russel.	Georg. Goring.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Vere.	Johan. Burroughs.
Com. Hollandiæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Percy.	Rich. Weston.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Mandeville.	Georg. Goring.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Carleton.	Thom. Germyn.
Com. Carlioliæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Percy.	Rich. Weston.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Vere.	Georg. Goring.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Spenfer.	Thom. Germyn.
Com. Salisburîæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Scroop.	Rich. Weston.
	Principem Auranîæ.	North.	Georg. Goring.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Carleton.	Johan. Ogle.
Dux Bucking- hamiæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Spenfer.	Johan. Burroughs.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Harvy.	Edw. Conway.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Vere.	Car. Rich.
Com. Rutlandiæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Scroop.	Georg. Mannors.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Russel.	Johan. Burroughs.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	North.	Sackville Trevor.
Com. Banburîæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. La Ware.	Edw. Howard.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Russel.	Car. Rich.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Vere.	Georg. Goring.
Com. Kelliæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Percy.	Johan. Ogle.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Vere.	Car. Morgan.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	La Ware.	Johan. Burroughs.
Com. Mongogemerîæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Percy.	Rich. Weston.
	Principem Auranîæ.	Russel.	Car. Morgan.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Vere.	Johan. Burroughs.
Com. Pem- brokiæ	Regem Sueciæ.	Dnos. Clifford.	Rich. Weston.
	Principem Auranîæ.	La Ware.	Car. Morgan.
	Comitem Suffolciæ.	Montague.	Johan. Burroughs.

Com. Sufflexiæ	{ Regem Sueciæ.	D ^{nos} . Scroop.	Car. Morgan.
	{ Principem Auranæ.	Vere.	Johan. Burroughs.
	{ Comitem Suffolciæ.	North.	Georg. Goring.

Finitis tandem scrutinio, & vespertinis, itur ad cænam.

Celebratur capitulum in crastino, in privatiore camerâ, acceptoque scrutinio, Supremus electos pronunciat in nobilissimum ordinem, regem Sueciæ, principem Auranæ, & comitem Suffolciæ, statuitque, ad priores duos mittenda per legatos insignia ordinis: comitem vero Suffolciæ introducunt Sufflexius, atque Pembrochius; Supremusque ipsum ornat insigni Sancti Georgii circa collum; tibiæ verò subligaculum adstringit Sufflexius: sed audito Suffolcium militari ordine nunquam donatum fuisse, Supremus distracto statim gladio, eum creat equitem.

Itur dein ad sacellum, atque dum sacra peraguntur, & concio (erat enim dies Martis) habetur, Suffolcius perstitit ante sedem suam.

Exeuntes tandem exiunt se indumentis ordinis, atque ea finitur solennitas.

The Garter sent by his Majesty to the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden, upon his Election, and this his Instalment in the most noble Order, did excel all others, presented by former Sovereigns, for Richness and Glory; each Letter of the Motto being composed of Diamonds; the Inventory of which, from the Transcript of the Counter-part, sign'd by Dr. *Christopher Wren*, then Dean of *Windfor*, and seven of the Canons of that College, 24 *Maii*, Anno 14. Car. I. is exhibited, by Mr. *Asmole*, in his History of the Garter, chap. 6. p. 204.

N U M B. IX.

M A I I 11, 1633. Suprema majestas iter Scotiam versus instituit, ingenti pompâ aulicâ famulante, ad equorum quatuor millia, aut plus eo.

Aderant è nobilissimo ordine honoratissimi domini Pembrochius, Montgomerius, Arundelius, Surrius, Salisburius, Carliolius, Hollandrius, Suffolcius, Portlandius, Hamiltonius, Lennox, ex officiariis verò decanus Windesoriensis scriba, & Maxwellius ostiarius, qui nobilium permultos in ædibus suis Enervici in accessu primo, regemque ipsum ididem in recessu è Scotiâ lautissimè excepit.

Junij 13. Appellit Supremus Edenburgum; die 18, coronatur ritu sacro, augustissimoque; 20 inchoata comitia quæ vocant parlamentaria, octavâ post die felicissimè terminantur.

Primo die Julij, Supremus, varias regni urbeculas visurus, Edenburgo movet, reditque die decimo.

Sexto decimo Julij, Bervicum redux factus, atque inde die crastino profectus, equis, curribusque dispositis, vehens, concitatissimo cursu (Dei optimi maximi, fuspitatoris, perductoris, reductoris beneficio) Greenvicum pervenit, die Sabbati à meridie, qui Julij erat vicesimus.

NUMB. X.

Martii 25. MATTHEW WREN, episcopus Herefordienfis, decanatu Windesoriensi decedens, officium quoque scribæ ordinis in sacratissimas Supremi manus sponte resignat; frater autem ipfius CHRISTOPHORUS WREN, S. S. T. P. & domino regi a facris domesticis, in utrumque locum Supremi gratia fufficitur. Anno domini 1635, Caroli R. II.

*P*Er omnium ipsorum annalium novo scribæ feliciter occurrunt primò memoranda auspicia regni Carolini (Martii 27.) anno ejusdem undecimo prælucentia.

Quorum ductu deinceps honoratissimi ordinis historiam ordiri, fausti cujusdam ominis fuit.

Mox enim insequuta est memorabilis illa legatio domini Johannis baronis Skytte, cum mandatis serenissimæ dominæ suæ Suecorum Christianæ reginæ, missi, ut ornamenta, & signa illustrissimi ordinis, quæ invictissimus rex Gustavus Adolphus cum vitâ deposuerat, in sacratissimi Supremi manus humillimè resignaret; adeoque non solum præscriptis legibus ordinis satisfaceret, verum etiam moram excusaret.

Adjiceret insuper serenissimi reginam cum gente Suecorum universâ, tanti habere Supremi in deferendis hisce honoribus affectionem inusitatam, ut nunquam intermittat ea procurare, quæ ad Supremi ipsius, & Britannicæ gentis splendorem amplificandum conducere.

Non patitur annalium brevitâ copiosam illam lautamque argumentorum suppellectilem recensere, quâ nobilissimus ille legatus, pro singulari facundiâ suâ, universa ordinis perisclididis decora accuratius prosequutus est.

Ex adverso tamen, hæc ipsa silentio prorsus præterisse, non tam supinitatis quam sceleris fuisset. Neque enim ab exteri cujusquam commilitonis virtutibus & meritis, major unquam augustissimo ordini gloria accessisse reperitur, quam heroica istius principis facinora eidem accreverunt.

Brevi responso adbibito, Supremus domino Francisco Crane, cancellario ordinis, vices præstitit mentem suam explicatius tradendi.

Methodum autem istam verè augustam, quâ Supremus legatum, à duobus commilitonibus primoribus, in cameram suam introductum; quâ, ipsa ornamenta restitui; quâ, officia tanto negotio famulantia disponi jusserrat; quum à magistro cæremoniarum domino Johan. Finet, viro cultissimo, exactè sit composita, ipseque orationum formulæ ab eodem collectæ sint, sciens omitto.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in
the High Court of Parliament.

*The most humble Answer of Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, to
the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him by the
Honourable Commons House of Parliament for several Crimes
and Misdemeanors.*

THE said Bishop of Ely is pressed with very great Sorrow and Grief of Heart, that so honourable an Assembly of the Commons House should hold him worthy of so heavy and sore a Charge: nevertheless, so far as in that Integrity of his own Heart and Conscience, he is assur'd he is not guilty of being, or ever having been, popishly, or superstitiously affected, or of endeavouring to suppress powerful and painful Preaching, or of introducing any thing that tended to Superstition or Idolatry, or of disturbing the Estates of the Ministers, People, and Churches of *Norwich* Diocese, when he was Bishop there; or of disquieting and hazarding the Estates, Consciences, and Lives of any of his Majesty's Subjects there, or of bringing in Profaneness, Ignorance, or Disobedience in the People: but that the true Aim and Intention of all his Actions was only to promote the Glory of God, by the Increase of Devotion, and of Decency, and Uniformity in the Church: He is thereby encouraged to make and present this his modest, and just, and humble Answer before your Honours, of whose high Wisdom, Justice, Moderation, and Nobleness, he is, by long and daily Experience, so fully assured, that he doth, with all Readiness, and lowly Affiance, submit himself and his whole Cause to the good Pleasure of Almighty God, and to your Lordships most honourable Examination and Judgment.

The Charge consisting of twenty-five Articles, he maketh his several and distinct Answers to every one of them; in the same Order where in they are charged upon him: Humbly craving the accustomed Benefit, that he may be admitted to make his further Explanation and Proof, as Occasion shall require.

TO the first Article this Defendant answereth and saith, that it is not possible for him to make any just Reply herein, except it be first declared how many Churches and Chancels are intended by the said Article, and which they are.

He further saith, that it being now (almost) six Years since he was made Bishop of *Norwich*, he can neither affirm or deny what was order'd or enjoyn'd by him, touching the raising of any particular Chancels: but he humbly referreth himself to such Acts and Registries of the Consistory in that Behalf, as shall be produced against him.

Nevertheless he saith, that he never did enjoin that any Chancel should be raised three or four Steps: but he remembereth, that in *St. Margaret's Church* in *Ipswich*, finding a Tomb which had been placed (not above twenty Years before, and without any Licence from the Ordinary) at the entering into the

Chancel, and in the very Middle thereof, and was so high and so great, that it did much incumber the Use of the said Chancel, and did quite obscure and hinder the Sight of the Communion-table, and of the Minister, when he executed the divine Service thereat; he professed that he would complain thereof, to cause the same to be removed, or taken down entire; whereupon it was desired by Sir *William Witbipoll's* Friends (whose Father's Tomb it was) that in regard the said Knight was beyond the Seas, they might raise the upper End of the Chancel (being large enough beyond the said Tomb) and make it of such a competent Height, that the Tomb might be no Inconvenience or Hindrance to the Execution of divine Service there: To which the Bishop assented, as aiming at nothing but due Convenience; and thereupon as he believeth after a Year's Expectation, the said Knight not returning, his Agents did at their own Charge voluntarily perform the said raising of Steps, as they had desired.

He believeth also, That at *St. Margaret's* in *Lynn*, by the Erection of some Seats, with Steps up thereunto, to a great Height, between the Body of the Church and the Chancel, the said Chancel was wholly obscured, so that the Minister could neither be heard nor seen in his Ministration. — For Remedy whereof, the Chancellor of *Norwich*, at the Visitation, giving Order that the said over high Seats (so offensive to the Church, and to the divine Service) should be altered, the Mayor of *Lynn*, and some other of the said Town, came unto this Defendant, to certify him thereof, and to intreat that the Seats might be suffered to remain, desiring that they might raise the upper end of the Chancel with Steps, in so convenient a Manner, as that the Minister might well be heard and seen at the Communion Service. All which, this Defendant being utterly ignorant of the Place, and having Confidence of the Chancellor's Discretion, according to that Power which was by Patent committed to him, did by his Letters wholly refer unto the said Chancellor, who if he did any thing therein contrary to Right, this Defendant humbly craveth, that he may not be answerable for the same. — As for *St. Edmund's-bury*, he believeth, that the one Church had Steps long before he came to be Bishop of that Diocese: And in the other Church, he hath heard that they were made by Order from his Successor.

He also denieth, that the Chancels wherein any Step was raised while he was Bishop there, had continued even and plain all the Time of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign: and they ought so to have continued. The Rubrick indeed which was made 1 *Eliz.* ordereth that the Chancels shall remain as they have done in Times past, meaning thereby (as the Defendant humbly supposeth) that the Chancels should not be demolished or defaced, but should be preserved for the Use of the Parish: but yet not forbidding, that any thing should be done therein, tending to Decency, and the Conveniency of the Administration: how else is it, that any Tombs have been placed, or any Seats erected in Chancels, since the first *Elizabeth*?

He also humbly conceiveth, that, as at the Reading-desk, and at the Pulpit, Steps may be raised up for the more Convenience of those Administrations, at the Discretion of the Ordinary; so also in the Chancels, where the Communion Service is to be read, and the holy Sacrament administered, a Step or two without Offence might be raised, that the Minister might thereby be more conveniently heard by the Parishioners, in his Administration there. —

Lastly he saith, That finding that most of the Chancels which he viewed in that Diocese to be so conveniently raised before he came there, he commended the same for the Conveniency thereof; and believeth, that he might recommend it to his Chancellor, both in respect of that Conveniency, and also of Uniformity, where the same might be duly and fairly observed: But in any otherwise

otherwise he intended not, nor gave he any Injunction about it; neither did he in his Articles insert any Enquiry touching the same. And whether the Table were seen or not seen, this Defendant never regarded; but that the Minister in his Administration there, might be the better seen and heard by the People, and the People seen of the Minister, he conceived it so meet and requisite, that he did enquire in his Articles (*Cap. 3. Art. 13.*) whether the Prospect of the Church or Chancel were hindered; and afterwards gave his Directions to the contrary. [*Direct. 21.*]

To the second Article he answereth and denieth, that he did in the Year 1636, order that the Communion Table should be set at the East-end of the Chancel altarwise, and not to be removed from thence.

And he saith, that he was ever so far from having any Thought or Intention of resembling the popish Manner of Altars, that he believeth that he never did by any Words of his own, so much as name the Word *Altar*, in any of his Articles or Directions; much less did he ever term the Table an Altar.

And whereas he mentioned the North-end of the Communion Table, he humbly conceiveth, that (even by that) he did the more distinguish it from an Altar: For that the Altars being very nearly equilateral, or four square, the North-end, or South-end of an Altar, hath never been heard of. Only in 1 *Eliz.* when the Use of Altars was but as yesterday out of their Eyes, and the Name of Altars but newly out of their Mouths, Custom of Speech led them to call the North-end, or North part of the Table, the North-side thereof, as they had used to call it the North-side of the Altar. And he the rather believeth this to be so, because that in 2 *Eliz.* when they best understood their own Meaning, the Queen causing the Liturgy to be translated into *Latin*, the Rubrick before the Communion Service reads it *Ad septentrionalem mensæ partem stans*, and not *ad septentrionale latus*, so that North-part, North-side, and North-end were all one.

He further saith, that it was necessary the Rubrick should appoint the Table at the Time of the Communion, to stand in the Body of the Church or the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer were appointed to be said; for otherwise in sundry Places where they had no Chancel, they should not have had any Table, or any Communion or divine Service.

But where Chancels were, it was by Law, as he humbly conceiveth, appointed, that the Table should stand up at the East-end of the Chancel. The Words of the Queen's Injunctions, (set forth, 2 *Eliz.* 1559.) being, that the Holy Table in every Church shall be set in the Place where the Altar stood: and that, if for more Convenience, at the Time of the Distribution of the Communion, it were set in any other Place of the Chancel, yet after the Communion done, from time to time it should be placed where it stood before. Now these Injunctions are allowed and confirmed by the Queen's Advertisements, *Cap. 1. Art. 3.* And those Advertisements are authorised by Law, 1 *Eliz. Cap. 2. Sect. penult.*

He also saith, that his directing to have the Communion Table placed at the East-end of the Chancel was done by him, as well for an Uniformity to all cathedral and collegiate Churches, which he conceived did receive the Usage which had been therein from the Beginning of the Reformation; and to all the King's Chapels, and to very many Parish Churches, wherein it had never been otherwise: as also for a double Convenience, especially of the smaller Churches and Parishes, that, inasmuch as by the metropolitical Injunction, they were to make Rails for the Communion Tables, therefore to set the said Tables thus, did tend both to less Charge and less Incumbrance: for if the said Tables should have been placed any where else in the Chancel, they would have taken up both more Room, and more Cost in the Railing.

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He further addeth, that an Act of State made at the Council Board by the King himself, with the Advice of the Metropolitan, and the rest of the Privy Council (who were all Commissioners for Causes ecclesiastical) about the placing the Table in that wise at St. Gregory's Church in London, Anno 1633, was as a Rule to lead this Defendant (as being the Ordinary) to give Directions for the same. Especially considering, that the fore-mentioned Advertisements 7 *Eliz.* do directly imply, that the Table should stand there, even at the Time of the Communion. [*Item*, they shall decently cover the Table with a Carpet, and with a fair Linnen Cloth at the Time of the Ministration, and shall set the Ten Commandments upon the East-wall over the said Table, *Cap. 2. Art. 7.*] for if over it at the Time of Ministration, then was it at the Time to stand under the said East-wall.

Nevertheless, he humbly supposeth, that as well by his Articles enquiring only, whether the Table did ordinarily stand up at the East end, as also by his Directions, that the Table should always stand there, unless the Ordinary gave Direction otherwise, he did thereby intimate, that the Communion Table might and should be, upon any due Occasion, for more convenient hearing or communicating, be removed not only at the Communion Time, but at other Times when there was no Communion; and to this end he expressed himself afterwards, for some Churches in the said Diocese, as at St. Edmund's-bury, Lavenham, and other Places, where it was certified, that the End of the Chancels was too far distant from the People in the Church. And at Yarmouth (from the Beginning) he had given Order for the more Convenience of the People, that although there was a Rail by the Vicar-general's Appointment, placed towards the East-end of the said Chancel, yet the Communion Table should always stand without and beneath the said Rail, in the Body of the said Church.

To the third Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he in Anno 1636. did enjoin that there should be a Rail before the Table.

But he saith, that it being presented by most of the Presentments in his primary Visitation, that the Vicar-general had in the Archbishop's metropolitanical Visitation enjoined them to set up Rails: many also coming to this Defendant, and craving to be directed, in what Manner and Fashion the said Rails should fittest be, this Defendant did, after his Visitation was past, give a general Direction, that it was fittest to set the same from one side of the Chancel to the other; thereby aiming at the least Expence about the same that might be.

He also denieth, that he accounted the Place within the Rail too holy for the People; and is heartily sorry, that they who gave this Information to the Hon. House of Commons, do account God's People as Dogs: for so only were the Words of this Defendant's Direction, that the Rails should be so thick with Pillars that Dogs might not get in. Against which abominable Profanation of Dogs to come and defile the Lord's Table, he humbly conceiveth, no Care or Provision can be over much; and he is ready to prove, that in a poor Country Parish in his Diocese, upon a Christmas Day, while the Minister was in his Sermon concerning the Participation of the Communion, a Dog came into the Chancel, and leaping upon the Communion-table (which was not railed in, took the Bread, prepared for the Communion, in his Mouth, and ran away with it; whereby they could have no Communion that Day, there being not another Loaf of white Bread in the Town, except that which the Dog had defiled.

Yea he further saith, that the said Rails do preserve the Lord's Table from sundry other Inconveniences and profane Abuses; not only of Boys rioting,
leaning

leaning, stepping, leaping, or throwing Hats upon it, but also of sitting and standing upon it; yea Servants have heretofore been seen to hold young Children upon it till they defiled it.

He also saith, that Rails and Inclosures before the Communion Table were not a Thing newly or of late taken up: For in the great Churches of *St. Paul*, and of *Westminster*, of *York*, of *Norwich*, and of divers other Cathedral Churches; also in *St. Gregory's*, *St. Edmund's*, *St. Margaret's*, and *St. Michael's*, and other Parish Churches in *Norwich*, and in *St. Margaret's at Westminster*; *St. Martin's in campis*; *St. Michael's in Crooked-lane*, *St. Saviour's*, *St. Giles at Cripplegate*, and sundry more in *London*, there have been Rails at the Communion Table Time out of Mind. At *Hadley* also, and *Boxford*, and *Wilby*, and many other Churches of *Norwich* Diocese.

Therefore, that the Metropolitan might by Law enjoin Things of such Use and Convenience, never entred into this Defendant's Mind to doubt. Considering that the Canons of our Church made 1571, charge the Church-wardens [to see that all Things be diligently observed which pertain to their Offices, and which are conceived in the Queen's Injunctions, and in the Book of Advancements; and that shall be set forth by the Archbishops and Bishops in every their Visitation, for the Use of the Churches, *Chap. v. Parag. 11.*] And also they charge Deans [to foresee that all Injunctions set forth by the Queen, or enjoined by the Bishop in his Visitation, be diligently observed, *Chap. ii. Parag. 6.*] we have the printed Injunctions also of *Richard Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, 1570, or thereabout. And of *Thomas Cooper*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, Anno 1571, and of some others. So that it appeared to have been usual since the Reformation, and lawful for Archbishops and Bishops, at their Visitations, to enjoin Things convenient and useful for the Church.

Lastly, That some of the People were punished for stepping within the Rail, is God knows who, by God knows whom, where and when: But this Defendant saith, That one *Daniel Whayman*, of *Monks-fobam in Suffolk*, being in great Danger of Punishment before his Majesty's Commissioners, for having disturbed the Minister in a very grievous Manner at the Administration of the Holy Communion, till it pleased the Court to refer the Matter to this Defendant as Ordinary there. He upon the said *Whayman's* Submission, was easily induced to intreat the Court that he might be dismissed from any other Punishment.

To the fourth Article, this Defendant answereth, and denieth, that he in the Year 1636, did order all Pews to be altered, that they might kneel with their Faces Eastwards towards the Table set altar-wise; much less, that he he did so, the more to advance blind Superstition; or that he did order, that there should be no Seats about, or up even with the Communion Table.

But this he saith, that whereas the ordering of Seats in Churches doth of right appertain to the Ordinary, he in his Visitation Articles, did only inquire, in what Manner the said Pews and Seats in their Churches and Chancels were ordered. And that this he did by way of Prevention for Times following, that the gentle Intimation, which such an Enquiry gave, might put Men in Mind hereafter to avoid both a foul Disorder and a great Profanation, which in many Places he had observed. The Disorder was, that every one had taken upon them to make Seats in Churches after their own Fancy, for Fashion and Height, observing neither Uniformity nor Decency, which is a very beautiful Thing in Mens private Houses, and much more doth become the House of God.—The Profanation was, that he had found the Seats in some Churches so ordered, as that they could not conveniently kneel down in the Time of Prayer to worship the Lord.

Wherefore, to advance, not blind Superstition, but Holiness and christian Devotion, these Things he aimed at by the Particulars of that Enquiry. First, that in God's House, by the observing of due Order and outward Comeliness, Men might be put in Mind of the Beauty of inward Holiness. Secondly, that God's House being ordained for an House of Prayer, the People might have an Opportunity (and not any Impediment) to put themselves into the Posture of Prayer, to kneel down and humble themselves in God's Service. Thirdly, that as much as might be with Convenience, they might look, or turn their Faces all one Way. A thing (as he humbly conceiveth) very expedient, because otherwise Mens Devotions are much disturbed by gazing in one another's Faces at Prayer; which hath begotten an unseemly Custom in many, to hide their Eyes with their Hands, or to hold their Hats before their Faces, as if they were ashamed of the Worship of God.

Upon that Supposition then, that to avoid this Inconvenience, and to promote Uniformity, it would be fitting, that when Seats are hereafter to be made, or alter'd, to order them so, as that the People (as far as Convenience would permit, might kneel all one and the same way; which way was fit then to chuse, of East, West, North, and South, but Eastward. For hath not all *Christendom* generally observed it, from the Beginning, in the building of Churches towards the East in all Nations? Although by so doing they did that, which the Heathen had done before them in the building of their idolatrous Temples; and contrary to that which the *Jews* had ever observed, who in their time were the true Church of God. It was also the constant Observation of the Primitive Church in the Time of Prayer, to kneel towards the East [*Ad Orientem convertimus*, says Gregory Nyssen, *Lib. de Orat.* and St. *Augustin*, *Lib. ii. de Serm. Dom. Cap. 19.* *Ad Orientem adoramus*, says *Athanasius*, *Quest. Necess. 14.* *Speclamus Orientem cum precamur*, says St. *Basil*, *Lib. de Spir. Cap. 27.* *Epiphanius*, *Lib. I. Tom. I. Cap. 19.*] And that it was so accustomed here in *England*, after the Reformation, appears by the ancient Forms of their Seats in many Churches, and by Mr. *Cartwright's* Complaint, that the Minister at Prayer was in the Chancel with his Back to the People: And by the Rubrick before *Te Deum*, appointing the Minister, when he reads the Lessons, to stand and turn himself so as he may best be heard.

This Defendant therefore could have no other Intention in that Enquiry but this, that the East being the highest End of the Church, and the holy Table standing there, by kneeling all that way, People would give no Offence or Disturbance to one another, and would also the better hear and see, what the Minister said and did in his Administration.

And to the same Purpose, that in the Time of the holy Communion, Mens Thoughts might be less disturbed with other Objects, and the Minister himself, and his Administration be less liable to Disturbance; and the Place itself be freer for that holy Service, and for Access of the Communicants, he enquired whether any Seats were above the Table, or up even with it, as holding it a thing, in his own Judgment, under Correction, for divers Causes very unfitting.

To the Fifth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he en-joined the Minister, after some Part of the Morning-prayer, to go to the Table set altarwise, as to a more holy Place: For he always accounted it to be tablewise, and all Parts of the Church to be alike holy.

But this he saith, that the Church by Law hath directed several Parts of the divine Service to be executed in several Parts and Places of the Church, As Baptism to be given at the Font, [*Rubrick before Baptism.*] Matrimony to begin in the Body of the Church. [*Rubrick before Matrimony.*] and to be finished at the Lord's Table, [*Rubrick after the Blessing.*] The Order of Burial to begin at the Church Style, and so to proceed either into the Church,

or towards the Grave, [*Rubrick before Burial.*] The Thansgiving for Women after Childbirth, to be at the Table, [*Rubrick before it.*] The Communion to be part in the Pulpit, [*Rubrick before the Communion.*] And part where they are accustomed to say the Litany, [*Rubrick before the Psalm Miserere.*] As for that Part of the Morning-prayer which is called the Communion-service, the Rubrick before the Communion appoints, that it shall be said at the Table; and the Rubrick after the Collects orders, that upon Holidays, if there be no Communion, yet all shall be said that is appointed at the Communion, until the End of the Homily. And where then shall the Communion-service be said, but at the Communion-table? If no; how comes it then, that for the Sermon or Homily (be there Communion, or be there none) they go to the Place for the Sermon; that is, into the Pulpit; but that it was settled thus upon the Reformation, appears by the constant Custom ever observed in all cathedral and collegiate, and in many parochial Churches, Time out of Mind, and also in the King's Chapel. (Mr. Thomas Foster, Parson of St. Matthew's in Ipswich, a Man of great Age, did affirm in open Synod there, that for many Years after he was first Minister there, the ten Commandments, and the rest of the Service was never otherwise read then at the Table,) and by the Testimony of divers ancient Men, Ministers above fifty Years since; and by Mr. Cartwright's own Quarrel in these Words, "After Morning-prayer, the Minister to say other Prayers, climeth "up to the further End of the Chancel, as far as the Wall will let him, "Pag. 105, L. 1."

He further saith, that the Practice which he saw of this Usage in the Presence of the supreme Governor of the Church, before this Defendant came into his daily Attendance, viz. in the Journey into Scotland, in the Year 1633, and in all Parish Churches where his Majesty came in his Summer Progresses, might be Inducement enough, if not Warrant, to this Defendant, to give that Direction, which he did in this Matter.

But he also alledgeth, that Queen Elizabeth's Advertisements say, that the Common Prayer shall be said, or sung in such Place, as the Ordinary shall think meet, for the Largeness, or Straightness of the Church, and Choir, so that the People may be most edified; and the first Rubrick before the Morning-prayer saith, that the Prayers shall be used in the accustomed Place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel; except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary. Now the accustomed Place of Prayer, when that Rubrick was made, was the Choir, in all Churches that has Choirs, as appears by the first Rubrick; that the Common Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. saying, the Priest standing in the Choir, shall begin the Mattins. Queen Elizabeth also ordered in her Injunctions, that to say the Litany, the Priest, with other of the Choir, shall come and kneel in the midst of the Church; which is as much as to say, they shall come forth of the Choir or Chancel. He therefore humbly conceiveth, that if the Ordinary hath Power by Law, to determine where the Common Prayer shall be said; and also, to remove it out of the accustomed Place, when he thinks meet; how much rather might this Defendant give Direction to have it read in the Place which he saw approved of by so great Examples, and which he found to be the accustomed Place, when that Law and Rubrick was made, that is to say, at the Table? And how could the Consciences, either of Minister or People, (if they made any Conscience of Obedience) be justly offended and grieved, that a Thing so consonant to Law and good Example, was put into Practice?

For if that be made the Reason of the Offence, because the Service itself was unprofitable to the People, who could not hear, as this Charge saith, what was said or prayed there: This Defendant humbly answereth, that he

was

was so careful of all Convenience in that Point, that where the Minister, (raising his Voice as he ought to do, though some, of evil Purpose, would not) was not fully heard there, he should go nearer to the People; and the Table also, if need were, should be set lower down, as at *St. Edmund's-bury*, *Lavenham*, and other Places; and at *Yarmouth*, that for this very Cause the Minister, even when there was no Communion, should not go to the Table to read the Service there. And this, in the Visitation, was often said by the Commissioners, that if any Church were over large, upon due Information thereof made, Direction should be given, where to stand, that they might be sufficiently heard.

And therefore, he humbly prayeth, the Consideration in this Point may thus far be had, seeing the Complaint is laid, because the People could not hear the said Communion-service, and that the said Complaint can only be meant of a very few of the People, such as sat very remote, and in the utmost Parts of some very large Churches (scarce one such of forty throughout the Diocese.) How necessarily it is inferred, that in every Congregation it could not but be very profitable to all the People, in a far greater Measure than it had been before this Defendant came into that Diocese, because then, not in one Church of forty, any of the People did hear a Word of the said Service. For generally, it was not read at all in the Churches: but after the second Lesson, they sung a Psalm, and so the Sermon began, and that was all they did (a few Places excepted) leaving out the whole Communion-service, or the most Part of it, when there was no Communion.

For the general Redress wherein caused by this Defendant's Care, he is ready to make it appear as well by Letters of Joy, Applause, and Thanks, written from the Dean and Canons, the Chancellor, sundry Gentlemen, and grave Ministers, as also by Testimony of many other godly and worthy Men, how far their Consciences were from Offence; and on the contrary, how much they were joyed for the due Reverence, and compleat Observance of God's Service.

Lastly, therefore, he humbly prayeth, that it may be observed, that the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, sayeth, that for the Resolution of all Doubts, concerning the Manner how to understand, and to do, and to execute the Things contained in the Service-book, the Bishop of the Diocese shall by his Discretion, take Order for the same, so that his Order be not contrary to any Thing contained in the same. And if the Bishop do doubt, he may have Resolution thereof from the Archbishop. This Preface being (as he humbly conceiveth) confirmed by Law, and the Archbishop's Resolution therein being also publickly known; this Defendant hopeth, that he did nothing in this Point (especially upon the Reasons before alledged) but what was by Law warrantable.

To the Sixth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that the Bowings and Adorations which he used, were superstitious Gestures, or that they were dangerous Examples to draw others to the like; or that they are any Scandal or Offence to sound, sincere, or well-affected Christians; or, that his Chaplains or others followed his Example of bowing, after the Table was set altarwise.

But this he humbly acknowledgeth, that when he entereth into any Church, or Chapel, consecrated to God's Service, or departeth from it; as also, when he approacheth to the Lord's Table, or recedeth from it, and when in the Time of the Divine Service, the Lord Jesus is mentioned, he performeth an Adoration by lowly and reverently bowing of his Body; the Reason of all which he humbly offereth in these ensuing Arguments.

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He began so to do, by the Example of that learned and holy Prelate, Bishop *Andrews*, now with God, under whom this Defendant was brought up from his Youth, and had depended upon him more than forty Years since, who constantly and religiously practised the same upon all Occasions; this Defendant therefore, even then, considering with himself, that the said Bishop being an ancient, grave Divine, of high Account for his Piety, Knowledge, and great Learning, and one who had conversed with most of these holy Fathers, which lived in this Church at the Beginning of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*, it could not be but that he had received the same from their Usage and Practice.

As his own Years and Studies increased, he found first, the bowing at the Name of the Lord Jesus, had not only been practised by the Clergy, but had also been enjoined to all the People, ever since the first Reformation, as appeareth by the Injunctions, 1^o *Eliz. Cap. 52.* thereby to testify our due Acknowledgement, that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the World, in whom alone the Mercies, Graces, and Promises of God to Mankind, for this Life, and the Life to come, are fully and wholly comprised, 1^o *Jac. Can. 18.*

Secondly, the bowing before the holy Table had been anciently used in the Church of *England* by the Clergy, as appeareth by the Rule which the most noble Lords of the Garter did set unto themselves when they began to use the same Gesture under King *Henry V.* that they would do it *humiliter & ad modum ecclesiasticorum virorum*, which Usage, that it might continue still in the Church of *England* after the Reformation, appears out of Bishop *Jewell*, who in his Reply to *Harding*, allows it for a commendable Gesture, and a Token of Devotion, *Art. 3. Div. 29.* neither was it forbidden by the Injunctions of *K. Edward* or *Q. Elizabeth*, in both of which, other Gestures are prohibited. And as for any Fear of popish Superstition, Bishop *Morton*, in his Defence of this Gesture, shews, that cannot be; for that the Papists do only use it for their Opinion of Transubstantiation, and would deride us for doing it in any other respect. *Book of Sacram. p. 463.*

Lastly, for that this Defendant ever humbly conceived, that no Christian would deny that bowing or doing Adoration, was to be used as a part of God's Worship, the affirmative Act being necessarily included in the negative Precept, *non adorabis ea: ergo adorabis me*, to say nothing of the frequent Exhortations in holy Scripture so to do; and because he found in Antiquity, that it was the constant Practice of the Church of Christ, ever to use an Adoration when they enter'd into God's House. For which Purpose *venite adoremus* seems to have been placed at the very beginning of our Morning Prayer, therefore he himself was further induced to observe the same, though no Canon enjoined it, seeing Reason, Piety, and the constant Practice of Antiquity doth commend it.

Also this Defendant considered, that lifting up of the Hands, or casting down of the Eyes, or smiting the Breast, or giving a Sigh, or any other the like Gestures, as liable to just Offence as bowing is, are no way prohibited. And he could never apprehend why the using of this particular Reverence, should not be as free as is the using of no kind of Reverence at all. Specially when never yet any Exception (which he could hear of) hath been brought against it, which would not be as applyable against uncovering the Head at Entrance into God's House, or against kneeling down in the Church at a Seat, or against Men's holding their Hats before their Faces in praying.

Civily also he saw the same done at every Access to the earthly Majesty, and at the Recess from it *toties quoties*. And it is holden no Mockery in that Time, but a Sign of Duty and Loyalty, when the King is not present, to exhibit

hibit a solemn Reverence, toward the Chair of Estate in his Presence, Chamber, or in the House of Parliament, or toward his Majesty's Seat at *Windsor* Chaple and elsewhere. No more as he humbly conceiveth is it any Superstition, but a Sign of Devotion, and of an awful Apprehension of God's divine Presence, to do him Reverence, at the Approach into the House of God, or unto the Lord's Table.

For this Defendant professeth, that he never doth it otherwise but only in Sign of his habitual Intention and Preparation of Heart, to be ever if it were possible in perpetual Adoration of the Majesty of God. But because he cannot do thus he cannot imitate the twenty four Elders who have no Rest Day and Night of their falling down and worshipping before the Throne, *Apoc.* 4. nor is it possible for the weak, finite and limited Nature of Man to subsist, if he should do nothing but adore, therefore he contents himself to do it as he doth for Prayers and Thanksgivings and spiritual Rejoicings, at some special and chief Times instead of the rest: And those are wheresoever his outward Sense doth in some special sort, put him in mind of God's divine Presence.

Forasmuch then, as those Things which besides that they are dedicated to the Worship of God do also expressly bear the Name of God, do thereby at the very Sight of them, more especially mind him, of God's divine Grace and Presence, therefore them he takes, as the Occasions and Limits of the performing Adoration to God's eternal Majesty.

Now Churches and other consecrated Places are named and called the House of God: Therefore this Defendant humbly adoreth the Lord of the House, whensoever he makes Entrance into that House of his, and in performing thereof, the Ejaculation of his poor Soul is [*God be merciful to me a Sinner*] or [*Thou O Lord art worthy to receive all Honour and Glory:*] And this he would do, although there were no Table at all in the Church.

But yet the Communion Table, being also call'd the Lord's Table and God's Board, therefore he is again induced to do his Adorations to God, when he comes before it, or recedes from it. Howbeit as Bishop *Andrews* said of Prayers which the Saints used to make at the Graves of Martyrs, *Sepulcrum ipsum*, and so in this Case, *mensam ipsam non magis adorans quam parietem. ad Apol. Cap. 1. Par. 51.*

So then God is present every where, yet by more special Promise and Assistance in Places dedicated to his holy Worship; they are higher than other Places, not by any inherent, but by a relative Holiness, because of the holy Use unto which they do refer: In which kind no doubt, but he is also present at the Font, and in the Pulpits, as well as at the Table, but because the Table bears God's Name, and particularly suggests the Memorial of the hypostatical Union of God and Man, and of the venerable Mystery of Christ's Death and Passion. Bishop *Jewell Art 8. Div. 22.* therefore this Defendant limited himself to the forenamed Occasions only of performing of such Adoration unto the Lord Almighty.

As for Mr. *Nowell*, Mr. *Guesst*, and Mr. *Duncon*, this Defendant humbly answereth, that they are of Age and good Understanding, very able to answer for themselves, and as he believeth ready to shew, that they did use the same Gestures, before they came to be his Chaplains. Sure he is, that he did use that Form of Humility and Adoration, long before any Table, was by him directed to be set up at the East-wall, and before he was Bishop of *Norwich* or any where else. Therefore his setting of the Table (as is pretended) had no such Intent, and was no Inducement to him for the doing of that Reverence.

To the Seventh Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he enjoin'd all the People to do Reverence before the holy Table placed altarwise.

But he saith, that by his Articles he only inquired, whether the Communicants did come up reverently before the Lord's Table, and not sit still in their Pews to be sought all the Church over. And afterwards understanding by the Presentments, that in most of the Churches there was (by the Vicar-general's Order) a Rail before the Table, then his Direction upon the Supposal, was necessary to be, that all Communicants should come up reverently and kneel before the Rail to receive the holy Communion.

And this he did upon these Grounds. 1. The Conformity and Obedience to the Rules of the Church as he humbly conceiveth; for the Words of the Invitation before the Sacrament, are [*to draw near*] and then, if there be a Rail, that implies an Access to the Rail. For this Exhortation [*to draw near*] is not to be understood, as made to the People beneath in the Church, for them to come nearer, that is to come up into the Chancel: But it was made, when by Occasion of having offered, the Communicants were all present in the Chancel, and ready to communicate, and yet they are required to draw nearer. This appears by the Rubrick after the Offertory in King *Edward's* Service-book, directing that as many as mind not to receive the Communion shall depart out of the Choir, into the Church; but the Communicants shall tarry there still, nigh unto it, and therefore to them that stood there, is that Exhortation afterward spoken [*draw near*]; it is also by our Service-book expressly call'd coming to the Table. As in the Prayer before the Consecration, *we do not presume to come to this thy Table*; and before that in the third Exhortation, *bewail your Sins, or come not to this holy Table*: And before that in the second Rubrick for the Order of Administration, *in no wise presume to come to the Lord's Table, &c.*

2. For Uniformity among themselves; for where the most of the Parishioners did of themselves voluntarily come up before the Table, to receive the blessed Sacrament, there as he humbly conceiveth it might reasonably be desired of all the rest, that they would do so too, *ne esset schisma*, to take away all occasion of Difference and Division, especially in the holy Business.

3. For much Convenience. 1. Thereby to avoid all hazard of spilling the Bread and Wine, consecrated for the holy Communion, which many times happened by carrying the same about. — 2. Thereby to discover Recusants: For in great and numerous Congregations, the Churchwardens had no such ready way to find, who did never communicate, as to stand by and take notice of those which came before the Table to receive. 3. Thereby to discover as well those that refused to kneel reverently, at the receiving, as those that after the Delivery of the Bread and Wine to them, yet would not partake of the same. 4. To avoid all other kind of lewd Demeanours, wherewith some had been charged, as done by the Opportunity of carrying the Sacrament to private Seats. 5. For a readier Dispatch of the Service, Experience having shewed them that in great Parishes, where one Man was to administer to two or three Hundred, they did finish sooner, by an Hour or more in doing it thus; which was to the great Ease both of the Minister and the Communicants. 6. For more convenience of the Communicants. For whereas the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth* take care to have the Table so ordered, as that the Communicants may more conveniently, and in more Number communicate with the Minister, this Direction to have the People come up before the Table, did much conduce thereunto. But if they might remain where they would, and expect to have the Sacrament brought unto them, no Care then needed to be taken where the Table should stand.

He further conceiveth in all Humbleness, that the drawing of the People up to the Table to receive the holy Sacrament there, might rather have been an Argument to abate their Fear or Fancy of an Altar. For Tables are for eating and drinking at them: but from the Altars they used to carry that which was to be eaten and drunken to other Parts and Places of the Temples. In all other reformed Churches also, the Communicants do come unto the Table (and the Bread and Wine is not carried unto them) and we never heard of any Exception against it.

How therefore it should be to the Offence of the Consciences of many, or of any, this Defendant understandeth not, seeing it is a Thing grounded upon so much Reason, and also hath been practised without Offence (Time out of Mind) in many Places of the Land. As at St. Giles without Cripplegate and at *Albhallows Barking, London*, at St. Edmund's also, and at St. Michael's *Coslary in Norwich*, and in sundry other Parishes besides the cathedral and collegiate Churches. And he denieth that there was any Idolatry or Superstition in it, or any Fear thereof justly given by him.

He also humbly conceiveth, that if he had by his episcopal Authority, assigned any other Place in Church or Chancel, where they should all come and kneel at the Sacrament, as great Pretence for Exception would have been found, and quarrel some Way picked against it. But howsoever, the Rules and Rubricks of the Church having designed special Place, or Part of the Chancel for it, by the Words of the Preface before cited, *ad Artic 5. in fine*, it was left to the Ordinary (as he conceiveth) to be by him ordered according to his Discretion and for most Convenience.

He further denieth, that he gave Direction to the Minister, not to administer the Communion to such People as should not so come up and do such Reverence. For, that he never gave any Direction therein about their doing any Reverence. But if by doing Reverence, they mean kneeling, he then answereth, that the Direction was none of his, but of the Law. For the Rubrick after the Consecration enjoyneth [*that the Minister shall deliver the Communion in both Kinds to the People in their Hands, kneeling.*] And the 27th Canon, *Jac. I.* prohibited every Minister from administering to any but such as kneeled, under Pain of Suspension.

He likewise saith, that he by his Letters once and again expressly advised the Chancellor, not to cite, or call into the Court those that abode in the Chancels, and would not come up to the Rail. [See his Letters *May 7, 1637.* and mine, *May 23, 1637.*] As for any that presented themselves upon their Knees in the Chancel, and had not the Communion delivered unto them, but yet were afterwards excommunicated for not receiving; this Defendant saith, that he excommunicated no Man, neither gave he any Order to have them excommunicated; nor doth he believe, that any of them which are named in this Article, were excommunicated while he was Bishop there; and much less for that. He therefore refers to the Acts of Court, as being informed that *Fisler* was never at all cited; also, that *Newton, Bedwell, and Duncon*, were invited by the Minister to come into the Chancel, but they would not. Whereupon he told them, that he would come down to them after he had administered to the rest; but they went out of the Church, and would not stay. As for *Shyming* and *Fromar*, this Defendant never heard of them; and *Edmund Dey* is long since dead.

To the eighth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he ever enjoined, or commanded, as is here charged. But he saith, that in the Draughts of certain Directions issued by him, it was contained, that the Bishop would require the Officials to inquire of those that did take upon them

to use any preaching or expounding, or to hold any lecturing, otherwise than the Church required it, without express Allowance from the Bishop. But he also saith, that these Directions were never personally directed by him to the said Officials, or any account expected. Neither did he ever deny to any, that in due Manner or Order, desired to have his Allowance for any preaching.

He further saith, that the Enquiry in his Articles being, whether the Afternoon Sermons were turned into catechising by Question and Answer, where and whensoever there was no great Cause apparent to the contrary. This Enquiry was inserted by him *verbatim* out of a Paper of Instructions given by the King unto the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, concerning certain Orders to be put in Execution by the several Bishops of his Province; a Copy of which Instructions, with the King's Name subscribed thereunto, was publicly delivered to this Defendant upon the Day of his Consecration at *Lambeth*, whereby he, as all other Bishops of both Provinces were, was also required to give an Account in writing every Year concerning the same Instructions, according to his Majesty's Command, practised in the Time of Archbishop *Abbot* also, to the Performance of all which this Defendant humbly conceiveth, that he was bound by two Oaths administered unto him, and one of the King's Supremacy, the other of canonical Obedience. He also denieth, that he did not allow the Ministers to expound, or open the Catechism to the People. Only he enquired, whether the catechising were truly and sincerely performed without Mockery, or in Shew only. As not approving, that any Minister should in Word, pretend to give Obedience to the King's Injunction, but then in Effect, should elude and make a Mock of the same. As for taking Care and Pains in the catechising, thereby to make the simple and ignorant to learn not only the Words, but also the Propriety and Meaning thereof, and to understand the Sense of what they said, this he highly commended, and in particular to many himself gave Direction, how they should do it to the best Behalf and Edification of the poor People. Mr. *White* of ——— hath reported to others, that this Defendant gave not only Allowance, but also Direction and Charge to them, to expound the Words of the Catechism; he therefore believeth, that no Man was ever questioned for expounding the same.

He further saith, that he did direct, that the said catechising should be performed according to the Catechism of the Church of *England* only, which Catechism is by the Law of the Land in the Rubricks of the Service-book proposed, as the Rule of Examination for the Bishop to go by, and is the best Form that ever was compiled for laying the Foundation and Grounds of Religion in the Hearts and Minds of unlearned Christians. He considered also, that the great Variety of Catechisms, which every Man did in former Time thrust out at his Pleasure, did distract and corrupt the Minds of the People more than any Thing else, sowing in them the Seeds both of Error and Faction. And he conceived it an unreasonable Thing, that in the Church any catechising should be publicly practised, but according to the Catechism which the Church of *England* in her Liturgy alloweth. The due Observation whereof was so far from suppressing Knowledge, or introducing Ignorance, that the Defendant is humbly confident, it produced the quite contrary Effects. For, some godly, and laborious Ministers' (by Name, as he remembereth, one Mr. *Crackentboyr*, then Parson of *Burton-magna* in *Sussex*, and another of his neighbour Diocese with him, Men otherwise unknown to this Defendant) came to visit him, and told him, that they blessed God for the good Success, which upon half a Year's Experience they had found therein, professing that their People had sensibly profited more by this cate-

chising within that short Space, for the true apprehending and understanding the Grounds of Religion, than they had done by their great and constant Labours in preaching to them for some Years before.

As to the unfavoury Speech, that expounding might be as ill as a Sermon, this Defendant cannot but wonder, how any Man that bears himself for a Christian, durst inform the Honourable House of Commons, that the Bishop did ever so affirm; neither can he believe that any under Officer could be so indiscreet as to affirm the same.

He further saith, that the Book touching Sports to be used, was a Declaration first published by King *James*, of blessed Memory, in the Year 1618, and then repeated, ratified, and again published by the King's Majesty that now is, with Command to all Justices of Peace, and to the Judges and Justices of Assize, for the Observation of the same. And his Majesty further willed, that Publication should be made thereof by Order from the Bishops through all the Parish Churches of their Diocese. In Obedience whereunto, it being certified unto this Defendant, that the greatest Part of the Ministers of the Diocese had already published the same, and his Majesty being supreme Ordinary and Governor in the Administration of the Church, who was this Defendant, that he should have failed to give Order (as was enjoined) and to whom could he give Order in every Parish Church, but to the Incumbent there? But he believeth, that no Man was ever deprived for not reading the same.

Yet this Defendant saith, that he executed nothing herein by himself, and in his own Person, but referred all wholly to the Chancellor of the Diocese, unto whom (by Patent confirmed by the Dean and Chapter) the whole Administration of the Diocese, by this Defendant's Predecessors was committed; so that this Defendant had no Command, nor any coercive or coercive Power over him, to induce him by Constraint, or for any Fear, to do any Thing but what he himself (who by the Intention of his Place was joined to the Bishop, and by Patent was imposed upon him, as a Judge of Law, to inform the Bishop, and to see that nothing should be done but what was right and lawful) thought fitting to do, and what he himself did do; wherein, although by Letters unto this Defendant, the said Chancellor did first signify unto him, that such and such Men (by Name) refused to obey such and such Orders, (whereof the reading of this Book was one) and did crave to be directed what to do with them; then this Defendant did, in the Return of his private Letters, will him to proceed according to Right and the Duty of his Place, in censuring them for the same: yet he humbly conceiveth, that whatsoever was illegally or unjustly done by the Chancellor thereupon, cannot in right affect this Defendant, who himself gave no Sentence upon any, and whose private Advice was grounded upon the Chancellor's Informations, in whose Power and Choice it also remained free, to reject the said Advice, if he found it not consonant to right.

The Case therefore being such, as that this Defendant is to presume the Chancellor (who was the principal and sole Agent therein) did nothing but right, and according to Law; and if otherwise he did, it yet being no such Case, as whereby the Law involves the Abettors, Countellors, Procurers, or Fautors in the said Crime, with the principal Actor; this Defendant humbly prayeth, that the said Chancellor alone may be responfial for the same. Especially for that this Defendant hath Cause to believe, that the said Chancellor can and will make it appear, that there was some other Defaults also found in those which were suspended; and that the said Suspensions were soon taken off again, and that no Man at all was deprived for the same, and particularly not any of those which the Article mentioneth.

To the ninth Article, this Defendant answereth and saith, that he did direct, there should be no Difference of ringing to Church, when there was a Sermon, more than when there was none, excepting the Knells for Funerals. And he humbly conceiveth, that it was very agreeable to Reason, Prudence, Piety, and good Order so to do. Thereby to take away, as much as he might, that evil Custom which many had taken up, of making a Schism between the Use of publick Prayer and Preaching; of which Fault he finds that *Richard Bishop of London*, inquired expressly in his Articles, in the Year 1605. For, by the Difference which they did put between those two, they did labour to prefer the one to the other, whereas they ought ever to go equally together in all holy Esteem.

He therefore denieth, that it was done to hinder the People in their good Desires of serving God, and edifying their Souls; but quite contrary, to further and advantage them in the same; for that the giving of different Notice by the Bells, had by indiscreet and factious People been drawn to an Opportunity of expressing their Contempt of the Divine Service of the Church, and of separating themselves from their Brethren in the holy Service of God, to the great Hazard of their Souls, and to the manifest Dishonour of Almighty God.

This Defendant therefore considering with himself, that all People were by the Law (both of God Man) bound to repair to their Parish Churches, at all Times appointed; and that being there, the Sermon could in no Reason be less welcome to them, but rather the more welcome, although they, by any Distinction of ringing, knew not thereof, before they came thither; he could no Way doubt, but that his episcopal Authority and Discretion might well reach to the setting of a Rule for the ringing of Bells, wherein every Sexton thought himself fit enough to be the Disposer of, at his own Pleasure. And many of the Ministers had of themselves taken that very same Order for ringing, thereby to keep their People from gadding.

As to this, that People, by Notice of the Bells, did apply themselves to the Service of God in those Places, where both Prayer and Preaching was to be; this Defendant answereth, that this Pretence can have no Colour at all in the Country Parishes, nor in any Place of the Diocese, *Ipswich and Norwich*, and one or two other Towns more, excepted, in which there being sundry Parish Churches, they might readily leave one and take to another; which yet, he humbly conceiveth, the Law doth not allow. And he is the bolder to call it a Pretence, because the true Use that was made of that Distinction of ringing, was not to come to the Service of God at all, if there were no Sermon, but to stay at home, or to betake themselves to private Conventicles and unlawful Assemblies. Nevertheless, the Order which this Defendant herein directed was general, and therefore did no more concern Churches where no Sermon was, than where there was constant Preaching every Sunday.

As for Sermons and Preaching in what Value and Account they ever were with this Defendant, among many other Arguments (as he hopeth) it doth appear by this, and all other his Directions, in that he ever reckon'd the Sermon as a true and proper Part of God's divine Worship, and of the publick Service, and thereupon did often advise, that after the Sermon, the Collect should ever be said [*Grant we beseech thee, that the Words which we have heard this Day, with our outward Ears, &c.*]

To the tenth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he did forbid Mr. *Devereux*, or Mr. *Swaine*, or any other, to preach preparatory Sermons to the Communion, but should have been ready to have directed them

them so to have done, and to have recommended the Use thereof to them. And this appeareth by those Directions which he gave, in one of which (because he feared, that all Ministers were not so careful to prepare the People for the holy Communion, as was expedient) but, at the most, used only to preach a Sermon to that Effect, upon the same Day, and but immediately before they were to go to it, therefore this Defendant directed, that warning of a Communion for the Sunday following, should ever be given the Sunday before; and that as soon as such Warning was given, one of those Exhortations which the Church in the Service-book hath provided, being excellent Preparations to the blessed Sacrament, should be audibly pronounced, thereby the better to fit the People for worthy receiving, if the Minister in his Sermon did omit to do it.

But he further saith, that if on the working Days (under pretence of Preparation Sermons) the said Mr. *Devereux* or Mr. *Swayne*, whom he never knew, had devised to set up a Lecture, of their own Authority, and so to draw a Conflux of the Country People round about, from their Houses and from their Labours, it might well be, that he might advise the Chancellor or Commissary to inhibit the same, until they should crave Licence so to do, and by approving their Intentions and good Usages therein should obtain the Ordinary's Approbation of the same.

This Defendant further believeth, that the said Mr. *Devereux* had been complained of, to the Chancellor, for Inconformity in sundry Particulars, and for holding some Conventicles, and for thrusting himself with a Train following him, into another Man's Church without any Leave. Nevertheless the Chancellor having suspended him, he repaired within a Day or two after to this Defendant, who presently wrote on his Behalf, and obtained his Dismissal,

To the eleventh Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he did endeavour to suppress the Power and Benefit of Prayer. And for Proof thereof humbly craveth, that he may here alledge the Contents and Sufferance of the ninth Article in this Charge.

He likewise denieth that he enjoined, that no Minister should use any Prayer before or after his Sermon: inasmuch as he required them, as well before or after Sermon, to use the Prayers by Law prescribed. Only his Inquiry was, whether they did use any Form of Prayer, which was of their private conceiving or collecting, and of their own inventing and choosing. And between these two (as he humbly conceiveth) there is a broad Difference. He well knoweth that every Creature of God is good, and is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, 1 Tim. iv. He was therefore very careful, that the Prayers order'd by the Church should be joined with the Sermons: In which Prayers the Assistance of the holy Spirit, and the blessing of God both upon the Speaker and Hearer, is most fully and excellently prayed for, so as no Man shall need to help out or supply the same by his own Inventions. As for Example [*That those Things may please him which we do at this present, &c. O Lord open thou our Lips, &c. To Day if you will hear his Voice, &c. Indue thy Ministers, &c. O Lord make clean our Hearts, &c. That all our Doings may be ordered by thy Governance, to do always, &c.*] These fix are in the Morning Prayer. Then in the Litany there are three other Passages more express than the former. *From all false Doctrine, Heresy, and Schism, from Hardness of Heart and Contempt of thy Word, &c. That it may please thee to rule and govern thy holy Church, &c. To illuminate all Pastors, Bishops, and Ministers of the Church with true Knowledge and Understanding of thy Word, and that by their Preaching and Living they may set it forth, &c. To give us an Heart to love and dread thee, &c. To give to all thy People increase of Grace,*

to bear meekly thy Word, &c. To indue us with the Grace of thy holy Spirit, to amend, &c. Send down upon our Bishops and Curates, and all Congregations, &c. Granting us in this Life knowledge of thy Truth, &c. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. In the Communion Service there are also six more. [Cleanse the Thoughts of our Hearts by the Inspiration, &c. Give Grace, O heavenly Father, that both by their Life and Doctrine, &c. And to all thy People give thy heavenly Grace; and especially to this Congregation here present, that with meek Heart and due Reverence they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee, &c. Grant we beseech thee, that the Words which we have heard, &c. Prevent us, O Lord, in all our Doings, with thy most gracious Favour, and further us with thy continual Help, &c. The Peace of God which passeth all Understanding, keep your Hearts, &c.] This Defendant's Desire therefore was, to induce the Ministers conscientiously to observe the Liturgy of the Church of England themselves, as they ought to do, and faithfully to catechise and instruct the People in the same; teaching them to understand, mark and heartily attend to the several Passages of it, and then they should need no Prayers of their own fancying.

He also humbly conceiveth, that the 55th Canon of 1603, was justly pressed by him in this behalf. For however the said Canons prove now not to have been warranted by Statute Law, yet having been agreed upon in a provincial Synod, confirmed and published under the great Seal of England, generally accepted and enforced (from the Beginning) for above 30 Years since, as a Law; Oaths grounded upon them; Visitations held; Articles framed; Trial had; Judgement given; all Courses of Law founded upon them; *Communis error facit jus*; and to Clergymen of all others, while they were in being, they were to be Law in that Point, as well as in all others. Especially adding, that this Form of moving the People to join in Prayers was taken (the Phrase only alter'd) from the Form of the bidding Prayer to be used generally in that uniform Sort. Injunctions of *Eliz.* 1559. And that also was taken from the Form of the bidding Prayers; Injunctions, *Edw.* VI. 1547. That is, that so it was through the whole Reformation from the Beginning; as also, that within one Year before this Defendant composed his Book of Articles, the Dean of the King's Chapel (now the Lord Bishop of London) by Command from his Majesty, was appointed to advertise all these, that were to preach before the King to conform themselves unto the said Canon.

He also believeth, that there was never any public Prayer permitted in the Church of God for 1500 Years, but such as was first publicly consider'd of, and allow'd by the Church to be used. And the *Milevitan Council*, Anno 402. gives both the Rule and Reason of this, *Can. 12. Placet illud ut aliæ preces vel orationes omnino non dicantur in Ecclesiis, nisi quæ a prudentioribus compositiæ, atque dein comprobatiæ in synodo fuerint.* There's the Rule to have no kind of Prayer or Praying used at all in the Church, but such as is made and allow'd by the Church in Synod. And the Reason follows, *ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium, sit compositum.* And of this, whatsoever was the particular Occasion then in those Times, yet the Danger never but remaineth, and (God knows) it is now adays too often met with in our Pulpits. It seem'd also to this Defendant to thwart the Acts of Parliament 2. and 3. *Edw.* VI. and 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2. wherein it is ordained, no other Form of open Prayer in Church or Chapel, for others to come to, shall be used, but that which is in the Service-book. And for this he humbly conceived that the Form of bidding Prayer, or of moving to pray, might be the more allowable, and was ordained to be used in the Pulpit, rather than any other set Prayer.

He also consider'd, that for a Minister for to use his own Prayer in the Pulpit, that is, to lead the Congregation publicly assembled, in a Form (con-

receiv'd by himself) for the worshipping of God, was a Thing, the Power whereof was never given to him: for neither at holy Orders, nor by Institution and Induction, nor by any Licence granted, is such Power given. And it is rightly observed, by the Learned upon 1 Cor. xii. that the Grace, or enabling Gift, is not presently to induce the Operation or Act, in the Church of God, unless the Administration, that is, the Office or Calling be also given. By that Rule therefore, to which St. Paul saith, *Christ himself submitted*, Heb. v. 4. *Nemo assumit sibi hunc honorem*, As no man (how able soever to perform it) ought to take upon him any Office in God's Service, so nor any Function of that Office, till he be thereunto called, that is, by an express Power given him; he be thereunto appointed.

However, then it be not denied by this Defendant, but that some private conceived Prayers have been used by many learned Divines in the Pulpit, after a good and godly Manner; yet he humbly conceiveth that it was necessary, that the Rule how Men should pray there in the Pulpit, should be general and certain, not arbitrary; because they which are most unable so to do, will take the same Liberty that others have; whereby many, by venting their own indigested Conceptions in the Pulpit, have greatly offended God and the Church, and brought a Scandal on those two most divine Offices, Praying and Preaching.

He thought it therefore meet to adhere to the antient Usage of our Church, as he found it both in the Canon prescrib'd, and practis'd also, not only by Bishop *Latimer*, but also by Bishop *Jewel*, whose Form is extant in that Book of his, appointed to be had in all Churches, the rather, because Bishop *Andrews* and old Dr. *Montfort*, had often affirmed to this Defendant and others, that till Mr. *Cartwright's* time, it never was otherwise in this Church. But then a dislike of the prescript Form of publick Prayer, established by Law, bursting forth both in their Preachings and Writings, till the State began to question them for it; and when they found it not safe to preach or print any more against the Liturgy, they betook themselves to the Use of these new formed Prayers in the Pulpit, thereby to continue the People in a Dislike and Neglect of the prescribed Form.

He further answereth and denieth, that at the Sermon in *Ipswich*, when the Preacher made his Prayer, he gave no Reverence of kneeling, or otherwise, thereby to discountenance the said Prayer. For he sat with his Head uncovered, and did very reverently and diligently attend to what was said at the Close of all, and did humbly kneel down and pray. And this Course he had antiently observed in the University, it being usually so done there in his Time by the Doctors and Heads of the Houses, to attend what the Preacher would pray for, and then at the Lord's Prayer to kneel down. Wherein he did more than that whole Congregation did generally use to do (though there were above 500 present) till by this Defendant, some of them were induced to more Reverence. For, ordinarily not one but of his Company (whether Man or Woman) was seen to kneel at any part of the Prayers, from their first coming into the Church, to their going forth. But the Reason why this Defendant kneeled not, during all the said Pulpit Prayer, was, for that he durst not join in those extemporary Prayers, till he had heard and collected, what they would pray for, as having many Times met with Passages not unadvised only, or confused, but erroneous also, scandalous, seditious and dangerous, utter'd in such kind of praying. Some have prayed for holy *Machiavelisme*; some that their original Sins might at last be forgiven them; some ordinarily traduced the King, and Queen; some took upon them to distinguish the Nobility, by true hearted, and not; some, &c.

But let the Counsel advise, what shall be answered, for it is not said at which Sermon, nor of what Preacher, nor in what Church there, nor when nor what is meant by using or making any other Prayer. And this Defendant is confident, that they cannot instance in any Time, but eleven Years ago, that is, near six Years before he was Bishop of *Norwich*, at which time there was some arguing betwixt Mr. *Ward* and this Defendant touching the same, which being so, it shews, that it was no new Thing in him, when he was a Bishop to express himself in that sort among them.

Lastly he answereth and saith, that the Sick, if they did desire the Prayers of the Congregation, should be prayed for in the reading Desk, and no where-else, reading the two Collects which are set down for the Visitation of the Sick. And this he did, not only to decline the Inconveniencies before mention'd, but also that there might be an Uniformity, and one Kind of Praying for the Sick, whether there were a Sermon or no. The said Form having been long laudably used in the collegiate Church of *Westminster*, whereof he was then an unworthy Member, and being more properly the Prayers of the Congregation; and also it seemeth to be intended by *James* Bishop of *Winton*, (now with God) by his Articles 1617. *Art.* 26. But howsoever (as he humbly conceiveth) it was by Law left to be order'd by the Direction of the Ordinary.

To the twelfth Article, this Defendant answereth, and saith, that he did inquire whether their Minister did preach standing, and in his Gown with his Surplice and Hood (if he were a Graduate) and his Head uncover'd. Also, that he did direct, that the Minister should at all times, be in his Surplice and Hood when he was in publick Execution of any part of his priestly Function: but he denieth, that this was done to alienate the People's Hearts from hearing Sermons; or that it could alienate their Hearts at all, or could be offensive to them as a scandalous Innovation, as being a Thing not used before in the Diocese. For this Defendant knoweth, that the reading of the Litany upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays; the reading of the *Athanasian* Creed thirteen times in the Year upon Festival Days, the reading of the Communion upon *Ash-wednesday*, yea, and the reading of that part of the daily Service, which is call'd the Communion-Service, were things not used before in that Diocese, or not in the most Places thereof; yet could not the reducing these Things into due Practice, be (of right) offensive to any, nor ought to be reputed as scandalous Innovations. He therefore humbly conceiveth, that for them to have receded and varied from those Rights and Usages which were accustomed in the Church of *England* upon the Reformation established in the Reign of *Q. Eliz.* and since then to have arbitrarily taken up any other Usages, all the Innovation and Scandal lay in that: but to reinforce what then at first was practis'd, and to reduce Things back again to what they were before; this was but to remove the said Scandal by a fair and regular declining of that Innovation. As when the Papists call us Protestants *novatores*, and charge us with Innovation in what we differ from them, our true Answer is, that the Innovation is on their Part, who have brought those Things into the Church, which were not in Use, in the pure and primitive Times, unto which Times the reformed Church of *England* endeavours to conform. And so alike it fares now with those, which have had any Recourse to the Beginnings of the Reformation here, thereby to avoid some exotick Customs laterly brought in; the departing from which cannot now be rightly charged to be any Innovation.

He also saith, that he cannot understand, how wearing the Surplice can alienate the People's Hearts from hearing of Sermons, unless it be withal acknowledged, that it is meant of such People only, whose Hearts are indeed alienated

alienated from repairing unto divine Service, and the holy Sacraments, because the Surplice is worn in the executing thereof. For it cannot be conceived, but that the same Garments must naturally have the same Operation in all places of the Church, which it hath in one, and in every part of the Minister's Function, which it hath in any. And if it be so, then he humbly conceiveth that it is not the Garment indeed, but their own Conceit that is in the Fault; which will needs fancy to themselves those uncertain Suspensions, Fears and Umbrages, whereof if ever there had been any Probability (as there never was, when this Stitch against it, was of old taken) yet now very Track of Time hath worn them all out.

He therefore saith, that what was herein directed by him, was done upon these Grounds.

1. For Decency and Convenience; otherwise the Minister being in his Surplice unto the End of the *Nicene* Creed, after which the Sermon is to follow; and after the Sermon, being again to finish the Morning-service in his Surplice: such putting of the Surplice off to go to the Pulpit, and putting of it on again, when he comes from the Pulpit, would not only create Loss of Time and too great a Pause in the divine Administration, but would also beget vain Surmises in the People's Minds, neither of which could be, if he kept it still on.

2. For an Uniformity to all other Persons, Places and Times, the Reverend Bishops as well in preaching, as in all other divine Offices, ever have worn, and still do wear their Rockets. In Colleges also, and in the cathedral and collegiate Churches, the Fellows, Canons, and Prebends do ordinarily preach in their Surplices; and that in Parish Churches also they did preach in them in *Q. Elizabeth's* Time, appears by that Complaint thereof cited by Mr. *Hooker* [We judge it unfit and inconvenient, as oft as we pray or preach so arrayed, p. 247.] viz. with a Surplice on.

3. For Conformity to the Law itself. For the Rubrick before the Morning Prayer saith, and emphatically setteth it on, which here is to be noted, That the Minister at the Time of the Communion, and at all other Times in his Ministration, shall use such Ornaments in the Church, as were in Use in the second Year of *K. Edward the VIth.* But that the Priest was in those Times to wear a Surplice, appears by the Liturgy of that Year [*F. 120 B.*] Will they then say, that they which be permitted to administer either the Word or the Sacraments, (as they are stiled in *Q. Eliz.* Injunctions 29. in the Ministry of the Word, that is, in preaching) are not in Execution of part of their Ministration? For if they be, then are they to wear the Surplice, by the Rule above alledged. But if they say, they be not, in so saying they contradict not only those which make preaching the chiefest part of their Ministry, but also the whole Opinion of the first Reformers. For so Bishop *Cox* ranks the Offices of the Minister [at the time of Common-prayer, Preaching, and other Service of God. *Injunct.* 2. 8.] which Words are taken out of the Act of Parliament for Uniformity of *1. Eliz.* And by our Rubrick before the Offertory, the Sermon is brought in as a part of the divine Service, no less than the Epistle or the Gospel, or the Lessons were: at all which the Surplice might as reasonably be put off as at the Sermon; not to say, if the Sermon be no part of the divine Service, what does it then in the Church? especially within the Time of divine Service.

To the wearing of their Hoods, this Defendant answereth, that he follow'd therein the Directions of the Canons 58. and 74. of *Jacobi I.* And as to that which is alledged touching the Parish of *Kna't's Hall*, he saith, that he believeth it not, much less knoweth he any thing thereof. And he humbly conceiveth, that by the Rule of Christianity, they which informed

the honourable Common's-house of this Story, were in Conscience bound to have forbore the charging of this Defendant therewith, that [he by his Officers did it] unless they had known of some Act of his therein, or were in Law assured, that he is to answer to all that the Officers did without his Privy. For he cannot term them his Officers, which were neither by him put in, nor could be put out by him, nor were in any sort liable to any Compulsion, or Censure from him, nor received any Wages, Fee, or Reward of him. They should likewise in Honesty have forbore to have informed, that it was a Thing not used before in that Diocese, whereas in *Q. Elizabeth's Days*, it had been used in all the Parish Churches (as is before shewed): and many yet living do remember, that *Dr. Norton* the Preacher of *Ipswich*, did ordinarily there use it; and in some Places there, it still continued so, as at the Cathedral of *Norwich*, at *Wilby*, *Walsingham*, and sundry other Places.

To the thirteenth Article this Defendant answereth, and saith, that it is so confusedly, and uncertainly charged, as that it is impossible to give a particular Reply unto it. Also in sundry parts of it, repeateth the same Charge, which hath been answered in some of the precedent Articles.

He denieth, that there were any illegal Innovations done by him. But saith, that all that he did, tended rather to redress Innovations, which had secretly crept in since the Reformation, and so to settle Order, Peace, Uniformity, Decency, and Devotion in the said Diocese.

He also denieth, that his under Officers by and upon his Directions and Injunctions did any Thing that was undue: but saith, that their Actions were their own, and that they were free from all Power of this Defendant: and that he never took upon him to give any Injunctions; and that the Directions which he gave, were neither a Command nor a Warrant to the said Officers (who were rather to judge of Right betwixt this Defendant and Others and to weigh all his Mistakes) to do otherwise than was befitting for them.

He also saith, that no Answer can be made to that part of the Charge [That sundry were excommunicated, suspended, or deprived, and otherwise censured, and silenced, and some so prosecuted, as was suspected to be the Cause of their Deaths,] unless the Parties be named, who they were, and when, and by whom censured: and unless it be distinctly charged, what other Censure is meant besides Silencing, Suspending, Excommunication, or Deprivation: and by whom, or upon what Grounds such Suspicion was had of the Cause of the Death of any.

He further humbly offereth to the Consideration of this most honourable Court, that in so large a Diocese as that of *Norwich* is (well near equal to ten of the smaller Dioceses) and so numerous a Clergy as therein is consisting of above 1300 Titles, besides all those of the Cathedral church, and School-masters and Curates, whether great moderation were not used, that by the Space of two Years and four Months, within which Time a primary Visitation and five Synods, *viz.* every half Year one, were held for the Bishop, no greater Number fell under all kind of Censures. Especially when as Excommunication doth by Law, fall upon those that are absent, either from Visitation or Synods; and Suspension is a Censure, which, in the Practice of those Courts, is incurred in one Hour, and taken off in another, and is of little or no Grievance at all, except it be wilfully persisted in. For whereas it is charged [That they could not be absolved without giving promise to conform to the Bishop's Direction *editis et edendis*] the Defendant humbly disclaimeth and disavoweth the same, as a Thing never done, directed, or allowed, or intended by him. Nor had he ever any Thought, either to give forth any other Directions afterward, or to have the Ministers urged, to promise a Conformity to those which he had given. Only where

great Contempt should have been found, he would have taken Advice, and, perhaps, not till the next septennial Visitation, could he have done that, which might have been legally done with them.

He also denieth, that any Ministers were by him enforced to depart this Realm into *Holland*, or into other Parts beyond the Sea, or to remove into other Dioceses; much less, that any were so prosecuted by him, as to be the Cause of their Deaths, or of leaving their Cures, and going away; neither doth he believe, that there was any just and true Cause given to them by any so to do, as far as he was ever informed, by Certificate or Letters from the Chancellor or Commissary, touching the said Ministers.

But as to the Parties in this Article named, this Defendant, referring himself otherwise to the Acts of the Court, thus humbly answereth, that

Mr. *Thomas Scott* being under Suspension, the first Thing that this Defendant did after his coming personally into the said Diocese, was to hold a Court, and there with all tender and respective Usage, to absolve the said Mr. *Scott* for three Months; and after that, he directed, to have him forborn for six Months more; and after that for eight or nine Months longer; within which Time he received divers Letters from the said Mr. *Scott*, expressing great Acknowledgements of the Favour which he found from this Defendant. He also saith, that the said Mr. *Scott* was in his wonted Health and Life, above a Year, after this Defendant left the See of *Norwich*. For he died not till about *Whitsuntide* 1640, which was about two Years after.

Mr. *William Powell* (as it was certified to this Defendant) was suspended for many Defects against the Canons, and had Absolution soon after (without coming for it himself) granted to his Proctor Mr. *Edward Trott*.

Mr. *Richard Raymund* likewise was so suspended, and shortly after so absolved, viz. in the Person of Mr. *Richard Pert* his Proctor.

Mr. *John Carter* a Curate in *Norwich*, this Defendant had a good Opinion of, till by frequent Letters for a Year together from the Chancellor, he was otherwise informed of him, viz. April 22, 1636. May 3, 1636. June 22, 24, and 27. October 20. Dec. 7. Feb. 5 and 17. March 10. unto whom he wholly referred him.

Mr. *Nicholas Beard*, a Curate in *Ipswich*, was suspended by the Visitors, as for other Defaults, so also for denying to exhibit and shew forth (which at all Visitations is by Law to be done) his Letters of Orders, by which it might appear, that he was a Minister; and his Licence to serve there, by which it might appear, that he was of that Diocese. And this Defendant was not hasty of himself, to restore him, because he had over (within a very few Years before) heard him inveigh very bitterly in a Sermon, against the State, and against a noble Earl of this Land, then a great Officer; and was also by honest Men informed, that the said Mr. *Beard* was a very turbulent Spirit, whom they suspected to have been the secret Procurer of a great Riot which was committed suddenly in an Evening by a dangerous Concourse of mean People against this Defendant.

Mr. *Hudson* (as this Defendant was informed) was suspended at the Visitation, but was again restored within a while after. And more this Defendant never knew nor heard of him.

Mr. *Robert Kent*, this Defendant (to his Remembrance) never heard of; but now, upon Enquiry, he finds, that he was a Minister in *Norwich* (but now dead) whom the Chancellor, upon some Occasion did suspend about 10 o'Clock in the Forenoon, and absolved him before three in the Afternoon of the same Day, not paying a Penny Fee for his Dismission. Let the Acts be perused. Nor of Mr. *Broom* more than that being a Curate in

Norwich,

Norwich, and falling under Censure, he was soon restored, and had Licence *per totam Diocesin*.

Mr. Mott was by the Chancellor suspended for direct Defects, and for some contumelious Words, which he gave to him sitting in Court.

Mr. William Bridge being (before) in some Intention to leave Norwich, was excommunicated for not appearing at the Visitation (in which he was presented for many dangerous Doctrines) and so he presently departed into Holland, as the Chancellor wrote to this Defendant. Yet was he after ten Months Expectation restored again in the Person of his Proctor. But then having left two Cures all this while unprovided for, he was in publick Form of Law (by this Defendant's Advice to the Chancellor) cited to Residence, and not yet coming, he was expected near ten Months more, and then the Chancellor pronounc'd Sentence of Deprivation against him, as Law requir'd, for Desertion of his Churches.

Mr. Thomas Allen likewise would not appear at the Visitation, and was (of Course) excommunicated. But then came he into the Court and there tender'd a Libel of Defamation and Defiance against all ecclesiastical Government, and so absented himself for many Months. He was therefore at last cited to Residence, and afterwards deprived as Mr. Bridge was.

Mr. John Ward of Norwich was excommunicated, cited, expected and deprived for Non-residence, as the former.

Mr. Robert Peck, for the like Non-residence (as the Chancellor signified to this Defendant) was after more than a Year's Expectation, by him deprived. Of whom the said Chancellor complained also to this Defendant (and the like of Thomas Allen) that they had so prevailed with their Parishioners, that tho' the Fruits of their Benefices were put into Sequestration in their Absence, thereby to pay the Curates which should serve their Cures, yet none would pay any thing to the Sequestrators. It also appears by the Records of this House, 21 Jac. That the said Peck has been complained of by the Justices of Peace, unto the Bishop for Misdemeanours; and that in Annis 1615, 1617 and 1622. he was convicted for Inconformity, Simony, and holding of Conventicles.

Mr. Jeremiah Burroughes likewise fell under the Chancellor's Censure, who (it should seem) knew him so well, that he was loath to have him too soon restored [*Vide literas*, May 22, 1636. May 27. June 3.] yet this Defendant was inclined to have had Restitution given him by the Chancellor, if he came in due Manner for it, [*Vide literas* Feb. 24.] But howsoever, he advised to call him in the mean while to Residence, because the Parish should not be unferved. That was done, and he was expected more than a Year, and in the mean Time the Chancellor certifying this Defendant, that the said Mr. Burroughes had attempted him by the way of Bribery, with an Offer of 40. l. that he had also been beyond the Seas, and disguised in a Soldier's Habit did return, with many libellous Pamphlets brought in the Ship, this Defendant could not then but well approve of it, that Sentence of Deprivation should proceed for his Non-residence [*Vide literas* May 31. June 9. October 6. Nov. 17. Nov. 24.]

Mr. William Greenbill was in the same Fault of Non-residence, and in the same Ship and Disguise with Mr. Burroughes, and so fell under the same Deprivation, [*Vide litteras* March 10, 1636.]

Mr. Edmund Calamy (as this Defendant believeth) was never under any Censure, but he came to this Defendant two or three times during his Abode in Suffolk, and was very welcome to him, and shewed not, but that he did very well approve of the ecclesiastical Proceedings. But this Defendant is now informed, that his Successor Bishop Mountague did re-

move

move him out of that Dioceſe, in that he would not permit him to continue as a Lecturer in *Bury*, after he had taken the Parſonage of *Rockford* in *Esſex*.

Mr. *William Kerrington*, and Mr. *Thomas Warren*, Curates in *Ipswich*, were only admoniſhed by the Chancellor to obſerve the Orders of the Church, and to certify their Performance at the next Court after *Whitſuntide*. But they conſpired; and to raiſe a Clamour, deſerted their Cures at *Whitſuntide*; whereupon this Defendant coming thither that Week, ſent for them, and exhorted them to look to their Cures ſtill. They pretended a fear of Suſpenſion; of the contrary whereof, although he aſſured them, yet could he not prevail with them, but that they would officiate no more. But all this was before any ſuch Cenſures fell upon the forenamed Miniſters, and therefore the Terror of thoſe Proceedings, could not drive them away, as is objected. For the ſaid Mr. *Kerrington* did in open Court profeſs, that whatſoever he had heretofore been defective in, he would amend hereafter, when he ſhould take upon him a Cure of Souls within the Dioceſe, ſo it were not in *St. Nicholas's* Pariſh, the Cure whereof he had now left. And both he and Mr. *Warren* profeſſed, that the reaſon why they durſt not obſerve the Orders of the Church was, only for fear of loſing their Means, and not of any other diſlike.

Mr. *John Allen* of *Ipswich*, not being meddled with, did (about a Year after this) voluntarily depart from his Cure for a better Place in *London*. [*Vide chartam ejus.*]

Mr. *William Green* the Curate of *Bromholm* was ſuſpended for many Defects, and among the reſt for want of a clerical Habit; but upon his Submiſſion he was preſently abſolved, and his Licence to preach was only taken from him, he being very illiterate, and having been of late by Trade a Taylor. Of which fort of Men many others muſt come into the Reckoning, to make up the number of fifty that were under Cenſure, viz. Mr. *Pitman*, Curate of *Grundſborough*, who not long before had been a broken Tradeſman in *Ipswich*: Mr. *Cook* of *Fritton*, not long before a Country Apothecary: Mr. *Farrar* of *Beſenſhall*, a Weaver, made a Miniſter: Mr. *Bridges* of *Wickham-market*, no Graduate, not long ſince tranſlated from the common Stage Playing to two Cures and a publick Lecture. And yet the Number will not be made up (as this Defendant believeth) unleſs there be brought in under the ſame Account, Mr. *Porter*, Vicar of *Kirbrook*, where he had not been ſeen for ſeventeen Years before; Mr. *Smith*, Vicar of *Mundefſey*, which he held above twenty Years, and was not in holy Orders of Prieſthood: Mr. *Norton*, *Burton*, *Burrage*, *Creak*, *Hurly*, *Cockerill*, *Mote*, *Thomſon*, *Riſing*, *Sherwin*, *Beavis*, *Sherwood*, *Burch*, *Gray* and others, of whom this Defendant receiving Information, that they were debauch'd, and ſcandalous in their Courſes, by his frequent Letters to the Chancellor, they were brought under Cenſure.

He further ſaith, that at *Snailſwell*, and at *Dalham*, where Mr. *Aſh* preached, the Miniſter or Curate (as this Defendant believeth) was not ſuſpended. The ſaid Mr. *Aſh* was therefore cited, to ſhow by what Licence (he being a Stranger, and not known to be in holy Orders) did continue in that Dioceſe, and did intrude himſelf in ſeveral Pariſhes, to the Diſturbance of the catechiſing, and to the Neglect of the Orders of the Church, and the factious leading about of the People from their own Pariſh Churches: for ſuffering whereof (contrary to their Oath and Duty) the Churchwardens alſo were cenſured by the Conſiſtory, that the like in after Times might be avoided.

Mr. *Manning* came cloſely to Town on a Sunday Morning, and betook himſelf to *St. Laurence's* Church in *Ipswich*, which Mr. *Warren* had deſerted. The Churchwardens therefore were not cited there; neither had the ſaid

Mr.

Mr. *Warren* been cited, altho' he had no Licence to preach in that Diocese; neither had his Orders yet been shew'd to any, nor had Complaint been brought to this Defendant (being then an Inhabitant in that Town, and not far from that Church, of whom the said Mr. *Manning* would take no Notice) that he not only neglected all the Orders of the Church, but the Rules of the divine Service also, and had quoted many dangerous Passages in the Pulpit, tending to the Disparagement of the State and the Disquiet of the People. Yet cited only he was, and because he dwelt far off in *Bedfordshire*, the Matter was no further pursued. He also saith, that Preaching without sufficient Licence hath in all times been censurable, and enquired into in the Church of *England*.

Touching Mr. *Eades*, this Defendant remembereth not, that ever he heard of such a Man till now of late Reports are brought to him, of some very seditious Sermons preach'd by him.

[The Counsel are desired to consider and insist upon this, that the Chancellor and the Commissary did insist all these forenamed Censures, although this Defendant was by Letters or Conference made acquainted with the most thereof, before they were done, and did consent or advise thereunto: for he could not doubt, but that they being Men of the Law could best judge, what was Law and Right, and being (their Oath is, that they will to the utmost of their Understanding deal uprightly and justly in their Office without Respect or Favour. Can. 127. 10. Jac.) sworn Men to do uprightly, and having their Places for Life, could in no Respect to him be induced from that, which he ever desired them to do.]

Howbeit for Honour of his Place and in Zeal to the Service of the Church, it behoved him to hold an Intercourse of Letters and Consultations with them. The rather because all the Account to be yearly made of the State of all Affairs in the Diocese, as the King had commanded: for this, he (living out of the Diocese) could not have done, but by that Course of Letters between him and the Officers.]

Lastly this Defendant saith, that notwithstanding the Non-residence of those six, for which they were deprived (as is aforesaid) and the long Desertion of their Cures, and the patient Expectance both before and after Citation, which was had of them, yet their Deprivation proceeded not, till this Defendant in his Account to the King by the Arch-bishop in *Decem.* 1637. had given Notice, how it was with them, and had humbly prayed to be directed what he should do. In answer whereunto, in *January* following, he was willed to see the King's Pleasure upon Record in the Arch-bishop's Office; from whence he received in a Schedule, as followeth.

" My Lord of *Norwich* hath been very careful of all your Majesty's Instructions; of those which have stood under episcopal Censure, or that fled to avoid Censure, there are not above three or four which have submitted themselves; yet his Lordship hath had Patience (notwithstanding peremptory Citations sent out) hitherto to expect them. But now he must proceed to Deprivation, or suffer Scorn and Contempt to follow upon all his Injunctions. Nevertheless herein he humbly craves Direction: and so do I, if it please your Majesty to give it."

Unto which the King had, with his own Hand, written in the Margin of the Schedule.

Let him proceed to Deprivation.

So that this Defendant transmitting a Copy of all this to the Chancellor (as he conceived himself bound to do) the said Chancellor after two Months longer stay, did proceed to their Deprivation.

But this Defendant humbly sheweth, that in the aforesaid Deprivations (and in all other Censures whereof he was made privy) he aimed at nothing, saving the discharging of his own Duty, and the preserving of the good Orders of the Church. As to any Advantage thereby to his own Benefice, he was so far from admitting the least Pretence thereof, as that however Mr. *Cafe*, Parson of *Erpingham*, was no less faulty for Inconformity and Desertion of his Cure, than some of the rest; yet this Defendant the rather winked at some Jugglings betwixt the said *Cafe* and the under Officers, for his avoiding of Censure, lest it might be suspected, that he aimed at his Benefice; whereof the Bishop of *Norwich* was the Patron.

He also humbly conceiveth, that it may well be taken for an Argument of just and right Proceedings against the forenamed Ministers, that not any one of them would ever appeal from the Sentence of the Consistory, and thereby bring their Cause to be discussed and judged in the Arch-bishop's Court. From whence also, if they should have found any Grievance, there lay any Appeal unto the King, and so by delegate Judges (assigned by the Lord-Keeper) they might with much less Trouble and Damage, have obtained such Relief as would have proved to have been due unto them.

To the fourteenth Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he did unlawfully compel the Inhabitants of that Diocese, to raise the Floors of the Chancels, rail the Tables, remove Seats, and make other Alterations to the Expence of above 5000*l.* or that he did vex by Presentments, Citations, Censures, Journies and Attendance at the Courts, such as did not obey.

For Proof whereof, first he humbly referreth himself to what he hath answer'd to the first, to the third, and to the fourth Articles; and also in the eighth and thirteenth Articles. And he further believeth, that the Churchwardens of some Parishes (for some by Respects) might be induced to bestow Expences in these Things, and that in other Parishes they may have brought into this Account, all that was voluntarily laid out by them for the repairing and beautifying of their Churches, in what other kind soever.

As to the Town of *Ipswich* he further saith, that in a Petition which they sent to the King, then being about *Tudbury*, (whereunto his Majesty gave Answer at *Woodstock*, when this Defendant was not present in his Majesty's Attendance) the first Head thereof was, a Complaint against this Defendant and the Officers of the Jurisdiction, for putting the Petitioners to Charges, in causing some Chancels to be adorned, and divers Pews to be removed or altered. But his Majesty was pleased to mark that Particular with a Cross, and then commanded the Master of the Requests to give the Petitioners no other Answer but this, that his Majesty would hear no more of that Complaint, for there was nothing done in that kind, but what his Majesty expected should be done, and well approved of: directing also that the said Petition should be delivered to this Defendant, which was done at *Oxford* within two Days after: and so Notice was given of the said Answer to this Defendant, both by Sir *Edward Powell*, and also by the King himself in the hearing of the Arch-bishop.

And he humbly hopeth, that the Chancellor and Commissaries, (for Officials there are none belonging to the Bishop) will be able to clear themselves, from having used any unlawful Courses or unjust Molestations in these Matters. However the Order for Rails being first given by the Vicar-general, and whatsoever was done therein, being afterwards executed by the the Chancellor of *Norwich*, it can in no reason affect or be laid upon this

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Defendant, who was no Actor at all therein; surely, was neither first Mover, nor last Agent in it. He therefore referreth himself to such Proofs as shall be truly brought of any Thing therein done by himself, and will not refuse to defray all such Charges as shall appear to have been unjustly put upon them by him, provided that he may have the Materials safe and sound delivered to him. He is also informed, that *Thomas Dixon* and *Alexander Harrison*, Church-wardens of *St. Edmund's* in *Norwich*, being required to give in a Note of such Charges as the Parish was put unto, by this Defendant's Visitation, did return but 13s. and 4d. which being rejected, and they sent back to bring in a greater Sum, Alderman *Parrot* reproaching them, and saying, *what no more? Well, we perceive you would willingly have Popery come in again.* The Account of the Years besides that of the Visitation, was taken and put into the Information given into the honourable House of Commons; and the like, he doubts not, was done in many other Places.

To the fifteenth Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he proposed any unlawful Innovations or Injunctions, or that any were molested by him in their Estates and Consciences for not coming to the Rail, and kneeling before the Table altar-wise, or for not standing up at the Gospel. And for further Answer herein, referreth himself to that which is already answered in the 7th Article.

And he further humbly conceiveth, that the reducing of the Forms and Rites of the Church, which were in Use in the Reign of *Q. Eliz.* and the drawing of the People to a due Obedience to those Ordinances of the Church, is not now justly to be called an Innovation, but rather a part of a Reformation or Renovation: inasmuch as then (in those Times) the contrary thereof was filed and reputed an Innovation: For so he findeth by that Enquiry which the Bishop of *London* made in anno 1583. [*doth your Minister teach any Doctrine of Innovation, to withdraw the People from due Obedience to the Ordinances of the Church?* Art. 6.] and again [*doth your Minister in his Ministration use the precise Form and Rites which are prescribed, without Innovation or Alteration of the same?* Art. 31. And so the Bishop of *Chichester* in anno 1600. inquired [*Are there any which preach any Doctrine of Innovation in your Parish, to withdraw the People from their due Obedience, or are there any new Presbyteries or private Conventicles and schismatical Dealings among you?* Art. 42.] King *James* also, in the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, term'd those Things an Innovation, which were then insisted on against the Orders of the Church; [*pag. 47.*] and, in his Proclamation for Uniformity of Common-prayer, saith, that he will not admit Innovations in Things once settled by mature Deliberation, meaning the Rites of the Church, 10. *Jacobi*.

Speaking therefore of the Religion and Ceremonies in the Church of *England*, in as much as New and Old are Terms of Relation, and are said but respectively to former or later Things, he humbly conceiveth it necessary, first, to design the Times, upon which the State of our Church is to be bounded, and to which we intend to refer, when we say (with the holy Fathers in Council) *Τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθνη Κρατεῖτω.* — *Let the old Usages carry it.* And those he humbly conceiveth, are the blessed Times of Reformation, [*6 Edward VI. and 1 Eliz.*] with the Times then next ensuing: so that whatsoever may appear to have been then in Use in our Church (tho' perhaps in some sort since then discontinued) the taking of that up again, cannot (but by a Mistake, and very improperly) be termed an Innovation, and hath no Crime at all in it; especially where the general Rule of Devotion, Decency and Uniformity doth also go along to guide us in point of Discretion and Practice.

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But as for standing up at the Gospel, he denieth that ever he gave any Direction for it, or made so much as an Enquiry about it, but left it free and unmeddled with, as appeareth [*Art. Cap. 4 and 7. and Cap. 7. Art. 4.*] neither can he believe that ever any Man was molested or disquieted for the same while he was Diocesan there.

As for any of the Persons named in this Article, this Defendant denieth, that they or any of them were ever cited or troubled by him: nor doth he know, that they were so, by any of the Officers of the Courts in his Time. He therefore wholly referreth it to the Acts of Court, to shew what was done, and against which of them, and for what it was, and by whom it was done

To the sixteenth Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that by him Ignorance, Superstition, or Prophaneness were introduced, and humbly conceiveth, that the contrary thereof, *viz.* the means of Knowledge, true Religion and Holiness were no less in Act than in true Intention, promoted and cherished by him, in that he did labour, as much as in him lay, to draw Christian People to the Love and Practice of the Worship of God by Law here established, and to an humble and awful Reverence of his divine Majesty, and was careful that by the profitable Way of diligent and faithful catechising, the meaner and the under Sort should be brought to the better Knowledge of God, and to a true Understanding of the Grounds of the Christian Religion.

He therefore denieth, that he suppressed Prayer, which he endeavoureth so much to bring into holy Estimation and Use, or that he forbade Sermons, who denied not to licence any, that in an orderly Way desired the same, and who was (the rather for that) inclined to consent to the removing away of those obstinate Non-residents, as much rather fearing, lest it should be objected unto him, that he had suffered sundry Parishes to stand so long deserted and bereaved of the holy Word, the Prayers and Sacraments. For a further Proof whereof, he also alledgeth, that whereas in the City of *Norwich* itself there are thirty four Churches, and there used not to be above three or four Sermons at them all on *Sunday* in the Forenoon, but under Pretence of going to the cathedral Church, People of all Ages and Sexes were left to do what they would, this Defendant had no Rest in his Mind, till he got the Chancellor to take Order that in every Church of the said City, there should be a Sermon, (if possible it might be) on *Sundays* in the Forenoon, and Catechising in the Afternoon.

He likewise saith, that to that part of the Charge for putting down of Lectures, no Answer can be expected, unless the particular Place, or the Men had been named, and when and by whom it was done. But he further saith, that at *St. Edmund's Bury* the Clergy had of themselves discontinued a Lecture, which they held before by Combination on *Mondays*: whereof as soon as he had Notice, he readily gave his Consent and Directions for the re-assuming of it again. He likewise ordered and confirmed the two single Lectures there on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. At *Bungay* also they had a Lecture: and at *Ipswich* they might have had one, if they had desired any but him, whom this Defendant could not allow of, he being by Sentence of the High-commission suspended during the King's Pleasure, and they would desire no Man else. At *Lynn* there was a Lecture, and at *Norwich* another, which Lecture the Chancellor (by reason of some Directions in the Fast-book) once while causing to be intermitted, this Defendant, as soon as he understood thereof, sent presently to him, to pray him by any means to hinder the same. Two other Lectures at *Norwich* had, as this Defendant now finds, been raised up

within a Year or two before, whereof Mr. *Bridge* carried the one away with him into *Holland*; the other ceased by the Lecturer's returning home to his Cure at *Stalham*, whereof he was Vicar; and never did any of the City so much as crave an Allowance from this Defendant for others in their Places. At *Northwalsbam* also he confirmed a Lecture; and one at *Wimondham*; and erected another at *Eastbarling*; and permitted one at *Meybold*; although they never craved his episcopal Leave for the same.

He further denieth, that *Daniel Sunning*, *Michael Metcalf*, and the rest in this Article named, or any other of his Majesty's Subjects, to the Number of 3000, did remove into the Parts beyond the Seas by reason of any Thing done by this Defendant. And he humbly prayeth, that it may be consider'd, that the humour of separating themselves from the Church of *England* into foreign Parts is of a much higher Growth than since *Anno 1636*. And that out of these Dioceses where they could have no Pretence of vigorous Persecutions, they went so plentifully, as that the two chief Colonies in *New England*, long since took the Titles of *Plymouth* and *Boston*. And thither, into *New England*, of those which are named in this Article, went *Francis Lawes* a poor and mean Weaver, *John Dicks* a poor Joiner, *Nicholas Busby* a poor Weaver, *Michael Metcalf*, and *Nicholas* his Son, a Dornix Weaver (of some Estate, he only) but he was call'd in question for some Words against the King, and so slipt away: *John Durant* is supposed to be the same with *John Berant*, he a poor Weaver that went into the *Low-Countries*, and thither went *Richard Cook* a Draper newly set up, that kept but one Apprentice.

And this Defendant further denieth, that the Departure into *Holland* of such as used the Trades of Manufactures in Wool, did either begin with the Year 1636, at which Time this Defendant's Visitation of the Diocese of *Norwich* was held; or that it did end with the Year 1637. at which Time this Defendant was translated from that Diocese. For they began to repair to *Rotterdam* and *Arnheim*, and other Places there *anno 1633*, and so also *anno 1638*, they went thither in great Abundance. So that out of one Port in that Diocese in *anno 1635*, there went one hundred and forty six Persons; and in *anno 1638*, one hundred and fifty Persons: whereas out of the same Port in *annis 1636*, and *1637*, there went in all not above one hundred Persons. And out of another Port in the same Diocese, from *Michaelmas 1637*, to *Annunciation 1638*, there went but one hundred and ten Persons; whereas in the next half Year (which was after this Defendant had left the See) there went above two hundred and thirty Persons.

This Defendant therefore humbly conceiveth, that the chiefeft Cause of their Departure, was the small Wages which was given to the poor Workmen, whereby the Work-masters grew rich, but the Workmen were kept very poor. And then that occasioning the flight and ill making of those Manufactures, the *Hollanders* desirous to learn the Trade, as well for their own Advantage as for the better making of the Commodities, did for a Time invite our People thither, by giving much greater Wages for Work than was given here: so that it was generally reported in *Norwich* that they could have 15s. in *Holland* for that Work, which here yeilded not 10s. To which is to be added also, that in the Year 1636. the Danger of the Plague in *London* stopt the weekly Intercourse of Stuffs and other Commodities from *Norwich*, and thereby Men forbore a great while to set so many on work as before they had done, when the weekly Return was open. And so that forced the Poor to complain, and to go seek the means of living abroad.

And for Proof whereof he humbly offereth, that whereas often Complaints of this matter were brought unto the Council-board, that the Trade was carried into *Holland*, and many things were prayed for the remedying of the same, yet

it was never once so much as mention'd, or any way intimated to their Lordships that any rigorous Dealing in Matters ecclesiastical in that Diocese, were the Cause or the Occasion thereof. And this Defendant hopeth to prove, that of many Hundreds of those that went into *Holland* in those Times, they then taking their Oaths before the King's Officers, and declaring the Cause of their going, not one of them all did once mention any of those Things, which in this Article are pretended: but very many of them answered, that they went to work on their Trades there, and to increase their Skill, and to get better Means of living.

And indeed what needed they to go thither, for any Proceedings ecclesiastical there (had that been the true Cause,) when as it had been a far shorter Journey, and easier for poor Workmen, but to have removed into some other Diocese? And if any of the wealthier Sort (such as did set an Hundred on work) went away only for that, why did they not rather appeal? Seeing they might have had an Inhibition (for 7 or 8 s.) which would presently have tied up the consistory Court, no Sentence whereof was to be in force, till that (after fifteen Days) the Parties themselves did by their own Default in not appealing, confirm the same. The meaner sort therefore went chiefly for Gains, and Means of Life: the abler Sort might also be led away by that, which was operative in any Diocese, as in the Diocese of *Norwich* (excepting always to *Norwich* Diocese a better Opportunity of sudden and easy slipping over;) and that was the utter Dislike of all Church Government, and of the Doctrine and Discipline by Law here establish'd.

To the seventeenth Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that contrary to the Duty of his Place, and to the Duty of a good Subject, or to free himself from Blame, or to raise an ill Opinion of the King in the Hearts of his Subjects, he did at any Time declare, that which he did, by his Majesty's Command. But that quite contrary hereunto, to attest his own Dutifulness, and to advance the Obedience of his Majesty's good Subjects, and to settle Peace in their Minds, and to shew the Legality and Warrant of those particular Things which were in Practice, and to discover the evil and disloyal Dispositions of some of them which have now been Informers to the Honourable Common's-house, he held himself in all Duty obliged, that he should not forbear (where due Occasion was) to let the King's Pleasure be made known to the rest of his Majesty's honest and faithful Subjects in manner following.

Returning into *Suffolk* from attending his Majesty in *Anno* 1636, he was given to understand, that although the Answer which the King gave (in this Defendant's Absence) unto a Petition from *Ipswich*, wherein they complained of the Alteration of the Seats in their Chancels, and of setting up the Communion-Tables there, *viz.* that his Majesty would hear no more of any Complaint in this Kind; and that the Bishop had done but his Duty therein, and as his Majesty expected from him, as is before set forth in the Answer to the fourteenth Article of this Charge, had been fully related by the Masters of the Requests to one *Peter Fisher* of *Ipswich*, who attended at Court, about the said Petition: yet he conspiring with some other of the Petitioners had, for many Weeks, concealed his Majesty's Pleasure from all but a few of themselves, and had not made it known to their Neighbours, whom it chiefly concerned: this Defendant thereupon held it fit to give Notice of his Majesty's royal Pleasure herein, and caused the Petition itself, which the Master of the Requests had at the King's Command deliver'd to this Defendant, to be produced in open Court, for the Satisfaction and Content of the good People, who had craved to be forborn, but till they might hear what answer the King should give unto their said Petition.

He further saith, that a Petition having been likewise put up to his Majesty by some of *Norwich* complaining of the setting up of the Tables in the Chancels, and of reading the Communion-Service there, and of some other Orders of the Church; and his Majesty being afterwards pleased not only to tell this Defendant thereof, and how he had dismissed them accordingly as he had done those of *Ipswich*, but also to require this Defendant to be careful of his Duty in the Observation of the said Orders: he, as in Duty he ought, did impart the same to the Chancellor, and to some others of *Norwich* which came unto him; as not doubting, but that the King's supreme Authority in all Things ecclesiastically, and the Knowledge of his good Pleasure in these Matters, would settle a right Opinion, and Conformity, and Peace in the Minds of all Men.

And whereas it behoved this Defendant, living then out of this Diocese, in his Majesty's Attendance, to command the Execution of all Businesses unto the Chancellor, he was thereby necessarily oblig'd to make known unto him and others whom it concerned, what Injunctions the Lord Arch-bishop had in the King's Name given to this Defendant, and particularly for turning the Afternoon Sermons into Catechising, that so it might be known, not to be a free or an arbitrary Matter, which might be done or left undone at the Ordinary's Pleasure, as some supposed, but that it was done by Order from his Majesty, and was to be duly observed in Obedience to his supreme Command, signed by the Arch-bishop.

He likewise conceived himself bound in Duty to transmit unto the Chancellor of *Norwich*, a Copy of the Note or Schedule, whereunto the King had with his own Hand written a Direction about the Non-resident Ministers, as is before mention'd P. 97. From the declaring whereof to some others also he thought not fit to forbear, where just Occasion was given to mention the same.

He therefore denieth, that the making of those Things known, could raise any ill Opinion of his Majesty, in the Hearts of those which were his truly loving Subjects, but contrarily would induce Obedience and good Order, and all peaceable Demeanour in them: it being both the Duty and the Disposition of all good Subjects to have great Assurance in the Wisdom and Piety of the supreme Power, and in all Matters of Indifferency, tending only to the Settlement of Order, Uniformity and Devotion, to be affected toward the Sovereign, as the People of *Israel* were to K. *David*, (*2 Sam. iii. 36.*) *Placuerunt eis cuncta quæ fecit Rex.*

To the eighteenth Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that in *Anno 1636.* he did in his own Person use any superstitious or idolatrous Actions and Gestures in the Administration of the Lord's Supper.

But he saith, that he doth ever use, and observe the Form of preparing or consecrating the Bread and Wine for the holy Sacrament which the Church of *England* hath appointed, and no other, *viz.* He doth it standing at the Lord's Table, with the Bread and Wine placed openly before him: and that as well by holy Prayer and Supplication according to the Manner of the Eastern Church; as also by rehearsing of our Saviour *Christ's* Institution, according to the Manner of the Western Church, both which the Church of *England*, to avoid all Question, hath with great Wisdom conjoined in the Collect next before the Delivery of the Sacrament.

And he acknowledgeth, that for the better taking of the Bread, and for the easier reaching both of the Flaggon and the Cup for the Wine, because they stood upon the Table farther from the End thereof, then he, being but low of Stature, could reach over his Book unto them, and yet still proceed on
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in reading of the Words without Stop or Interruption, and without Danger of spilling the Bread and Wine, he did in Tower Church in *Ipswich*, anno 1636. turn unto the West-side of the Table, but it was only while he rehearsed the forementioned Collect, in which he was to take the Bread and Wine, and at no other Time.

And he humbly conceiveth, that altho' the Rubrick says, that the Minister shall stand at the North-side of the Table, yet it is not so to be meant, as that upon no Occasion, during all the Communion-time, he shall step from it: For it is usual to go before the Table to read the Epistle and Gospel, and necessary to go from the Table to the Pulpit to preach, and with the Bason to receive the Offerings, if any be; and with the Bread and Wine to distribute to the Communicants. Inasmuch therefore as he did stand at the North-side, all the while before he came to that Collect, wherein he was to take the Bread and Wine into his Hands, and as soon as that was done, thither he returned again; he humbly conceiveth, it is a plain Demonstration that he came to the West-side, only for more Conveniency of executing his Office, and no way at all in any Superstition, much less in any Imitation of the *Romish* Priests; for, they place themselves there, at all the Service before, and at all after, with no less Strictness, than at the Time of their consecrating the Bread and Wine.

But he denieth, that ever he did use any elevating of the Bread and Wine, much less that he made any Elevation so high, as that the Bread and Wine might be seen over his Shoulders; whereof abundant Testimony will be had of many (*omni exceptione majores*) who were then present, and well observed all Passages and Gestures, viz. Mr. Lany, Mr. Keene, Mr. Norwich, Mr. Novell, Mr. Mapletoft, and others. He therefore saith, that only in repeating the Words of Institution, he took the Silver Plate, wherein the Bread was, into his Hand, to break the Bread, and to say, *Take, eat*, &c. But then he never lifted his Hand from the Table, whereon it rested: and no otherwise did he with the Cup also, whereas then in the Popish Church the use is, that the Priest after the Consecration, elevating the Bread and the Chalice, does it so, as not to be seen over his Shoulder only, but holds it up over his Head, meaning that then he does sacrifice *Christ's* Body, which there he hath transubstantiated, and therefore to that End elevates it, that the People beholding may fall down and adore it: this Defendant is ready, according to the Decision in such Cases used in the ancient Councils, to pronounce *Anathema* to any superstitious or idolatrous Usages, or Intentions by him in that kind ever had, and to profess, that he doth faithfully and totally adhere to the Article of the Church of *England*. [That the Sacrament is not to be carried about, lifted up, or worshipped, *Art.* 28.]

For bowing at his Access to, or his Recess from the Lord's Table, whether the Lord's Supper be there celebrated, or not; he humbly referreth himself to that which he hath answered unto the sixth Article of this Charge: adding this, that the Bread and Wine being then upon the Table, it cannot otherwise be, but that the Reverence which he then useth, must be before them, or after they are set upon the said Table. But he further saith, that as soon as he had ended the Collect of Consecration, his bowing low was a kneeling down at the Table to receive the Bread and Wine himself. Now for that he ever useth to kneel at the holy Action, upon the Floor, and not upon any Pesse, after he had taken the Bread, and was then to set up the Plate upon the Table, that he might likewise take the Cup, he could not but lift the said Plate, not only so high as his Shoulder, but as high as his Head also, because while he continued so kneeling, his Head was as low as was the Table, if not lower.

To the nineteenth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he caused the Figure of Christ upon the Cross, to be engraven upon his episcopal Seal, thereby the more to manifest his popish Affection. And he saith, that he utterly denieth all popish Affections; and that the Figure of Christ upon the Cross may be had without any popish Affection; and that the said Figure upon his Seal, did itself declare what Affection it was to manifest. For there was this Poy engraven with it [Εὐ ἡ Κόσμος ἐποι νάγν τῷ Κόσμῳ.] being taken out of St. Paul, Gal. vi. 14. and being applied to the same Purpose, and used with the same Affection (be it humbly spoken) that St. Paul there used the same, God forbid (said St. Paul) that I should rejoyce, but in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the World is crucified unto me, and I unto the World. In an holy Imitation whereof, this Defendant beareth divers Coats of Arms (as the Use is) upon the said Seal, to wit, the Arms of the See of Norwich, and the Arms of the See of Hereford, and of the Deanery of Windsor, and of the Mastership of Peter-house, together with his own paternal Coat of an ancient Descent; he considering with himself, that these were Emblems all, and Badges but of worldly and temporal Glories, and desiring that the World should have a right Apprehension of him, and to testify that he did no Way glory in any Thing of this transitory World, but humbly endeavoured to wean himself from all temporal and vain Rejoycings, he therefore caused such a small Figure of Christ on the Cross, to be set over all the said Coats; as professing by that, that as he was only to preach Christ crucified, 1 Cor. i. 21. and that as he esteemed not to know any Thing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, 1 Cor. ii. 2. so much more, he had, and still would strive to take Joy in none of these his Honours and Preferments, as they were human and worldly, but only would use them so, as if he had them not, and as if he were dead and crucified to them, and they to him; but that his whole Study, and Rest, and Rejoycing, should be in the Cross of our Lord Jesus; and that unto it he would cause all his worldly Estate (publick and private) to stoop and do Service.

This was all the Affection which this Defendant intended to manifest hereby; and he humbly conceiveth, it was holy and truly Christian; for the expressing whereof to the World, those Coats of Arms giving him so good Opportunity; and for the assuring and impressing of so much into his own Soul, he alluding to those Words of the heavenly Spouse, to his Church, *Pone me ut figillum super cor tuum*, Cant. viii. 6. therefore he (that never had, nor used a Crucifix in all the World besides) thought it no Harm at all, nor any way popish in him to use it upon his Seal.

And he humbly prayeth, that it may well be considered, how it can rightly be surmised, that he had any popish Affection in that, or in himself at all; whereas the Assizes for the County following soon after his primary Visitation in Suffolk; he caused the Presentments of the said County (being about five Hundred) to be sent unto him from Norwich, and having himself perused them all, and extracted the Names of all such as, by the Oaths of the Churchwardens, and other sworn Men, had been presented for popish Recusants, he caused the same to be fairly ingrossed, by an Alphabet, in Parchment, comprising the Christian and Surnames of two Hundred Persons, or thereabouts, and then affixed unto it this very Seal forenamed, and so sent the same unto the Lord Chief Justice, *sedente curia*, at the Assizes at St. Edmund's-bury, which for a voluntary Act of his, never used before by any other Diocesan, as it then testified under that Seal his true Zeal and Care of the Religion here in England established, so he hopeth, it may rightly be alledged now, to shew that the Figure of Christ upon the Cross in the

Seal, cannot conclude him to have been popishly affected, which was used by him against such as were so affected.

Not to say, that although the said Seal lay all the Year long locked up in a Chest, but at the Time of Sealing, and that when any Sealing was, there was no Worship done by any; yet nevertheless, as soon as he understood, that any had taken scruple at it, he presently, to avoid all Pretence of Scandal, caused the said Seal to be altered, and the Figure of Christ to be wholly omitted.

To the twentieth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he employed such to be his Commissioners, rural Deans, and household Chaplains, whom he knew to be affected to innovating Courses, and popish Superstition, and to be erroneous and unsound in Practice and Judgment.

And he further saith, that he believeth there was not a Visitation, either metropolitane, or diocesane, held in that Diocese, or in any other of this Province, which in the Memory of Man, by Commissioners more for Number, or more worthy for Quality or good Esteem, than those Persons were, which he employed for his primary Visitation, *viz.* the Chancellor of *Norwich*, the Dean of *Norwich*, Dr. Jones, Dr. Goad, Dr. Warren, Dr. Franklin, Dr. Paule, Dr. Eden, Mr. Britten, Mr. Nouell, and Mr. Mapletost.

As for rural Deans, he saith, that he never used that Name, nor did constitute any such; only this was done, considering the Greatness of that Diocese, and that he himself being to live in his Majesty's Attendance, should not be able to understand the State thereof, or to give a yearly Account, as was enjoined by the King's Instructions; in pursuance therefore of the said Instructions, which directed the Bishops, that they should use Means by some of the Clergy, to have Knowledge, how Preachers within their Diocese did behave themselves, he directed his Letters to some in every Archdeaconry, desiring them to see, wheresoever they came in the Diocese, how all Things were carried, and by their Letters to certify him, if they found Obstinacy in any against the Rules of the Church.

Now the Choice of the Men employed was this; some few of them this Defendant himself knew; others upon some Enquiry had been recommended unto him as grave, judicious, and orderly Men; and others of them he found had long before been made Surrogates under the Seal of the Chancellor, to execute his Office for him; but the most of them he took out of a Schedule, which was transmitted formerly to him from the Consistory; for, the Chancellor being desired to furnish this Defendant with the Names of such Divines as he knew to have been fit to be put in for Assistants in his Visitation, a List was sent unto him, out of which he afterwards chose the most of those rural Commissioners.

As to the Particulars named in this Article, he further saith, that Mr. *Edmund Mapletost* was made a Commissioner by him, as having at first been bred at *Cambridge* under this Defendant, and having then lived above twelve Years a beneficed Man in that Diocese, well esteemed by all Men of Worth, both in the Clergy and Laity, for Learning, Discretion, Piety, and Honesty.

Mr. *John Nouell*, and Mr. *John Duncon*, were both Batchelors of Divinity, and senior Fellows of the College, where this Defendant was himself first bred; Men every Way as well accounted of, as that University had any, and so were successively taken by him to be his Household Chaplains.

Mr. *Buck* was not much known unto him, but as he had been very well reported to him both by the Chancellor and others, for his learned, and
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godly Sermons, at *Norwich*, *St. Paul's*, and other Places, and so was named to be one of the rural Commissioners, but never was his Chaplain.

So was Mr. *Dun*, more upon Recommendation from others, than upon Knowledge. Nevertheless, soon after knowing that the said Mr. *Dun* had assumed to use the Employment committed to him indiscreetly, and not according to the Directions which were given to him, this Defendant forthwith took Order to discharge him wholly from it.

But this Defendant denieth, that he then knew any one of them all to be erroneous and unsound in Judgment, or Practice; neither can he yet believe any such Thing of them, but if in any Kind it shall be so proved against any of them, he humbly conceiveth himself to be no further obliged to answer for them, than in his heavy Grief and Sorrow for the same.

Sure he is, that some of his Commissioners were employed by him to the Mayor, and others of the City of *Norwich*, to incite them to a more diligent Enquiry after the popish Recusants there lurking, than had been accustomed; and they so faithfully fulfilled this Employment, that at two Sessions soon after held, about *Michaelmas* 1636, for that City, there was forty popish Recusants indicted, whereas before them, as the Citizens themselves acknowledged in a Petition to the King, not above three or four at any Sessions, and many Times none at all, had been presented for Recusants.

To the twenty-first Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he very much oppressed divers Patrons of Churches, unless it be meant by his constant Care, which he had to discover simoniacal Compacts, if there were any; for he claimed nothing among them, but the Right of Institution.

He also denieth, that he admitted his own Chaplains or others, without any Colour of Title; so unjustly enforcing the right Patron to chargeable Suits. For, he saith, that of his own Chaplains he never admitted any, but *John Nouell*, to the Vicarage of *Felixtow* upon the Presentation of Sir *Antony Coge*, *jure uxoris*; unto which there was another then pretended, but did not pursue it, and the Clerks of the said Sir *Antony* have twice since then been presented, and have quietly enjoyed the same.

Also he admitted *John Duncon* to the Rectory of *Stoke*, after three Months Vacancy thereof, at the Presentation of the Dean and Chapter of *Ely*, the true original Patrons; unto which the Lessee of the Manor did after Institution lay a Claim, but before Institution was given, he neither had entered any Caveat, nor presented any Clerk to the same.

He also admitted the said *John Duncon* to the Rectory of *Sutton*, in the Presentation of the King's Majesty, but because he suspected the Right of the Title, he caused him to forbear his Induction, and upon further Discussion to yield up his Institution.

Mr. *Geast* also was instituted by him to the Rectory of *Garboldsham*; but it was upon a Judgment against another that had intruded.

Others of his Chaplains he instituted none, nor any other Clerks, when any Controversy arose, but, as near as he could judge upon hearing of Counsel, upon the fairest Title. So that he believeth, that of no Admissions which he gave while he was Bishop there, however very many of them were litigious, yet such was his Care to admit according to the truest Right, that not six of them all were afterwards by Law evicted.

[But all this notwithstanding he leaveth to his Counsel, to consider how far he shall offer to make any Answer to this Article, which is so generally and uncertainly laid, not naming which Patrons, or of which Churches, nor which Chaplains, or who else, and into what Livings.]

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He also denieth, that against his priestly Word given, *in verbo sacerdotis*, he did put Mr. Rivett, tho' he was the true and right Patron to a chargeable Suit, to evict the Incumbent: For Proof whereof, he referreth himself to the Records in Chancery, where the said Rivett having put in a Bill against this Defendant with the said false and scandalous Imputation of breaking his priestly Word, the Court first caused the said Words to be expunged and erased out of the Bill, and afterward upon a Demurrer did cast out the Bill itself also.

Mr. Chute was of Counsel for this Defendant in it.

The Case was this. To the Parsonage of Beldeston, Mr. William Rivett presented Jo. Ashley Clerk; before Admittance was given to him, George Anton enter'd a Caveat for his Interest, and then presented John Cornelius Clerk; upon a Day appointed the Parties appeared before this Defendant, and it was at large pleaded by Mr. Fountain for Mr. Rivett, and by Mr. Hoburn for Mr. Anton: The Rectory proved to be appendant to the Manor, and the pretending Patrons were now in Suit about the said Manor. Rivett pleaded a Lease of 100 Years. Anton produced a Defeasance upon condition of paying 3000*l.* which he pleaded was all paid within 140*l.* many other Exceptions were alledged by Mr. Fountain, but so fully answer'd by Mr. Hoburn, that (in this Defendant's Apprehension, the true Right seem'd to be in Anton. So they rose up, the Bishop saying, that now he had heard what could be said by their Counsel, he would consider of it, and (if need were) advise with his own Counsel about it; for he claimed nothing but the Right of Institution.

They craved not any Writ, *de jure patronatus*: nor did either of them make it appear who presented last: but both Parties promis'd, that in the mean while they would rest, and not bring any Writ of *ne admittas*. When the Company was departed, this Defendant shewed to Mr. Fountain and Mr. Rivett's Brother, the Reason, why Rivett's Clerk was not admitted at first, before Anton came in for his Right, viz. that he had received three Certificates from Mr. Stubbin a Minister in Suffolk, charging Mr. Ashley with Inconformity and sundry other Misdemeanours, besides many Complaints formerly made against him at the primary Visitation: all which when Mr. Fountain had read he professed that he would write to Mr. Rivett, and cause him to change his Clerk, if the Bishop would not proceed in the while. To whom this Defendant replyed, I know not how long you may stay; but you know that I said erewhile to you both, and you may be assured upon my Word, that Notice shall be given to you before I will do any thing. Other Promise or in other Words, he made none.

The next day being informed, that (contrary to Promise) they were bringing a Writ of *ne admittas* against Cornelius, this Defendant sent unto Westminster-Hall, to tell Mr. Fountain thereof, and to shew that he took it so ill, as that he now held himself free from any kind of Promise, and would admit Anton's Clerk to whom the Right (as he conceived) appertain'd, unless the said Mr. Fountain, would take it upon him that no Writ of *ne admittas* should be brought, but if he would promise, that then this Defendant would still forbear, and have the Cause again sifted. Answer was brought, that Mr. Fountain disavowed the Knowledge of any such Intention to bring it, but yet, being urged, did plainly refuse to undertake, that no Writ should be brought: whereupon Anton's Clerk was admitted.

As for Things in Suit, the said Cornelius and Ashley came to a voluntary Composition touching all Demands; and so Cornelius suffer'd a Judgment to pass, and Ashley had the Benefice, and the said Mr. Rivett was by the said Cornelius so well satisfied, that he gave him his Bond that he should enjoy
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some of the Grounds for a Time, and should receive such and such Tithes, and should never be molested for Delapidations, Charges, or mean Profits.

To the twenty second Article this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he granted away the Profits of his Visitation for 500*l.* above the Charges of the Visitation.

But this he saith, that when his Visitation was to be appointed, the Chancellor repaired to him with one *Edward Turfit*, and in the Register's Name, desired they might compound with him for the Profits of the Visitation by a gross Sum. But this Defendant refused to do so, until he might understand, how justly and upon what Particulars the said Profits did arise. After Examination and Computation whereof, finding that the due and lawful Payments would amount to about 570*l.* as appears by the Account hereunder written, and not reckoning the uncertain Fees for Absences, Proxies, Suspensions, Dismissions, &c. which could not be so little as 100*l.* this Defendant willing to save the Labour of sending his own Collectors, as also to do that Courtesy to the Registers, was content to accept of 470*l.* from them, so leaving to them above 200*l.* for the Charges, and their own Pains in the same.

He also further saith, that some of his Predecessors before him, had a higher Composition than that which he took; and so had his Successor by a great deal: and he humbly craveth leave to say, that not the greatness of such a Sum, but only the greatness of the Diocese, is herein to be regarded, in comparison whereof, the lawful Profits of the Visitation in smaller Dioceses are far greater than in this. For, accounting first, that the Visitation in *Norwich* Diocese is held but once in seven Years, and in other Dioceses two in six Years, the said Diocese of *Norwich* for number of Parishes and Titles, is ten times as great as the Diocese of *Ely*, and yet the Profits of every Visitation at *Ely*, are better worth than 60*l.* And it is four times greater than *Hereford* Diocese, and yet the Profits of a triennial Visitation there, are honestly worth 150*l.*

An Account of the Profits at the Visitation at *Norwich*.

	£	s.	d.
There are in the Diocese of <i>Norwich</i> parochial Titles about 1400.			
The Procurations by Law due from the several Parishes do amount to the Sum of	135	1	0
The Jurisdictions of the Arch-deacons are suspended for six Months during the Bishop's Visitation, and the Profits thereof, viz. for Wills, Administrations, Licences, Instruments of Inductions, Certificates, &c. were committed to be gathered, and taken for that while by the Register, and valued at	150	0	0
The Books of Articles at 8 <i>d.</i> per <i>Librum</i> (though in other Dioceses the accustomed Allowance is 12 <i>d.</i> came to	46	13	4
For consigning Institutions (about 1100 at 1 <i>s.</i> de <i>singulis</i> .	55	0	0
For consigning Orders 8 <i>d.</i> Licence to preach 6 <i>d.</i> de <i>singulis in toto</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> about 1700	99	3	4
For consigning Dispensations, or Unions, about fifty in all 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	8	6	8
For consigning Licences to serve a Cure, to teach a School, to practise Phylick or Chirurgery, or to be a Midwife, at 1 <i>s.</i>	70	0	0
In all	564	4	4
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He therefore denieth, that his Books of Articles were ever intended for the better Benefit of the Register, or other Farmer at *Norwich*, he having none but the Register, who was to attend upon the Visitation, forasmuch as the said Book was long before prepared, and was in a Manner the same with that which he used in the Diocese of *Hereford*, but yet was no Way quarrell'd at there.

And as touching the Number of the Articles of the said Book, he humbly conceiveth, that they which informed the honourable House of Commons, of all others, had least Reason to find Fault with this Defendant, for that, he having given them the greater Scope thereby, and the more Advantage of picking Quarrels against him. But he further saith, that by being truly careful to tread in the Steps of his Ancestors, and to that End, laying before him the Visitation Articles of many godly and worthy Prelates, such as were Bishop *Coxe*, *Cooper*, *Grindall*, *Elmer*, *Watson*, *Bancroft*, *Bilson*, *Mountague*, *Abbot*, *Andrews*, *Overall*, *White*, and sundry others, and gathering out of them, what he found in every of them for the compiling of his own Book; so that there is scarce an Article therein, which he borrowed not from some others, the Number of his Articles were somewhat increased above others. And yet, he findeth, that the Bishop of *London* in the Third of King *James*, had above one hundred Articles in his Book, at which Time, there was, perhaps, much less need of such Enquiries, than now. So had also the Archdeacon of *Middlesex*, in the Year 1620, and the Bishop of *London*, in the Year 1621, had above one hundred and twenty Articles. And in the Year 1628, he had above one hundred and thirty, and no Quarrel was ever made at any of these. A second Occasion arose by dividing his Book, (as others had done, and as was best for Method) into Chapters, under several Heads and Titles, for, hereby it came to pass, that the same Things, in several Respects, were set down in this Book of his, and enquired of more than once, as will easily appear by conferring the second, fourth, sixth, and seventh Chapters, and so by that, the Number of Articles was in a Shew increased. Thirdly, he was willing to make the more Articles and Questions of them, thereby the better to provide for the Serenity of Men's Consciences, and the securing of Men's Minds; as considering well that the Country plain People are not so able of themselves to discern what Particulars are comprised, and intended under general Questions; that therefore, they might be safe and sure in their own Understandings, and without fear of mistaking, he divided the same into the more Particulars; as in the Chapter concerning Matrimony appeareth, where that is distributed into ten, which many others have comprised in two or three Articles.

He further saith, that it made him the more diligent in his Enquiry, because he knew that he was not to visit there again till seven Years after; whereas, other Bishops do visit every third Year. But he was enjoined to give the King an Account of the State of the Diocese every Year, by the Metropolitan, and that also necessarily made him the more careful to be fully informed at first, according to the wise Man's Rule, *Vidisti hominem diligentem in opere suo; ipse stabit coram regibus*, Prov. xxii. 29.

He also humbly conceiveth, that forasmuch as Churchwardens were sworn to make their Presentments uprightly, fully, and truly, it is not to be complained of, but must of Necessity follow, that they were enforced to present upon pain of Perjury; for, being sworn, their Consciences and christian Duties enforced them so to do; and then, to put them in Mind thereof, was but honest and pious, and in these Times exceeding needful. As for the Oath of Churchwardens, it was supposed to be of ancient Law, and Use in the Church of *England*; and in the Canons of the 1 *Jacobi*, was taken as a

Thing undoubted, *Can.* 26, 113, 117, 118, 119. And therefore, if some Churchwardens were cited and censured, for not making due Presentments, although this Defendant knew not of any of those in the Article named, yet, he humbly conceiveth it to have been but the Direction of Law, and of the 117th Canon, and also, in that Diocese very needful, where some had no Regard at all, their Oath notwithstanding, to make their Presentments as the Law required. Howbeit, if otherwise than was right, any were molested, he humbly prayeth, that the Fault may not be laid to his Charge, but to their's that committed it.

He also denieth, that any of the said Articles were ridiculous, or impossible, as he doubts not to make it appear, when ever Instance shall be made in any of them.

To the twenty-third Article, this Defendant answereth and saith, that as this Charge doth not any Way concern him, so is it not possible also, for any Answer to be made to it, until it be expressly declared, how, and by whom they were enforced to have their Presentments so written, and what Clerks they were that wrote the same.

But this he saith, that the better to induce the Register to take Care, and to see that none of his Clerks should in any Kind be exactious, this Defendant was therefore content to allow him so great a Proportion of the lawful Benefit, as is declared in the Article precedent. And that he not only gave express Warning to the said *Turfit*, to beware of Wrong and Oppression, threatening that if any just Complaint came unto this Defendant, he would be the first and the foremost against them; but also by his Letters to the Chancellor, and by private Intimation to some of the Commissioners, to have a special Heed thereunto, he did all that was in his Power to prevent the same. He took Order also, that at every Session of the Visitation, a Table of the legal Fees should be published in open Court, and should there remain upon the Board to be seen of all that would; and the Commissioners at the Request of this Defendant, were as vigilant as they could be, that no Clerk should misbehave himself there.

He also gave Order to the said Register, to cause the Books of Articles to be sent forth and published in every Parish, and to be delivered to the Churchwardens long before the Visitation, to the Intent that they might have due Time, not only to peruse them, and well consider what they had to do, but also to prepare their Presentments, and to have them written at Leisure, where, and by whom they would themselves.

Also, he admonished the Ministers to join with the Churchwardens in performing of the same, that so they might not need, all of a sudden, to employ any Clerks to do it for them, at the Time of the Visitation. And lastly, he gave Direction to have it set down, that if the Presentment of any Churchwarden were so insufficient, as that the Judge should in Court examine him farther, his Clerk's Fee for writing the same, should be but 6 *d.* or at the most 7 *d.* But he hath been since informed, that Complaint being made by a Churchwarden at the Visitation against *Augustine Culyer*, one of the Clerks, for exacting 10 *d.* for writing his Presentment, one of the Commissioners did in open Court examine the said *Culyer* about it, and particularly minded him, which Fee this Defendant had limited to be taken in that Case; but the said *Culyer* made Answer, that to write Presentments was no part of their Office, and therefore was not liable to the Limitation of the Ordinary; but that the Churchwarden had sought to him to write it, and when he refused, promised to content him for it, and that he valued his Pains at such a busy Time to be no less worth; wherefore now he had done it, he

would

would have so much for it, or else he would not part with it; and that he would answer the same, whenever he should be called or Words to that effect.

To the twenty-fourth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he ever endeavoured to draw the Inhabitants of *Norwich* to pay 2s. in the Pound, in Lieu of Tythes to the Ministers, much less to draw them to it against their Will.

He also denieth, that he did by any Suggestions, much less by any false or undue Suggestions, procure his Majesty to declare his royal Pleasure as is alledged.

But this he saith, that some of the Ministers in *Norwich* came to this Defendant, and shewed him a Petition, which they were to put up to the King, for Means of Maintenance in that they lived, almost, wholly upon Benevolence. They also shewed him, that in the Year 1606, there was a Bill twice read in the Commons House, of 2s. in the Pound for them; but then, at the Request of Sir *Henry Hobart*, Knight, Burges for *Norwich*, it was laid asleep, and by his Direction, there was procured from the King, to the Council, an Order of Relief for the said Ministers; which Order, though once again received from the Council-board, yet was since then wholly neglected. Hereupon this Defendant procured for them an Opportunity of delivering their Petition to the King, and in *January* 1637, the said Ministers with the King's Attorney as their Counsel, and some of the City with their Counsel, appeared before his Majesty at the Council-board, where this Defendant was also by a Messenger commanded to attend. After long Debate, the King asked, if they would wave all other Pleas, and submit to his Arbitration; both Parties consented, and so they were ordered to appear again after *Easter*, and to bring their Submissions; they for the City, under the City Seal, and the Ministers under their Hands, attested by the Seal of the Consistory. This then was done accordingly, and this Defendant certified the said Act of the Consistory, touching the Consent of the said Ministers, under his episcopal Seal, and as Diocesan gave Consent, *quantum de jure potuit*, to the said Submission, for three or four Churches in the City which were then void.

Within a few Days after, this Defendant was translated to *Ely*, and so was no further interested in the Business, but in *July* following, the Petitioners repaired to this Defendant, and shewed him, that the King had now given Order, for the drawing up of his royal Award and Arbitration, betwixt them and the City. And that the Attorney General had willed them, in that he was full of great Business, and not very well versed in Forms of that Nature, to bring him a Draught of that which they desired, and then he would consider of it, how agreeable it was to Law, and to the King's Intentions, and so would form it, and prepare a Bill for the King's Signature. They therefore prayed this Defendant to peruse what they had drawn, and to give them his Advice therein; particularly insisting, that unless they might sue, when Need was, in the Consistory of *Norwich*, and be free from Prohibitions, they should be no whit profited by any Award. This Defendant replied, that he had not Skill enough in the Law to judge of that; but yet, for that he remembered, that in the Charters of the University, the Cognizance of all Causes was referred to the Consistory, and that it was particularly granted, in such and such Cases, *Quod prohibitio nostra non curret*, therefore, they might put it in, and leave it to the Attorney's Judgment, whether in a Case of Arbitration, the King might fitly do so or no. Not many Days after, they returned again to this Defendant, and complained, that they should lose the Benefit of all his Help and Advice in making the Draught, for that Mr. Attorney's Clerk had lost the same. But yet recollecting the same as well

as they could upon their Memories, they left this Defendant, and he looked no more after it, nor knew what was done, till they came to shew him the great Seal for it.

This Defendant therefore denieth, that he devised, contrived, or made that Order and Decree, which was then issued under the great Seal of *England*; or that he procured any Warrant, or gave any Direction to the King's Attorney, for the drawing of it up; or that he obtained his Majesty's Royal Assent thereunto; much less, that he did so by any evil Councils; and least of all, by any false Surmises.

But this he acknowledgeth, that when he saw the said Award under the great Seal, it not being possible for him to conceive that a Business directed by his Majesty and the Council, prepared and tendered by the King's Attorney, and passing the View and Allowance of the Lord-keeper, should have any Illegality, or Injustice in it, he was rejoiced at it, and made sundry Expressions how glad he was that he had had the Opportunity to contribute the least Furtherance to a Matter, as he conceived it, of so much Justice and Piety. And thereupon, after he was made Bishop of *Ely*, he causing a Register-book of all such Acts as had been done by him, while he was Bishop of *Norwich*, to be transmittted into the Office there, upon some vacant Leaves at the End of the said Book, he gave Order, that the said Award of the King should also be recorded, not without some Passages, perhaps, of his Joy, which he, *bonâ fide*, conceived for the good Success of all poor Ministers by the same.

To the twenty-fifth Article, this Defendant answereth and denieth, that he assumed to himself any arbitrary Power, to compel Parishioners to pay excessive Wages to Parish clerks, and he humbly conceiveth, that the Truth of this Denial, appeareth by the very Charge. For, if he assumed such a Power to himself, what needed he to transmit them to the high Commission? And how could he have it arbitrary, and at his own Pleasure, if he carried it into a Court, that could regulate both him and them?

But this he saith, that he considering with himself how necessary for the Performance of Divine Service of the Church, besides sundry other Duties of that Place, or Office, a Parish Clerk was, to make audible Answers in all those Parts of the Divine Service, as by the Rule of the Common Prayer Book should be made, and so to lead the mean and ignorant People, and in a Kind to incite and instruct them to join in making those Answers with him, which the Book requireth; finding also, that not only the Canons of the Church did require to have a Clerk in every Parish, but also the Rubrics of the Liturgy, did suppose, when they were made, that there was one Clerk at least in every Parish, viz. *Rubric of Matrimony*, after Hands joyned. *Ibidem*, *Rubric* for going to the Table; *Rubric* for Order of Burial, first and second; *Rubric* of the Communion before the 51st Psalm; this Defendant therefore was much grieved to see, that in many Places of that Diocese, they neither had, nor cared to have a Clerk, and thereupon by his own frequent Exhortations, and by Recommendation thereof unto the Chancellor, he laboured to amend this Default, as touching such Parishes therefore, where Men of sufficient Parts were to be had for that Service; but the Parishioners would allow either over mean Wages, or none at all, nor would pay any Rates which the Churchwardens did make for the Wages of a Clerk, it may well be that he said, he would in that Case implore the Aid of the King's Commissioners for Causes ecclesiastical, that they might take such Order therein, as to the said Court should be thought fitting.

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As to the Towns in the Articles named, this Defendant remembereth nothing at all touching *Congham*. For it therefore, and for all that he did, in that Kind, at *Toslock*, he referreth himself to the Acts of Court. For *Yarmouth*, the Clerk by Petition complaining, that an House was detained from him, and that his Wages were not duly paid unto him, this Defendant referred the said Petition to the Bailiffs, praying them to see that Right might be done, otherwise they should be enforced to implore the Aid of the King's Commissioners. But the Bailiffs by their Letters affirming, that the Suggestions of the Petition were untrue, this Defendant would meddle no further with the Business. But he believeth, that the Clerk did complain to the high Commissioners, and that from them the Cause was soon dismissed, *sub spe concordie*; so that nothing was done touching the Clerk's Wages, but only upon some private Agreement amongst themselves, which was also done after the Removal of this Defendant from the See of *Norwich*. [See the Bishop's own Letter, *Murtii* 29, 1638.]

And as for *Ipswich*, though some of them were worthy (for the great Disrespect which he found in many Parishes of the Town, toward the Divine Service) to be made an Example for others; yet he chose rather to deal by Patience and good Exhortation, and Mildness with them; and in all his Time, did not cause any of them to be transmitted into the high Commission for the same.

Had the honourable House of Commons understood with how much Violence and Injustice, as this Defendant humbly conceiveth, these Clamours have been raised, he is confident, that this Impeachment had not been laid against him. But they not having the Power of Examinations upon Oath, he was forced to refer all his Defence to the Cognisance of the noble Peers of this House.

Had there been any Corruption, Extortion, Simony, or Bribery; any Advantage, or Gain to this Defendant by ought which was done, he should hold himself worthy of so grievous an Impeachment. But in as much as Malice itself hath not dared to pretend any Colour of that, and in that he had nothing, save his Labour for his Pains, and Hatred for his good Will, he humbly conceiveth, that he may in Justice be excused, if upon a severe Examination, any Error shall be thought to have happened in that, which by him was honestly, religiously, and dutifully intended.

Those Articles therefore being now criminally, and by Way of publick Impeachment charged upon him, he humbly prayeth, that it may be set forth, against what Law or Statute any, and every of these particular Offences is supposed to be committed; that thereby he may have the common Benefit of the Law and Justice, in pleading his humble and lawful Defence.

He also further humbly craveth the noble Favour and Justice of this honourable House, that for avoiding of all Surprisal about the making of his said Defence, he may by Order of this House, have the Sight of all Letters, Papers, Records, and other Writings which shall happen to be alledged, as in Evidence against him, with a convenient Time for the Perusal thereof, by his learned Counsel. As also, that it may be ordered, for the Perusal of all Records, Books of Registry, and other Notes and Writings which by his Council shall be thought needful to him for his modest, humble, and just Defence against these Impeachments.

A SER-

A SERMON of Bishop WREN's.

PROV. xxiv. 21.

Fear God my Son, and the King.

NOLI æmulari, *Fret not thyself, because of the Ungodly, neither be thou envious for the evil Doer*, says King David the Father, *Psal. xxxvii. 1.* And let not thy Heart be envious for the evil Doer, says King Solomon the Son, *Prov. xxiii. 17.* Why the Son learnt it of his Father you will say; or 'twas a good and a godly Lesson, and no marvel then, if the wise Kings, both of them, put it in among their holy Advices.

Yea, but be not thou envious for the evil Doer, says King Solomon again, at the fourth Verse of this Chapter. What again! and so soon, so few Verses between? Surely then there is some extraordinary Matter in it, 'tis not only one of his good Counsels, but it is some special one of them, one that he would have heeded and learned afore many, above any other.

It should seem so indeed, for *noli æmulari, Fret not thyself because of the Ungodly, neither be thou envious for the evil Doer*, says he once more, in the Verses next before my Text. For fear it should not make so deep an Impression in Mens Minds as was fitting, he sets it on the third Time, as loath to leave it, 'till it be thoroughly settled and fastened in their Hearts, but *Tertia jam vice*, 2 Cor. xiii. 1. says the Apostle, *firmum erit omne verbum*, the Admonition thrice repeated, will make it sure and immoveable.

Now who, in the Name of God, is that evil Doer, of whom he here warns us so often? Or what is it the Wifeman would have us do, to shew that we are not envious for him? Why, that the Spirit hath set down too, and that once and again; in the preceding Chapter v. 17. it is, *Let not thy Heart be envious for the evil Doer, but let it always be in the Fear of the Lord; Timor domini*, that's the general Rule for it; but least that might prove not punctual enough, he says it over again, more particularly here at my Text, *Be not envious for the evil Doer, but fear God, my Son, and the King*; and then that's enough, *Timor Dei & Regis*, when he had said that, there needed (by like) no more Instruction; the distinct Performance of these two, and the distinct unavoidance of such as perform them not, of presumptuous and wretchless Sinners, and of contemptuous and awless Subjects, a *noli æmulari* for both these, not to sort or suit ourselves with them, neither with them that fear not God, nor with them that pretend, forsooth, to fear God, but yet fear not the King, 'tis the very last and chiefest Lesson this of all, that which Solomon, it seems, in his Wisdom chose to close up his own Book of Proverbs with.

For, however he spake indeed, 1 Kings iv. 32. three thousand Proverbs in all, and this of my Text now makes not above seven hundred, yet as it appears both by the Verse after my Text, *these Things also belong to the Wife*, and by the first Verse of the Chapter following, *these are also Proverbs of Solomon, which Hezekiah's Men copied out*, it is more than probable, that this Book of Proverbs went no further than this, *to fear God and the King*, and then he had done; and that all which now follows from my Text to the End of the Book, were but Fragments collected out of his other Works, Gatherings and Gleanings, which other Men afterwards got together, and when they had them, added them to this Book, but with this he himself ended it at first, as the very Sum and Crown, and Upshot of all, *Time Deum, fili mi, & regem; fear God my Son, and the King.*

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Now the Words, you see, are in all scarce twice three; yet at once they present us with three chief Persons, and three great Relations. The Persons no less than God, the Lord of all; and God's Deputy, the King; and all that call God Father, all the People. The Relations are first *Personæ*, what Reference all these Persons stand in one to another; God to King and People, the King to the People and God, the People to God and the King. Secondly, *Operæ*, what must be done, as a Due to God and the King, and as a Duty from the People to both; *Timere*, they are to fear them. Lastly, *Causæ*, why it must be done; yea, and *Modi* too, how it must be done, *quia filii*, and *quâ filii*, because they are Sons, and as Sons, fear them therefore, and fear them so, for the Manner and so for the Order too, as Sons to both, both to God and King; yet as Sons first to God and then to the King: all these particularly incircled within this narrow Compass, *Fear God, my Son, and the King.*

Of which, that I may so speak as that God's People may learn the Fear of God and the King aright, I humbly beseech you that we may here address ourselves unto God, that holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, &c.

Fear God, my Son, and the King.

You see what first meets us, at the very Door of the Text; and there must our Beginning be, at *Timere*, at the Duty of Fear, and in that, at *Dei* before *Regis*, at the Fear of the Lord first; and then that is the best Beginning that may be.

To begin at God, is in Nature, *Εὐ δὲ ἀρχόμεθα*, says one of their Poets, and a *Jove principium*, says another: but the Fear of God is of Wisdom above Nature; *The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom*, says the Psalmist, *Psal.* iii. 11. and as it begins so it goes, *it is the Increase of Wisdom also*, says Solomon, *Prov.* xv. 33. Yea, 'tis the very End of all the Sum of what can be said or done. *Eccles.* xii. 13. *Let us hear the End of all; fear God, for this is the whole Duty of Man. Hoc est totum hominis*, this every Man must do or else he does nothing; and more than this need no Man to do: it will be very abundant for him if he do truly fear God.

Timor Dei.

Why else does the Spirit so often name us the fearing of God, rather than any other Christian Duty? *My Son love God*, or *my Son obey God*, or *my Son trust in God*; all these had been Charges holy and good, but none of them all had been so much; though *my Son fear God*, is a Precept and Promise of them all: for Fear is a catholic Duty that runs through all Duties else, and keeps them in tune; 'tis God's *præpositus* in the School of Graces; it sees that none of them all be out of Order, or in any kind faulty.

It makes us look well to our Ear, for fear we should hear unprofitably; to our Eye, for fear we should glance unreverently; to our Love, for fear aught slip from us which God may take for unkind and unlovely; to our Obedience, for fear we grow careless or presumptuous; to our Faith, for fear we become doubting or desperate; to our Joy, for fear it should be immoderate; to our Grief, for fear it be unwarrantable; to our Devotion, for fear it be hypocritical; to our Religion, for fear it be superstitious; to our whole Life, for fear it be licentious. For Fear is as the *Inquisitor Major* over all the rest; when it is right, all Offices else are right; all is well, if God be but rightly feared.

Let it be no Wonder then, that the Prophet attributes Fear to Christ himself, and that at the End of divers other Virtues, as a sure Guide and Director

of them all, *the Spirit of the Lord upon him*, saith he, *Isa. xi. 2.* But what Spirit? *The Spirit of Wisdom; and of Understanding; the Spirit of Counsel and of Strength; the Spirit of Knowledge, and of the Fear of the Lord:* without that indeed the rest (as great as they are) would be little or nothing; and concerning that, therefore, the next Verse adds yet further, *Et odorabitur timorem Domini;* besides his having the Spirit of Fear, *he shall also hunt and seek after it above all the rest; nay, odorabitur, it shall be the very Breath of his Nostrils, the Life and Soul of all Gifts else in him, the Fear of the Lord.*

And to this suits well that excellent Meditation that *Iræneus* has about it. "Such Things (saith he) as upon our Fore-fathers were so strictly charged in the old Law, as merely slavish and servile, all those indeed the Liberty of the Gospel pared off at once: but then natural Things, and such as comply with Ingenuity and Freedom (as the knowing of God, the loving of him, the following his Word, and the subduing our own Lusts) these were to be dilated by the Gospel, and not dissolved; so far from Abolition, that they received a far greater Augmentation. And from hence it comes (saith he) that our Fear of God (that's it which principally he chuses to insist upon) is much more grown now, than ever the Law could expect it: and why? Because it is natural (says he) that Sons should fear more than Servants; the very Liberty of Sons being as a Load-stone to allure, and as a Whet-stone to increase, and as a Touch-stone to try their Love; and their inbred Affection setting such an Edge on the Reverence and Fear which they bear him, as no Slavery of the Law could ever skill off."

That, *we have not then*, since Christ, *received the Spirit of Bondage to fear any more*, St. Paul says right for that, *Rom. viii. 15. because such Fear as that* (the Fear that was of old) *cruciatum habet, 1 John iv. it only vexed and afflicted them that had it;* but yet by the Blessing of the Gospel the Fear of the Lord is highly improved to us; for 'tis the Spirit of Adoption now, and only combines with Joy and Pleasure, *ἡδόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ φοβηόμενοι*, says *Pantaleon*; it is Serm. iis ἀγία φῶτα. such a reverend and free Disposition in us towards God our Father, that though we were sure he should never know of our Offence, or could possibly say to us, I know it, and it offends me, but yet I will not punish it; even therefore we would strive the more against it, as being loth to displease so good a Father, and having more Care not to miscarry than not to smart for it, and performing Duty not for fear of suffering Vengeance, but for fear of foregoing that Duty, and of wronging so much Love as he and we are mutually engaged in.

And now by this I know (says St. Hilary, in *Psal. cxxvii.*) what King David meant when he called the Faithful to School to him, *Come my Children and bearken unto me, and I will teach you the Fear of the Lord, Psal. xxxiv. 11.* For what needs that (saith he) if there were nothing else in it? Who teaches the Lamb to fear the Wolf? Or who reads Lessons against the Kite to the Chickens? But the Fear of the Lord comes by holy Rule and Instruction; it is not what Nature trembles at, but what Grace directs to; and it is not perfectly had but from the Lessons of Love, such Love as obliges to beware of all offending.

Now the Psalmist indeed does not there set it down; but if any profess they are come to learn it, I dare close up this Point with an Answer to that other Question of his, *quis est vir? Psal. xxv. What Man is he that feareth the Lord?* For a Man may soon know him now, at least he may easily know, whether himself be the Man: if he find in his Soul so pure and devoted an Affection to God his Father, that his Joy is only to please him, and his Study to avoid offending of him, his whole Content is that God loves him, and securely he rests himself upon the Favour that God has to him. *Hic vir hic est*, this Man may be bold that he is a good Proficient, and that he hath thoroughly learnt the Fear of the Lord.

H h

But

But yet this is not enough, though for the *Time Deum* here in my Text: that there is such a thing as Fear; and that it is now in a more liberal and son-like Condition than when *Solomon* spake of it; and that the Mind of Man may be, and ought to be entirely affected with it; and that God alone must be the Object of it. In Speculation indeed it comes to no more; *Timor Domini* is but this, and these Particulars make up the full Theory of the Fear of the Lord.

But yet there goes somewhat more to the perfect Duty of it. For this *Time Deum*, as a present and particular Precept, aims also at the practising of it; it implies the Fact as well as the Mind, all actual and outward Expressions of it, besides the inward and habitual Affection.

Expressio Timoris.

So that is the next thing which here we must look at. If a Man's Spirit be right in the Fear of God, and the right Spirit of God's Fear be upon him, what Demonstration withal he must make of the same, and how it must be acted, that it may appear God is thus feared.

For *corpus autem aptasti mihi*, if ever ye mark it, ye know 'tis not omitted of our Saviour himself, that God having ordained him a Body, in that Body he was to perform his Will. *Heb. x. 9.* And much more is it so with us, we being Bodies also, and not only Spirits, the Spirit alone will not suffice us; 'tis not enough that our Minds and Affections are inwardly endowed with it, but such Expressions withal we must make, as that the Performance of the Duty may be witnessed: the Duty we acknowledge is, that we do fear God; and by that which is to be read by our outward Deportment, neither God nor Man will bear us Witnesses that we do fear him.

God nor Man, I say. For Expressions, I shall shew you, there are of both Kinds, both to God and to Man. To Man, that he may know it, and so (when Need is) acknowledge it, and glorify God for it, or profit himself by it: to God only, that he may be pleased to acknowledge it, though he knew it not long before; for he knows what is Man, better than Man himself. And for this 'tis brought in with a *Nunc* to *Abraham* (that Father not of the Faithful alone, but of the Fearful too; for he is the first that is ever said to fear the Lord) *Gen. xxii. 12. Nunc cognovi quod timeas, Now I know that thou fearest God.* What? Not till now Lord? Was *Abraham's* Mind unknown to thee before? Could not God tell long ago whether *Abraham* feared him? Yes; as *St. Peter* answered Christ's third Question, whether he loved him, with *Lord thou knowest all Things; thou knowest that I love thee*: and yet Christ the third Time said to him, *Feed my Sheep*, *John xxi.* As who should say, never be sorry, *Simon*, that I ask thee so often; and never doubt but I perfectly know thee: but know it I will not, till thou thus exprest it; for however God requires Truth in the inward Parts, yet the inward Parts alone are not all he requires; he will not know that he is loved, unless that Love do outwardly appear; and Expression we must make of our Fear, or else he will not acknowledge that we do fear him.

Ipsi Deo.

Now what Expression of it can we make to God? *Abraham's* Case, forenamed, shews us, that upon special Commands there may be special Ways of it, even to the sacrificing of an only Son, if God so require. But the ordinary Way that lies open for all Men, the very Word itself here will shew us, that we must exprest our Fear to God by Acts of Religion; for so the Word Fear ordinarily imports in Scripture.

When

When *Moses* had at large described the whole Duty of God's Worship, his Conclusion is, *And now Israel, what doth the Lord require of thee, but to fear him*, Deut. x. 12. That special Command which God sent against worshipping of strange Gods was, *Fear not the Gods of the Land where you dwell*, Judges vi. 10. And the Complaint which the Prophet makes of *Israel*, *That the Fear wherewith they feared God, was in Precepts of Men's teaching*, *Isaiah* xxix. 13. by Christ himself, 'tis expounded of corrupting God's Worship, *Mat. xv. 9. In vain do they worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Precepts of Men.*

And in this Sense I can tell, what to make of it, that when the Articles were to be sworn to, betwixt the two great Princes, *Laban* and *Jacob*, how *Jacob* should use *Laban's* Daughters whom he had to Wife, and how *Laban* should keep a faithful League with *Jacob*, *Laban* indeed swear by his Idols, but *Jacob* swore a strong Oath, *per timorem patris Isaac*, by the Fear of his Father *Isaac*, Gen. xxxi. What was that? why *Laban* swear according to his Religion, and *Jacob* according to his, by the Worth and Truth thereof, and by that Deity, which his Father and he feared, to wit, the God of Heaven, whom they worshipped.

And with a Reference to this also, we must take it, what's recorded in holy Writ of religious *Obadiab*, holy *Job*, devout *Cornelius*, and sundry others, still how they feared God, for as it appears by the Wiseman, *Eccles. i. 30. θεοσεβειαν*, and *δουλοφοβον*, the Fear of God, and the Worship of God, they are all one in the Language of the Spirit; and the Grammarians themselves have noted it so, that *λάτρεια*, the most peculiar Word for Worship, (coming of *λατρεω* and *τρεψω*) in the Nature of it imports nothing else but an ancient Fear, so that these two will ever go together, and where there is any true fearing of God, there will be withal due worshipping of him.

And does not King *David* himself lead to this, in plain Terms construing his own Mind? *But as for me*, saith he, *I will come into thy House*, *Psal. v. 7.* his Meaning is, I will come and worship thee; for that was all the coming into God's House in those Days; when they came, they came to worship, and worship God they did; whenever they came thither, they were neither too holy nor too stately, neither too fine, nor too foolish to cast themselves down, when they came into God's Presence. But to make it sure, he goes on in the next Words there, *And in thy Fear will I worship in thy holy Temple*, saith he, there we have them both expressly, not Worship put alone, nor Fear alone put for Worship, tho' either had been enough, I will worship thee, or I will shew my Fear of thee in thy Temple, but both together; when I am there, in thy Fear will I worship, that is, I will adore thee, with such Expressions of Humility and Reverence, as of Right doth appertain to a Creator from his Creature.

And how fully then meets this with the epidemical Prophanation of our Times, that will thrud you a Difference now betwixt this Fear, and perfect Worship, betwixt a Religion, and a due Devotion, betwixt Holiness and Holiness? Holiness good Store, forsooth, in Heart and in Mind, Religion in the Belly and the Brain; Oh, we are so full of that, we are ready to burst with it, it runs out many Times at our Mouth, with stand further off, I am holier than thou; yea, and we are good Men, you must know, and exceeding godly, such as fear God, and hear his Word duly. That's true, we have a great deal of Religion in our Ears too; but yet higher or lower, we have none, none upon our Heads for a due Reverence before him, none in our Knees to bow at his blessed Name, none for our Bodies, to cast them down and worship.

Especially

Especially not in his House, in the most sacred Presence of our God; no, the less ado there, the better, the less Superstition; do but come in confidently, and without any more Stir, sit down and be covered, and hear, and who dare say, that we fear not God? Whatsoever is more than this, for Adoration, or any Beauty of Holiness, talk King *David* what he will of it, yet it is but *δεισιδαιμονία*, a superstitious overfearing of God, for where requires he, say many of us, any of these Expressions and external Operations in his Worship?

But to these unsavory Fancies, may the Prophet *Malachy* have Leave to reply, many Passages of whose first Chapter, *mutatis mutandis*, fit these Times as well as they did those they were made for. And they are never a Whit from my Text neither, for they are all about Expressions of Fear in the Service of God; at the sixth Verse, *If I be a Father, where is my Honour? And if I be a Master, where is my Fear, saith God to you that despise my Name?*

But they wondered, he should complain; they feared him and honoured him, they were sure, as they should do, and it may well be, they meant as we do, within, in our Hearts forsooth; therefore they reply again, *Despise! wherein have we despised thee?* Ver. 7. God tells them, in that ye say, *The Table of the Lord is not to be regarded*: there's one Particular for them, of the Want of Fear and Honour. And are there not of us, that say the same? The Table of the Lord, and the House of the Lord, and the Presence of the Lord, would you know how we, some of us, regard it, or what Difference we put betwixt it and any other Places? A great deal less, I am sure, than some other. For the King's Presence, and the Places where but our Betters are, have a great deal more Reverence and Worship from us, and we ourselves expect a great deal more in the Presence of our Inferiors.

And yet that's God's express Argument against us there, but that we now adays are able to teach God better Logic, *Go and do so to thy Prince now, and see, if he will be content with thee*, saith God, Ver. 8. Worship not when thou comest into him, beg any Thing of him not on thy Knee, bow not down in Honour of him, but be Jack Fellow, sit still, or be covered, when he hath ought to do with thee, and will he accept thee? *And yet I am the greatest King of all, saith the Lord of Hosts*, there in that Chapter.

But at this we snuff, and cry, *Ecce labor!* Oh, here's a-do indeed for uncovering, and standing, and kneeling, and bowing, but what Reason is there, we should be put to so much Inconvenience and Weariness in serving God, who, as himself is a Spirit, so he requires but to be worshipped in Spirit, and Truth, and he knows our Hearts well enough? And was not that the very Exception then of the Jews also! *But ye have said, it is Weariness, Ecce labor, and ye have snuffed at it, saith the Lord of Hosts*, Ver. 13. And then what's the Conclusion? *Therefore my Name is, and shall be fearful among the Heathen*, saith he, at the 14th Verse. God upbraids and threatens them with the Heathen their Neighbours, whose idolatrous Religion express'd more Fear of a God though than theirs; and upbraided as well may we be, and threaten'd too, with the erroneous Religions, that neighbour about us, for they are far more careful to shew the holy Signs of Fear than we; and by that, to say right, they now stand; the Opinion and Affection, and Devotion of the People, I spake by some Experience, in liking of them, and boasting of ours, being by no one Thing so much carried with them as 'tis by the outward Worship and Reverence.

I should then but wrong our Nation of old when they first became *English*, should I not make this a Note of the excellent Spirit, which then possess'd them, that as they lost, almost, all Words of their own Language to signify this Passion of the Mind, which we mean by Fear, so they borrowed none from other Languages, but only this Word Fear, and that they brought

brought from the *Latin*, *Vereri*, to shew, that at first their noble Affections knew no Fear but the Fear of God, filial and reverential Fear alone, such as God himself (we see) would have his Worship performed by, and our Religion expressed by.

And if once we come to lose that in our Religion, our Fear, we shall soon come to lose Religion and all, however we sooth ourselves: for that is the Way to hold even the right Religion also; *St. Paul* says flatly, *Heb. xii. 28. Wherefore having received such a Kingdom* (the Gospel, he means, of Jesus Christ, other Kingdom we have received none) *let us hold the Grace fast.* True; that is good Counsel: but how shall we do that? How shall we hold it? It follows, *In serving him acceptably to his Mind:* and how that? *With Reverence* (saith he) *and holy Fear.*

And wiser than thus, whoever thinks himself, let him go try it with *David* that thinks him not so, *For holy and reverend is God's Name*, saith he; and then such a Fear as this, such as performs a holy Reverence to him, and to his blessed Name, that is, *the Fear of the Lord, and the Beginning of Wisdom.* Psalm. cxi. 10. *And a good Understanding have all they that do thereafter:* they only understand aright what Religion and Holiness and the true Fear of the Lord is; that without all Hypocrisy have it truly within in their Hearts, and without all prophane Contempt express it also duly in the outward Worship of him.

Hominibus in genere.

And thus make we the Expression of our Fear of God to God himself. But yet other Expressions there are of the same to Man. In general, first, the Commerce that passes between us and others; the Justice and Righteousness; the Mercy and Charity; the Truth and Honesty which we shew towards all Men: these are as broad Seals to prove it to them, and the Letters Patents that testify it, and justify us in our Fear of God.

That unrighteous Judge that feared not God, but righted the poor Widow only to avoid Trouble, yet he in denying to do it for any Fear of God or Man, even by that confest, that the chiefest thing which should have moved him to it, was the Fear of God. *Luke xviii. 4.* And whence was it that *Abraham* could look for no better than Murther and Rape among the *Philistines*, that they would kill him and force his Wife, *but because he thought surely the Fear of God was not in that Place,* Gen. xx. 11. But *Joseph*, on the other side, aiming to satisfy his Brethrens Mind, and to make them not doubt of fair and honest Dealing at his Hand, makes that, the Reason and Assurance of it, *This do and live*, saith he, *for I fear God,* Gen. xlii. 18.

And in this Regard, it is worth the observing, that when God was pleased to take the Devil's own Verdict concerning *Job's* fearing God, however *Job* was excellent at both Expressions, at the Acts of Religion, in his holy and daily Worshipping of God, and the Acts of Honesty, in his upright Dealing with all Men; yet God questions the Devil not of the former, his religious fearing him, but only the other, his righteous fearing of him; *Hast thou not considered my Servant Job, that there is none like him upon Earth, in the fearing of God?* *Job i. 8.* But how was that to appear to Satan? He says not; for he prays thus much, he preaches thus often, he sacrifices daily, he professes continually; but, *For he is an upright and just Man, and eschews Wrong and Evil,* says God; Signs able to convince the Devil himself, who not daring upon those Proofs to deny it, only sought to blemish it with a Slander of sinister Respects, *Timet, sed an gratis?* 'Tis true, *Job* fears God, I see by that, *but does he fear God for naught?* At the 9th Verse.

The Point is so clear, say some Talkers amongst us what they will, that I shall but wrong you to illustrate it. I shall better conclude it with this Advertisement, that these two Expressions of our Fear, to God by our Holiness, and to Man by our Righteousness, they must never be confounded, nor the Relations misplaced. However, by our worshipping of God, Men may well hope of our fearing of him, and by our Uprightness with Man, God takes Notice how well we do fear him, yet we mistake it foully, if we think we may spare one of them, and that either Expression may well enough serve for both.

It was but vainly done therefore of the proud holy Pharisee, to tell God, by his not being like the Publican, that he was no Extortioner, nor unjust, nor Adulterer, and by his often fasting, that he was no Glutton, and by his faithful Tithe-payings, that he was no Church Robber; but in the mean while to stand upon his Terms with God, in trust to his own Righteousness, to stand up, as though he challenged God, *and to pray with himself*, says the Text, *Luke xviii. 11.* as though he scorned to do any more for God, and to let him know, what he was, as though God were beholden to him; and if such as that would serve God, so; but otherwise, in the Pride of his Heart, to express no Reverence, nor Worship, no Fear of God at all in his Presence.

And every Whit as vain is the t'other pharisaical Trick, that's now become the Sign of a Saint among many of us, little to regard that, which our Saviour calls the weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, and Mercy, and Fidelity, he means conscientious Honesty, such as is regulated by the glorious Law written in our Hearts, and not by the outward Law of *Westminster-hall*, or of a Bishop's Consistory, but to make no Bones of it to burst in private with Envy and Malice, Hatred and all Uncharitableness, to backbite and slander, to cross and hinder, to censure and condemn, to wallow also in Oppression and Usury, in Falshood and Wrong, in Lust and Uncleaness, in Pride and Hypocrisy, in Contempt and Disobedience, in Schism and Faction both ecclesiastical, and civil, and yet notwithstanding all this, to make full Account, that our running to Church, and crying out for Sermons, our defying the Devil, and railing against Antichrist, our pretending of Conscience, and finding Fault with the State and Times, our singing of Psalms, and talking of Scripture, our casting up of the Eye, and making of four Faces, must be Proof enough to any Man, that we fear God extraordinarily.

Alas, no; 'tis a Catholic Rule, that which St. James gives for our Faith, and it equally extends to all our Affections, *Jam. ii. 18.* *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, and thy Hope by thy Works, and thy Love by thy Works, and thy Fear by thy Works. But if thou would'st have me see them, and glorify God in them, or edify myself by them, thou must shew them to me, that Way or none, by thy Works. And what Works? not of Godliness and Devotions, not by thy fair, but bare Shew of Holiness; no, we esteem highly of that, of all holy Carriage, but, *viderit Deus*, we leave God to judge of it, because the Heart of Man is so deceitful, that the Ministers of Satan can in that, transform themselves into Angels of Light; *2 Cor. xi. 14.* but by Mercy and Charity, by Piety and Equity, such other human Duties; of such Works expressly the Apostle was there treating, and by them thou must shew to Men, and let them judge, whether thou fearest God or no.

Speciatim, in timore regis.

Or if that be too much, for the Demonstration of our fearing of God, to exact all the Duties between Man and Man, then instead of them all, at least

least wise by way of Collection for them all, take we but God's Way here, express we one by another that's next to it, the Fear of God by the Fear of the King. The Text you see joyns them so close, that it makes but one, and the same Act for two Objects, God and the King; two Persons, but conjoynd in one Act of our Fear, both made one in that, *Fear God my Son, and the King*; to make us know, that what holy Pretences soever are made for it, yet God is not feared, if the King be not; the Want of Performance in the one, implies Imperfection in the other; and the Want of Truth in the one, avouches Hypocrisy in the other; no King's Fear, no God's Fear; God himself of Purpose hath here joined them together, and 'tis to make God a Liar, a Man's self sacrilegious, if any dare take either from other, or put them asunder.

And the Reason of it is impregnably good, or else the blessed Spirit in St. *John* was but a poor Logician. For did you ever mark it, how he enforces the absolute Necessity of brotherly Love among us? He hath two Arguments together for it, 1 *John* iv. 20. *If any Man say, I love God and hateth his Brother, he is a Liar; for how can he that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, love God whom he hath not seen?* That's the first, and it is a topic Rule, that particularly applied by him on this Ground, because of the general Image of God, which is upon a Man's Brother; he sees not him, but he sees God's Image in him, and God he sees not, but in some Image of him, and the liveliest Image of God is in his Brother, & *ergo*, in very good Reason then, *how can he that loveth not his Brother, whom he hath seen, love God, whom he hath not seen?* No, he cannot; the Question, how can he? is but to make the Negation more vehement, it is a Thing impossible in very Reason.

The other Argument of St. *John* is, *ab autoritate*, a sufficient Reason that in itself, that we are commanded it, but yet it is steeld with the Temper of another topic Rule also, because where one Thing is ordained to be with another, there the one is not as it should be without the other. *Now this Commandment have we of him*, saith he; what? *That we should love our Brother?* No, that's not enough, *But that he which loveth God should love his Brother also*, Ver. 21. That's the second.

Carry then now but these two Arguments in Mind, and conclude who will for my Text and the King, and the Spirit here will warrant him; but reply or deny who can, for the Spirit will confound him. As good as those Arguments are in St. *John* for his Purpose, for the Love of our Brother, I dare boldly say it, and let me forget my Arts and Judgment too, if I make it not appear to any honest Man's Conscience, that they are far more pregnant here both for our Purpose, for the Fear of the King.

I begin with the first, and I apply it expressly, if any Man say, I fear God, and feareth not the King, he is a Liar, and Lord! what an holy Army of Liars might we then quickly muster up? But what's the Reason? For how can he? that is, it is impossible for him, that feareth not the King, whom he hath seen, to fear God, whom he hath not seen. And why so? how follows that? from the very same Ground as before, because of the Image of God, which is upon Kings, and that not only a general Image, as they are Men, but as a peculiar Image, and that, by far more visible, as they are Kings; yea, the Image of that in God, for which Fear belongs to God, that Image upon the King, the lively Image of his Divine Power, and Glory both.

Power first, whether Power to do good, and therefore fear him, *For with him is Mercy, therefore shall he be feared*, Psalm cxxx. 4. or Power to do Hurt,

Hurt, and therefore fear him, *For he beareth not the Sword in vain*, Rom. xiii. 4.

Institut L. iv. C. 20. And then Glory, the Glory of his Divine Titles, for King and Governor, Lord and Father, Majesty and Sovereignty, Mr. *Calvin* himself confesses, "That they are first and principally God's Titles, and not Mans, and that they are so imparted from God to Kings, as his Deputies and Vicegerents, that wherever on Earth we meet with them, they ought presently to affect us with an awful Sense of the very Divinity itself." Yea, for that very Purpose, the Glory of his own Name upon them, *Dixi dii estis*, Psal. lxxxii. 6. *I have said ye are Gods*; I have said it, God himself, 'tis he that said it, and *Dixi*, it is his Decree and sacred Pleasure, he hath ordained it shall be so.

And from this Ordinance of his, the Scriptures have often express'd it so. *Jacob* of old said it, and of one that was otherwise bad enough, of his Lord *Esau*, *That he saw God in him*, *Vidi faciem, ut faciem Dei*, Gen. xxxiii. 10. that is, says the *Chaldee*, God in the Prince, God in him, as he was the Prince. And 'tis said of *Moses* so, the very Sceptre he held, was God's, not his own, *Virga Dei in manu*, Exod. xvii. and so it is said of *Solomon*, *The Throne he sat on, was the Throne of God*, *Sedebat super Throno Dei*, 1 Chron. xxix. 23. And so the Argument proves invincible; Kings bearing both so apparent and so eminent an Image of God, the very Image of that Eminence in God, for which God is feared, how can he that feareth not the King, whom visibly he hath seen, or may see, fear God, who never was, nor is, and I may safely add, who without this other, the Fear of the King, never shall, or will be, visible to him?

You see the main Improvement of St. *John's* first Argument. And 'tis as easy to do the same in the second. *Now this Commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God, should love his Brother also*. Is this a good and concluding Consequence? Then how much better this? This Commandment have we of him, that he which feareth God, should fear the King also. And for Proof of this, I come but to my Text, it is a Commandment from him, from God himself principally though given here by *Solomon's* Pen, *Fear God my Son, and the King*.

And if you require a new Commandment for it, that is a Commandment in the Gospel, as Christ indeed calls the Precept of loving one another, *a new Commandment*, John xiii. 34. then I go but to the great Apostle for it, *Fear God, Honour the King*, 1 Pet. ii. 17. And then I add, that by this very Argument now, the Duty of Fear is far more clearly proved here, than there in St. *John* that Duty of Love is; for this here is set down in *terminis*; you see, we have the Places, this of my Text, and that of St. *Peter*, both of them formal Commands, and in plain logical Terms, both equally concluding for the Fear of God, and the King. And so have we not, for the Love of God, and our Brother, no Place to be found, I speak advisedly, in so express, so distinct, and so mandatory a Proposition for those two together, in all the Scripture.

But I foresee already, what the Issue of this will be. It is but a Spice of Court Flattery in us, or else all this Labour might well be spared. For who denies, but the King must be feared? will not *Bellarmino*, or *Junius Brutus*, grant that? I know they will, and yet when they have done, I will ken their small Thanks for it. For how do they do it? *Dolosus ambulat in generalibus*, that's their Craft, the treacherous Jesuite in that Church, and the factious Schismatick in ours; in general Terms indeed they stick not aloud to profess this Doctrine, talk of it in gross, and who half so holy in Conscience as they, or so loyal in Duty of fearing the King?

But

But yet bring it at once down to present Instance, and lay it as Occasion shall arise, to particular Cases and Actions, and then, you shall find, the Case is altered with them, Duty and Conscience then, forsooth, against it, when they like not the Business. As the Spirit in my Text, of Purpose surely, has most aptly described them, *Fear God, and the King*, and meddle not with them that be seditious; so we bluntly read it in many of our Translations, and 'tis true, but yet perhaps 'tis somewhat too coarse for their hypocritical Pretences; they are godly Men, and good Subjects, and defy Sedition.

Therefore, the Original meets pat with them, *Non cum mutantibus*, or, *recedentibus*, meddle not with those that are given to Change, nor with those that alter or go backward; and these are they now, that when it comes to that, from their general Profession to some particular Performance, are notable Changelings, they alter then, and falter too, backward they go, and fall away slyly from their Profession, and from their Duty; from the King and from the due Fear of him. Nay, from the very Text itself indeed, they alter that in the End and take it backward, not that they must fear the King then, but the King fear them, if they may do it, and so all at last becomes changed and re-altered with them, from no Fear, at first, to no King, they have done, and from none that does fear, to none to be feared.

And when that is brought about once, I can tell them, what will be next also. For stay they will not neither, but still they will fall back, as far as the Text has any Room, from no King, to no God, and from no Fear of the one, to no Fear of the other, to no Fear at all of any. *Moses* plainly tells them so, *Non contra nos, sed contra Jehovam*, when the *Israelites* murmured against him, and *Aaron*, *Exod. xvi. 18. Your Murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord*. And the Lord himself said it as plainly to *Samuel*, *Non te, sed me*, when they needs must have another King in his stead. *1 Sam. viii. 7. They have not cast thee away, but they have cast me away*. And so, *non regem, sed Deum*, must I say to these, that now by not fearing the King, as they should do, do as much as they can to unking him again, it is not the King but God, whom they principally fail; for there is not the least Contempt of Majesty but is more than a Spice of Prophanation, and every Step of Disloyalty is a high Degree to Atheism.

And in how high a Degree then this Danger of Atheism now adays rangeth, this Text of mine, in my Eye, does clearly demonstrate. It shewed us before, that the Fear of the Lord requires the Worship of him, and that the due Worship of him requires so much Beauty and Reverence, that all our saucy and careless Demeanor before him, all negligent and perfunctory Performance of our Religion, of slight and unlawful Expressions in it as in God's Presence, are the foulest Scorn and Abasement that may be, ungodding him no less in true Construction, than does rash and unadvised Blasphemy.

It shews us, now, that next after himself our God provides for Kings, as for himself, sets his eminent Image upon them, sets them in his own Stead, sets but one Rule of Conscience for the Fear of them both, both himself and them; in a Word, sets so much by them, whom he sets over us, that for us now not to be abundantly right towards them, is to be extremely wrong towards God; to fail the one is to be false to the other; to defraud the one is to defy the other.

Take me now but a Man of Understanding among the very Heathen, for still I drive at that, to convince it from the Evidence of Reason itself, and let him see, first, that however these Duties of fearing God and King are charged upon us, not so much by any written Law, as by a Law within us also, by the Rule of Reason, and the divine Law of Conscience, yet many

of the great Professors of this Religion, they that take upon themselves above others to be this God's chiefest Sons and Servants, and to have the best Consciences by far, yet for all this, they stumble and make a Doubt of performing such a reasonable and seemly Worship to their God; and as for their King, they not only stand in great Suspense, but dispute it also fiercely, whether (for all his Vicinity to God) he can of right be invested with so divine a Privilege. Lastly, that in this preposterous Course they have purposely injured their Thoughts, and hammered their Consciences to it, as that now they count it a shrewd Wrong to be but told what's right; and if any Man dare to be so true to God and King, as to shew them the Duty of better Devotion, they besmear him presently with a Coal, of dangerous Superstition; if of better Allegiance, they brand him soundly with the Slander of ambitious Flattery, and by all Means they reckon them, that stand least upon Points with God, in worshipping of him, the godliest Men and the best Christians; but them, that stand most upon the Points with the King, against obeying of him, the best Subjects, or, as it now goes current in their own Coin, good Patriots.

And now let this *Pagan* but say, what he thinks of a God, that must thus be used, either in himself, or in his Vicegerents, and what Difference he can find in Reason, between such a Religion as they by this Means make of it, and his own I will not say, for the very Heathen in their Abominations carry themselves more conscientiously, but between such a Religion and a downright Fable?

And if this be not a good Consequence, go blame *St. Paul*, that taught me this Kind of Argument, and that in a Point of Religion too, but of much less Importance. *For the whole Church*, saith he, *when they come together, but to speak in unknown Tongues, he may not abide it.* And why? because 'tis so dissonant from Reason, a Confusion so unnatural, *that if but a heathen Man come in, may he not well account it a mad Religion*; shall he not justly say, *that they are all out of their Wits*? 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

And how much more then say I? If a heathen Man come among our religious Ones, and find such a hideous and uncouth Dissonancy; our Profession indeed to be, towards God, a Duty of Fear and holy Worship, towards Kings, a Duty of Fear and sacred Obedience; towards both, a joint Duty, not from Policy, or Reason, or Nature alone, though every one of these Laws enforce it mightily, but from Conscience also, and divine Law, and the very Principles of Religion; but yet our whole Practice notwithstanding to be, to God, a heedless and unreverend, an arbitrary and fanciful, a rude and saucy Slubbering of his Worship; to Kings, a contemptuous and faithless, a quarrelsome and graceless, a repining and heartless curtailing of the Honours due to them; and may he not well take it for a mad fabulous Religion, shall he not justly say, *Non est Deus*; a God upon these cross and beggarly Terms cannot be a God?

Wherefore my Heart's Desire, and humble Prayer to God is, that he would open our Eyes (as we should be Christians of ripe Understanding) to see this, and that we, who are ready enough out of the former Part of the Text, touching the Fear of God, to charge our Neighbours about us, with the Danger of Idolatry, in their Manner of divine Worshippings, would make some Conscience to quit ourselves as readily, in this Part of the Text, touching the Fear of the King, from no less a Crime than Idolatry is, in our Manner of wilful Refusings. For the Spirit of God, we see, is express about it, 1 Sam. xv. 23. *That to obey is better than Sacrifice*, a better Sign of our Religion, and to God far more acceptable, *so to be disobedient and unquiet*, *Nolle acquiescere*, says the Text there, to be whining and excepting, kicking

and

and whining at the sacred Commands of Authority over us (whatever we think of it, or however we please ourselves in it) and like those grand Mistakers, think we do God good Service by it, yet 'tis as bad in God's own Construction as Sorcery and Idolatry too; and nothing more than this Sorcery and Idolatry, I fear me it is, that of late hath so much troubled our *Israel*, and made the Days of many so short in the Land, which the Lord our God hath given us.

Sub conditione filii.

Sure I am, 'tis a perfect and unhalting Obedience to the Powers above us, that must cause our Days to be good and long in the Land, or else God himself misplaced it, when he made that, as St. Paul also purposely observes, the fifth Commandment with such a Promise. A Promise, that which of us all does not desire to have? and yet generally how many, as though they did not believe God in it, or thought to have it, whether God will or no, do never regard God's Direction, to take his Way for it? the Promise of long Life and Welfare, bound strictly to it.

And as sure I am, 'tis such an Obedience, that particularly the Spirit here aims at, or else he would never have spoken unto us, in the dearest Language of Love, as unto Sons, *Fear God my Son, and the King*; for that's as much as to say, unless indeed you care not to be my Sons, unless you will be Bastards, and not Sons, Slaves and Rebels, and any Thing but Sons, you will fear God and the King alike, not God alone, but therefore the King also, God for himself, and the King for himself, and the King for God, esteeming God and King both as your Fathers, and accounting yourselves as Sons to both, not as Servants only of Necessity, nor of Friends alone of mere Courtesy, but as Sons of entire Duty.

Yea, as one Son altogether; my Son, says God here to all, one and all, for none is excused; all as one, for none is excluded; to shew us, that it must be a joint and mutual Consent of all in one; one in the Beat of our Heart and Affections, therefore, *Fili mi*, says he, and not *Filii mei*, my Son, as of one, not, my Sons, as of many; one, in the Tenour of the Duty performed, therefore not twice *Time*, not two Fears, one for God, and another for the King; fear God, and fear the King, but once only for both, *Fear God and the King*. And lastly, one, in the very Ground of the Religion, and therefore, *Fili mi*, not *Fili noster*, My Son, not our Son, that is, Son to the King, because Son to God, and no otherwise than as God's Son, so the King's Son; but so, all as one Son; and one Son all, to both of them as to one; even another sacred Mystery of Numbers in our Religion, (besides that of the blessed Trinity and Unity) thus divinely couched here in this short Text, *Fear God my Son, and the King*.

And this sacred Conjunction of all Parties I may best conclude; in the Name of God, exhorting every one of us that rejoice in this Title of being God's Son, to remember, *First*, that *Time Deum*, stands here before *Fili mi*, the Duty is enforced before the Privilege will be allowed; we are apt to forget ourselves, God knows, and because of *Filius* in Pride of our Privilege, we oft neglect *Time*, and make small, or no Regard of our Duty. But *Time filii*, that's God's Method and Order here, it is that Relation to him which makes him retain the Name of Father to us, and without a due Fear of him, flatter ourselves how we will upon our Election or Predestination, we have no true Sonship with him.

Secondly, That for a Trial of that, whether our *Time Deum* be right or no, here's another coupled with it, *Et regem*, to prove ourselves by, *Fear God, and the King*, that is, fear God in the King, fear God by the King, send our

Fear

Fear to the King of Heaven by our Fear to Kings on Earth; *Fili mi* is out of Place, unless it stand even in the Middle between *Deum* & *regem*; to presume we fear God, and yet to go no farther, to make no Conscience of fearing him that is in God's Stead, or to fear him no further than the Lash of his Laws will reach us, it comes not from *Filius* that, and 'tis but a lame and base Fear, partly slavish, partly hypocritical, a great deal short both of God's Due, and of a Son's Duty.

Much less shall we find any Place, for *Time regem* alone, and leave *Deum* quite out, to begin the Text there, at the Fear of the King, but no Fear of God at all; or, if any, yet but heartless and worthless, only for fear of the King. No, without *Deum*, you see, the Text has never a *Time* here for *Regem*, no right Fear of the King, if God be not first feared. He that fears God but fear of the King and his Laws, in Truth, makes the King his God; and he that fears the King more than God, in Heart wishes there were neither King nor God.

So that in the Conclusion, these two, our *Time Deum*, which is our Religion, and our *Time regem*, which is our Allegiance, they are sure and perfect Proofs both, either to, either of other. Look whatever is pretended for the King, yet it is Fraud not Fear, Craft not Allegiance, plain Brokage and not Obedience, unless it first issue from the Throne of Heaven, spring from true Devotion, and be founded upon Religion. Again, look whatever is professed for God, as where have we not Swarms now of great Professors? yet it is not Fear but Faction, not Devotion but Hypocrisy, not Religion, but Abomination, unless it fall down before the Throne upon Earth also, be the Life of spotless Allegiance, and the quickening Soul of all civil Obedience.

The Text imports no less, and God enjoins no less, and no less can I charge the Consciences of all that this Day hear me with, but *Time Deum, fili mi, et regem, Fear God my Son, and the King*; God and the King, both together, shew a due Fear of them both, but yet both in that Order; that so approving ourselves respectively to God and King, as Sons to both, ingenuous Sons, here in the Life of Grace, our Fear at last may be changed into Joy, and our Devotion into Fruition, and we be made not Sons alone, but Kings also with God, in the Life of Glory, by the Merits of the Son of God, the King of eternal Glory, Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

Bishop WREN's Diary, transcribed from his own Hand-writing
in the blank Pages of Pond's Almanack, for the Year of our
Lord 1652.

- JAN.** 2. *Nomen Christo in baptismo dedi*, 1585.
10. *Parce, ô Deus, requisitor sanguinis*, 44.
11. *Franc. & Thomas, F. F. nati Cantab. in S. Petri inter boras 8,*
 & 11, *vesper.* 1632.
17. *Maria F. nata ad S. Egid. in Camp. Lond. 4^{to} ante 2^{dam} matu-*
 tinam, 1634.
18. *Parens meus Fr. natus*, 1552.
20. *Diaconus ordinatus sum*. 1610.
25. *Susanna F. nata ad S. Egid. paulò ante 1^{am} matutinam*, 1633. &
 Franc. 2^{dus} denat, 1643.
27. *Juratus sum ad sacra R. Jacobi in famulatu Prin. Caroli*, 1621.
30. *à sanguinibus, ô Deus!* 1648.
Feb. 10. *Presbyter ordinatus sum*, 1610.
21. *Installatus sum canonic. Westmonast.* 1634.
27. *Eliza F. denascitur Eliæ. 9. vesper.* 1643.
March 5. *Creatus sum professor in theolog.* 1633.
7. *Decanus sic facelli regis*, 1635.
8. *Ordinatus sum epif. Hereford.* 1634.
10. *Respondi in philosophiâ coram R. Jacobo jubente senatu Cantabrig.*
 1614.
12. *Infantula exanimis edita, 7^a matutina*, 1640.
17. *Dedicatio facelli S. Petri Cantab.* 1632.
18. *W^{mus}. F. natus in æd. Holburn, 9. vesper.* 1638.
April 8. *Appulimus Larado Hispan.* 1623.
17. *Jurat. ad causas exoticas*, 1629.
18. *Carolus R. natus Westmonast. inter: 10^{am} & 11^{am} matutin.* 1632.
24. *Translatus sum. ad S. Elien.* 1638.
May 2. *Mariam principem junxi cum W^{mo}. Aurasionis Princ.* 1641.
6. *Liberantur epif. è turri Lond.* 1642.
7. *Nuptiæ Eliz. filiole*, 1550.
14. *Eligor gubernator hospit. Sutton* 1634.
17. *Inductus ad R. de Bingb.* 1624.
21. *Inductus ad R. de Taversb.* 1615.
June 23. *Admissus sum in aula Pem.* 1601.
July 2. *Creatus sum Artium. M^r.* 1608.
8. *Denascitur Franciscus F.* 1642.
11. *Venia (vix) obtinetur. à D. Rege decedendi à decanatu facelli*
 sui, 1641.
20. *Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici*, 1641.
21. *Redux fio ad Cantabrig. è Scotiâ*, 1633.
22. *Denascitur Alicia F.* 1643.
24. *Decanus fio de Windsor & Wokverbampton*, 1628.
26. *Magister fio collegii sancti Petri Cantab.* 1625.
August 17. *Felici matrimonio jungebar*, 1628.
20. *Matheus F. nascitur paulò ante 4^{tinam} matut. S. Petri Cantabrig.*
 1629.
22. *Alicia F. natu*, 1642.
30. *Per vim hostilem eripior domo meâ*, 1642.

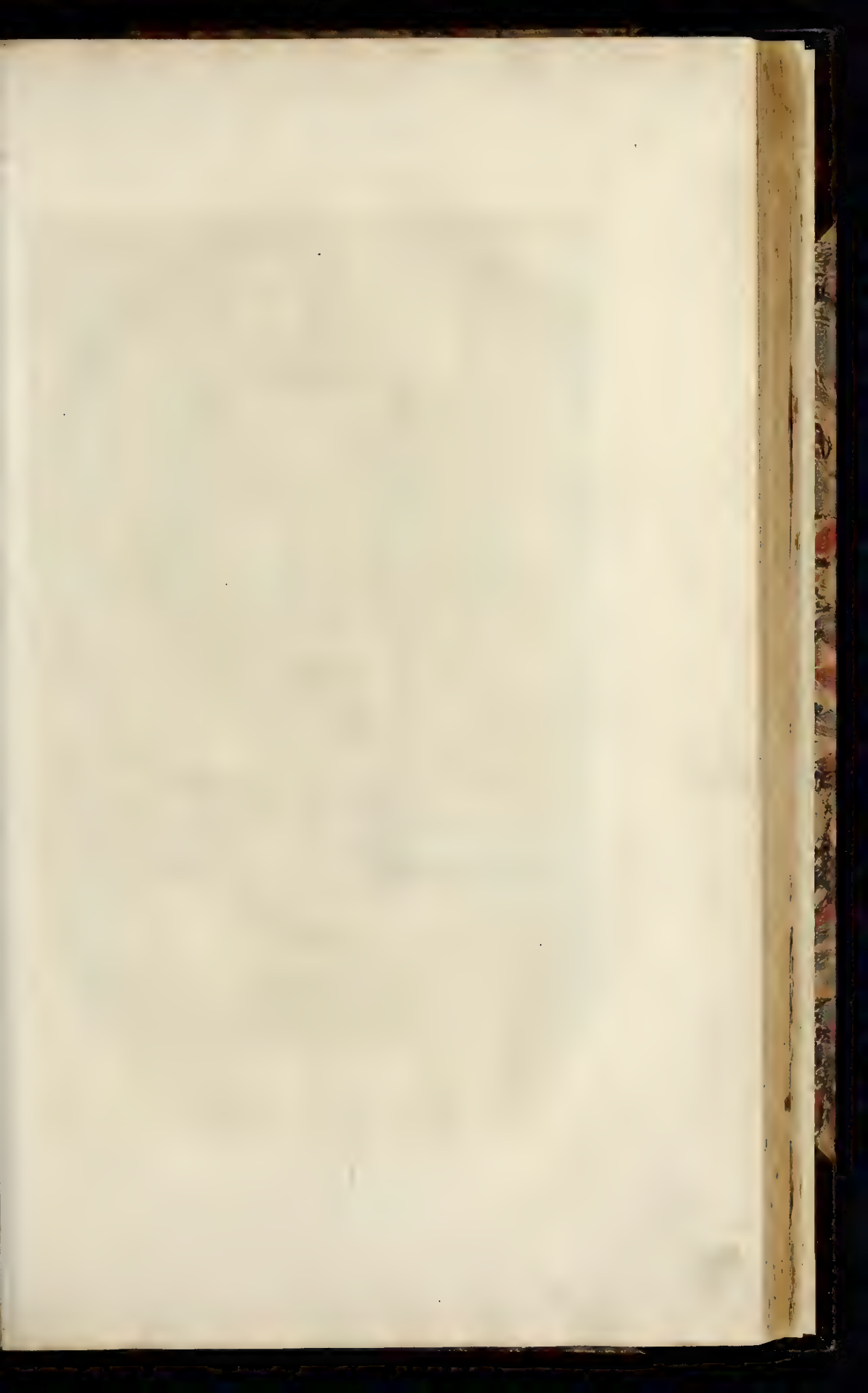
- Sept.* 1. In turrin denu conjicior, 1642.
 4. Anna F. nata Gippovic. 11^a matutin. 1630.
 17. { Frater Christopher. natus 1 die Mercurii, 1589.
 19. }
 22. Scriba garterii ffo, 1628.
 24. Francisca F. nata Tostockii paulo post 4^{am} matutinam, 1636.
 26. Moritur Rev. Lancelotus epif. Winton, 1626.
Octob. Hoc mense (sed quo die, non memini) mortuus est pater meus Francis-
 ciscus, anno 1624. etatis suæ 72.
 5. Portesmutbam appulimus, 1623.
 12. Eligor S. Regens academ. Cantabrig. procuratorum (Muriel &
 Wmus.) ingratiis, 1611.
 17. Eliza. conjux nata Ringfalæ, 1624.
 20. Fio Clericus à sacra conclavi D. Regis, 1633.
 25. Matthæus F. admissus in collegio S. Petri, 1642.
Nov. 4. Electus sum procancellarius Cantab. 1628.
 5. Eligor socius aulæ Pembrock. 1605.
 10. Installatus sum canonic. Winton, 1623.
 29. Eliza. F. nata Winderforiæ 1^a vesper. 1631.
Dec. 5. Electus sum epif. Hereford. 1634. & translatus Norwic, 1635.
 8. Ad Christ. evolavit pia anim. conjugis E. mediâ post 5^{am} matutinam,
 1646.
 15. Eliza 2. F. nata, 1644. & denata die 17.
 21. Anna soror nata 6 vesper. 1583.
 23. Natus ego Londini, die Jovis paulo ante mediam noctem, 1535.
 Francis. 2^{dus}. F. 20 die natus, 1643.
 30. In turrin Lond. conjicimur. Epi. proditiōis (si placet) insimulati,
 1641.

My Father, Dr. John Worthington, in a Letter dated Nov. 5. 1660.

LAST Saturday the Fellows of Jesus College, came down from attending upon the Bishop of Ely, who instituted them into their Fellowships. It was supposed, that there would have been a Refusal of some; but he was very fair and civil towards them, and dispatched them without the usual Height of the Fees, and perswaded them to Studiousness and Peace, against all Animosities, &c.

J. Worthington.









T H E
L I F E
O F
CHRISTOPHER WREN, D.D.
D E A N of W I N D S O R.



DOCTOR Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, younger Brother of Matthew, Bishop of Ely, was born in the Year 1589, and educated at St. John's College in Oxford; where in 1620, he took his Degree of Batchelor of Divinity; became domestick Chaplain to Dr. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, and by him preferred to the Rectory of Knoyle Magna in the County of Wilts. In 1628. he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the First; in 1630, was created Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge, (*scil. ex ultroneâ & abundanti academice gratiâ absens evesitus*) in 1635, by his Majesty's special Appointment, he succeeded his Brother Matthew, on his Advancement to the See of Norwich, in the Deanries of Windsor and Wolverhampton; and the Office of Register of the most noble Order of the Garter; and in 1638, was presented to the rich Rectory of Hasely in Oxfordshire.

*Account of
Dean Wren.*

*Falli Oxon.
p. 836.*

The royal Chapel of St. George at Windsor, and the Treasury thereof, having been plundered by the Rebels in the great Rebellion, and the Register-Books, and all the antient Records of the Order of the Garter; together with the Jewels, Plate, Furniture, &c. carried away, and delivered to the Trustees appointed by the long Parliament for the Sale of the King's Goods, the Dean by great Application, Expence, and long Attendance on the Trustees at their Meetings in Somerset-house, and by Favour of their Chairman, Ma-
jor

for *Wither's*, performed, at Length, a memorable Piece of Service to the Order, and recovered out of their Hands, *First*, the two old Registers, filed the *Black*, and the *Blue*; and some Time after retriev'd the *Red* also, with other Books and Papers, relating to the Statutes and Annals; all which were carefully concealed and preserved by him to the Time of his Death, in 1658. and afterwards by his Son to the Time of the Restoration, when they were presented by him to the Sovereign, and ordered to the Custody of the new Register, Dr. *Brune Ryves*, Dean of *Windsor*; for which he gave this Receipt.

Ex Auto-
grapho.

"I do acknowledge, that I have received of Mr. *Christopher Wren*, the Son of Mr. Dean *Wren*, a Box, in which are three Register-Books, and other Note-Books, all relating to the most noble Order of the Garter; in Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, this 11th Day of *August*, in the Year 1660. *Brune Ryves*."

Ashmole of
the Garter,
p. 203, and
641.

But the Dean failed of the like Success in his best Endeavours to preserve the *George* and *Garter*, of the great *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*; these Jewels containing four Hundred ninety-eight Diamonds, great and small, were returned after his Decease, by a solemn Embassy, (pursuant to the Statutes of the Order,) and by the Sovereign's Command, (24 May, Ann. 14 Car. I.) committed to the Custody of the Dean and Chapter of *Windsor*, to be layed up in the Treasury, "for a perpetual Memorial of that renowned King, who died in the Field of Battle, wearing some of those Jewels, to the great Honour of the Order, and as a true martial Prince, and Companion thereof." The Dean to prevent the irretrievable Loss of such valuable Ensigns, by the Plunder of the Rebels, in the Year 1642, took the extraordinary Care, with Hazard of Life, to bury them under the Floor of the Treasury; and deposited a Note in the Hands of a worthy Person, intimating where they might be found, in case of Death.

Ibid. p. 204,
and 641.

In this Place they remained securely, till about the Beginning of *March*, 1645. when being discovered by *Cornelius Holland*, a Regicide, and taken thence by Colonel *Ven*, a Regicide, the then Governor of the Castle, and afterwards delivered to Colonel *Whitchcott*,* (who succeeded him in that Government) were at length fetched away by *John Hunt*, Treasurer to the Trustees appointed by the long Parliament for the Sale of his Majesty's Goods, and sold by them to *Thomas Beauchamp* their then Clerk.

Ex schedis
Christophori
Wren, decani
de Windsor.

Among other remarkable Goods, and Monuments, plundered from the Royal Chapel of *St. George* at *Windsor*, and the Treasury in 1642. were.

I. All the rich Plate made by *Van Vianen* the *Norimberger*, valued with the Workmanship and treble Gilding, at twelve Shillings the Ounce, and estimated in the whole at above three Thousand Pounds.

II. Two fair double gilt Chalices, with Covers.

III. Two fair double gilt Flaggons.

IV. A Basin gilt, for the Bread at great Communion.

V. The Coat of Mail of Steel, gilt, of King *Edward IV.* in which (as recorded) he had personally fought eight Battles, covered with crimson Velvet, and thereon the royal Ensigns armorial, richly embroidered with Pearl and Gold, and many Rubies; the only Monument which hung over his Tomb, without any Inscription.

Ashmole of
the Garter,
Cb. 4. Set. 2.
p. 149.

The Body of King *Edward IV.* lies under a large Stone of Tuff, raised within the Arch at the North Side of the Altar of the Chapel of *St. George*, but without any Inscription; having on the Out-side of his Grave a Range of

* The Person who would not permit the Common-Prayer-Service to be used at the King's Interment.

Steel

Steel gilt, set to inclose it from the North-isle, cut excellently well in Church-work.

Over this Arch hung the King's Coat of Mail, gilt, covered over with crimson Velvet, and thereon the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, richly embroidered with Pearl and Gold, interwoven with divers Rubies. This Trophy of Honour had ever since his Funeral hung safely over his Grave, but was plundered thence by Captain *Fogg*, the 23d Day of *October*, Anno 1642. on which Day he also robbed the Treasury of the Chapel of all the rich Plate, dedicated to the use of the Altar. Yet having met with an exact Measure and Size of each Part thereof, as also of his Banner, both heretofore taken by Sir *William Le Neve*, sometime *Clarenceux* King at Arms, an exact Observer of every thing curious, referring to Arms or Ceremony, we think fit to transmit it thus to Posterity.

"The Coat of Arms was two Foot seven Inches deep, and below two Foot in Breadth.

"Above (the Maunches being extended) in Breadth three Foot six Inches, whereof the Length of each Maunch was one Foot.

"The Breadth of the upper Part of the Coat, besides the Maunches, one Foot and a Half.

"The Breadth of each Maunch, one Foot and eight Inches.

"The Arms were embroidered upon Velvet, lined with Sattin, and better wrought, than they used to work in these Days.

"The Banner, which also hung over his Grave, was of Taffaty, and thereon painted quarterly *France* and *England*: it had in Breadth three Foot four Inches, besides a Fringe of about an Inch broad, and in Depth five Foot and four Inches, besides the Fringe."

VI. The Hangings that went cross the Heart of the Quire, twelve Foot deep, of crimson Velvet and Gold.

VII. Thirteen rich Copes, embroidered and wrought in Gold.

VIII. Two rich Copes of Gold Wire.

IX. A large Carpet of Gold Wire for the Communion Table.

X. The blew Velvet Robe of *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, wore with a Train, and embroidered with a Garter, Pearl and Gold, brought back by an Ambassador, with the Jewels, after his Death.

XI. The great Brass Basin, or Font for Christenings, given by the Founder King *Edward III.* &c.

October 25, 1642, one Captain *Fogg* pretending a Warrant from the King, demanded the Keys of the Treasury at *Windfor*, in presence of Colonel * *Manwaring*, with Threats, that in case they were denied by the Dean and Prebends, to pull down the Chapel about their Ears: and not finding the three Key-keepers, caused a Smith to make strong Bars of Iron, and with them to force two doors, and break down the Stone Jaums, and carried out of the Treasury all the rich Plate, as specified above. This had been first seized by Sir *John Seton*, and restored again, but afterwards taken away by the aforesaid *Fogg*, *Manwaring*, and *Venn*.

It appears, that on the 28th of *March*, preceding the Plunder of the royal Chapel, Treasury, and Memorials of the Garter, his Majesty had been pleased to appoint the Solemnization of the grand Feast of *St. George* to be held at *York*, in the *April* following; and the proper Summons were issued out ac-

* Named one of the King's Judges, but would not act at the Trial.

cordingly, to the Knights, Officers, and Heralds, by the Chancellor Sir *James Palmer*; of which this is a Transcript to the Register.

S I R,

Ex Autho-
grapho.

"THE King's Majesty, Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter, having prorogued the Solemnization of the Feast of *St. George*, to the 18th, 19th, and 20th Days of *April* next, at the City of *York*, these are to certify you, that you may take Notice both of the Time and Place, and to accompany in that Service the rest of the Officers of the Order; and therefore in Assurance of your Presence accordingly, I rest,

"Your very assured Friend,

March 28, 1642,

"JAMES PALMER."

*Asimole of
the Garter,
p. 526.*

In Consequence of the general Summons of *March 28*, 1642, to solemnize the grand Feast of *St. George* at the City of *York*, several of the Knights Companions, who were Members of the Lords House in the long Parliament, gave notice thereof to the House of Lords; whereupon they immediately made the ensuing Order.

WHEREAS the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and some other Lords of Parliament, Knights of the Garter, have been summoned to give their Attendance, and repair unto the City of *York*, for the Celebration of *St. George's* Feast; who acquainting this House with the Summons aforesaid, it is ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that they attend the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, discussed in Parliament, whereunto they are obliged by his Majesty's Writ, and the Law of the Land.

JO. BROWNE, *Clerc. Parliament.*

Whereupon every one of the said Knights-companions, before the Days appointed by Prorogation for holding the Feast, sent their petitionary Letters of Excuse to the Deputy-chancellor, wherein they professed their Desire and Readiness to attend in Obedience to the said Summons; nevertheless pleaded the foresaid Order for the Ground of their Stay at *London*, and therefore desired him to obtain for them the Sovereign's gracious Letters of Dispensation: but when the said Letters were severally presented in Chapter, held before *Vespers* on the Eve of the said Feast, the Sovereign would not at present either admit or disallow of their Excuses, but referred the Consideration thereupon until the next Chapter, to be held by Prorogation.

Ibid.

*Edward's Hist.
of England,
Vol. II.
p. 651.*

The petitioning Lords for the Dispensation, were the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *Salisbury*, *Dorset*, *Holland*, *Berks*, and *Northumberland*, who did not follow the King, but sat in the long Parliament: and after the Commons had taken upon them to abolish the House of Peers, but yet condescended that the Peers should have the Privilege to be elected Knights or Burgesses in Parliament; two of the above-mentioned Lords, with the old Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Essex*, took soon after the Benefit of this Concession.

The Sacrilege and Rapine committed on the Chapel and Treasury, was followed by the Plunder in the Deanery-house, of all the Dean's Effects; altho' at

at that time he was under a formal Protection of the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Safety of the Kingdom, as it was called; and it should seem by an Order of Parliament, upon an Information of this Violence to the Dean, and many other Inhabitants of *Windsor*, "That both Houses denied the giving any Commission or Warrant to the Dragoons or Troopers, sent by their Order to secure the Castle; for such unjust Proceedings of plundering and pillaging; and declared that Restitution should be made to the several Owners and Offenders punished;" which was never done. All that the Dean was able to recover was a Harpsichord, of about 10*l.* Value, which being seized with his other Goods, by Colonel *Venn*, the Governor, was carried to *London*, and after six Years returned.

Sep. 21,
1642.

Oct. 28,
1642.

The Dean had the Honour to receive from the King at *Oxford*, a very ample Protection for himself, his Servants, and Estate, in a most gracious Manner, although through the Malignity of the Times of small Efficacy, viz.

Charles R.

Whereas by the ancient Constitution and Laws of our most noble Order of the Garter, the Register of our said Order is to have his Person, and Estate secured from Violence and Injury, to the End he or his Ministers may securely live under our perpetual Protection and Safeguard; and as often as he shall be molested for himself, or for any Thing that belongs unto him, he is to receive our Protection, and the Assistance of the Companions of our Order, according to Equity and Right. These are therefore to will, and command all Men of what Condition soever they be, not to trouble, or molest Doctor *Christopher Wren*, Dean of *Windsor*, and Register of our most noble Order of the Garter, or any of his Ministers whomsoever, or any Thing that belongs to him whatsoever; but to suffer his Person, Servants, and Estate, to be in Quiet, Security, and Peace, without any Injury, or Violence to be offered by any to him, or his, as they, or every of them shall answer to the contrary at their Peril.

Asmole of
the Garter,
p. 251.

Given at our Court, at *Oxford*, under the Signet of our Order, the 12th Day of *December*, in the 19th Year of our Reign.

Some further Particulars observable in the Plundering of the Deanery-house at Windsor.

Ex Schedis
Decani C. W.

THE Closet called the Registry of the Order of the Garter, (within Dean *Wren's* House, in the Castle of *Windsor*) had been locked up, and sealed, by Order of the long Parliament, and committed to the Safeguard of Colonel *Venn*, the Governor of the Castle, but at the Plundering of the House, this Closet also was broke open, (contrary to the parliamentary Order*) and the following Goods, among others, taken away.

* Viz. of the
Lords.

A large Case, or Cabinet of eleven Draw-boxes, with Writings, and Records, concerning the Order of the Garter, and other Things of Value.

Another large Iron-bound Cabinet, with Partitions, and Boxes, gilt, and filleted, with special Records, and Papers therein.

A large Chest fill'd with Books, among them *Caster's Institutions to the Romish Emissaries*; with Dr. *Wren's Discovery of their subtle Practices*, M. S. Undertaken by Command, and almost finished.

A large

A large and fair Table of all the Knights of the Garter, from their first Institution by King *Edward III.* with their Ensigns Armorial, and by whom made.

Three large and valuable Pictures in gold Frames, of King *Edward III.* King *Henry IV. of France*; and King *Charles I. of England*, &c.

* *Rec. of
Lond.*

Colonel *Venn* aforesaid, seized, and kept in his Possession all the Dean's Plate, when he was driven from *Windfor*, (which by Order of Parliament* should have been restored) among the Parcels whereof were, more especially, two large silver Tankards, given by Prince *Charles, Eleſtor Palatine*, in Acknowledgement of the many Civilities, and respectful Entertainment, his Royal Highness had occasionally received in the Deanery-house, where he lodged, when he was pleased to reside, for a Season, at *Windfor*.

The *Eleſtor* usually expressed a great Satisfaction with this his commodious Retirement from *Whitehall*, (where the Parliament had allowed him a Lodging) and the Opportunity of conversing with the Dean, and some other Persons of Learning, his Friends, who used to resort there.

Here the Prince lived in a very private Way, with two Gentlemen only of his Retinue, a Secretary, and one who waited in the Bed-chamber; and a few inferior Servants. He dined at a little Table by himself; the others, with the Dean and his Family.

May 6, 1645.

*Whitlock's
Memoirs, p.
139.*

The Commons had ordered an Allowance for him of 8,000 *l. per Annum*, 2,000 *l. per Annum* out of the King's Revenue, and the rest out of the Estates of the Lord *Cottingham*, and Sir *Nicholas Cripp*.

Ibid. p. 376.

Upon the Treaty of *Westphalia*, whereby the *Eleſtor* was restored to a Part of his hereditary Estate, he notified the same to the Parliament, desiring the Continuance of his Stipend, and Payment of his Arrears; so that, it should seem, the Pension had been but ill paid, (tho' continually solicited) till his Return to his own Country, *Feb. 1648.* when it was ordered by the House.

There having been such Cause before, to mention Colonel *Venn*, it may be proper to note, what is extant concerning him upon publick Records.

*Echard's Hist.
of England,
Vol. II. p.
275.*

*Athen. Oxon.
236.*

Echard, Ibid.

John Venn, Citizen of *London*, and Member of Parliament for the City, was a Ringleader in the Mob against the Earl of *Strafford*; a great Promoter and Encourager of the Insurrections, and Tumults at *Whitehall*, and *Westminster*, in the Year 1641. sending his Summons by his Wife, to assemble the Zealots of the City, and declaring he used this Method, *for fear the worse Party should get the better of the good Party*, as was offered to be proved in the House.

*Hist. of the
Reigns of the
Stuarts, p.
223.*

*Echard, Vol.
II. p. 636.*

In his Majesty's Proclamation, published at *Oxford*, *June 20, 1643.* he was of the Number of those excepted from Pardon, as guilty of High-treason, by the known Laws of the Land. This deluded Man was one of the Seventy-nine, that actually sat, and assisted as Judges upon the King's Trial; was one of the Sixty-six, who sat when Sentence was given, and formally stood up to testify their Assent; and one of the Fifty-nine, that sealed and subscribed the bloody Warrant for the King's Execution: Not surviving the Restoration, and so having no Life to loose, he together with *Oliver Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradshaw*, and the others in the same Case, was attainted in the Parliament of 1660, and adjudged to the Forfeiture of Lands, Goods, Rights, and Trusts.

*History of
Stuarts, p.
475.*

The Persecution of the Church and Crown, during the Progress of the horrid Rebellion, affecting in a most rigorous Manner, the most noted Friends to both, the Dean, (who was eminently distinguished for his Learning, Piety, Loyalty, and the Esteem of his Royal Master) had a large Share, as well as his excellent Brother the Bishop of *Ely*, in the Severities of Fanatick

tick Rage, suffering all the Extremities of Sequestrations, and Plunders; but survived not the Miseries of the Times, dying on the 29th of May 1658, just two Years before the Return of the publick Felicity, at Bleckington in Oxfordshire, in the House of his Son-in-law Mr. William Holder, the Rector, whither he had retired from Oppression, and was buried in the Chancel of the Church there; leaving an only Son the Subject of the following Memoirs.

Iustus obiit, nec est qui animum advertat, sublatus est pius, nec est qui intelligat, ereptum eum esse malo, ut introducatur in pacem. Isa. cap. 57.

His Motto was,

Ὁ ΦΟΒΟΣ ἙΜΟΣ Η' ΕΛΠΙΣ ἙΜΗ ἙΣΤΙ.

And,

INTUS SI RECTE, NE LABORA.



A P P E N D I X

O F

Some few other RECORDS, and Miscellaneous REMARKS, to the Account of Dean WREN.

N U M B. I.

Collectanea
alicujus mo-
menti, ex
schedis D.
C. Wren.

AUG. 6, 1620. Domino Lanceloto Andrewſio, *epiſcopo Wintonienſi, à ſacris domeſticis admiſſus erat, Dr. Chriſtophorus Wren, S. T. B. poſt concionem hoc die habitam coram ipſo, in capellâ Palatii Windeſorienſis, ad ripam Thameſis auſtalem.*

Scil. Mat-
thæus.

Poſt hæc, ad caſtrum Farnhamiæ ſequuti ſunt præſulem, ipſe, fraterque, ejus natu maximus; ubi ab epiſcopo Rex cum univerſâ aulâ regiæ exceptus erat, 3bus diebus, apparatu ſumptuoſiſſimo, & expenſis, pluſquàm 3000 Lib. Eugene.

Dr. Chriſtopher Wren, of Windſor, was well ſkill'd in all Branches of the Mathematicks; and there are yet extant ſome marginal Notes, written by him in Sir Henry Wootton's *Elements of Architecture*, (London, 1624, Quarto) which ſhew his Knowledge of that Art. In thoſe Notes, among many other Things, he refers to the Contrivance of a very ſtrong Roof made by him at Knoyle, where he was Rector, the Figure of which is there ſubjoin'd (Page 79.) But there is one Thing mentioned by him as his Invention, which I ſhall tranſcribe here in his own Words. "For diſpoſing the "Current of a River to a mighty Length in a little Space, I invented the "Serpentine; a Form admirably conveying the Current in circular, and yet "contrary Motions, upon one and the ſame Level, with Walks and Retirement between, to the Advantage of all Purpoſes, either of Gardenings, "Plantings, or Banquetings, or airy Delights, and the multiplying of infinite "Fiſh in a little Compaſs of Ground, without any Senſe of their being reſtrained. In brief, it is to reduce the Current of a Mile's Length in the "Compaſs of an Orchard. Page 112." (*This Book is now in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Elias Ferris.*)

NUMB. II.

A very memorable Attestation of Dr. CHRISTOPHER WREN, Vide Notas, MS. ad Cosmographiam Petri Heylyn. L. I. p. 285. Dean of Windsor, and Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, concerning the Royal Title of Defender of the Faith.

POPE Leo X. conferred on King Henry VIII. (in the Year 1521.) the Title of *Defender of the Faith*; afterwards, made hereditary, by Act of Parliament, to his Heirs, and Successors; and yet, "That King Henry VII. had the same Title formerly, appears by the Register of the Order of the Garter, in the Black-book, (so called from the Colour of its Cover, p. 187.) now in my Hands, by Office, which having shewed to King Charles I. he received with much Joy, nothing more pleasing him, than that the Right of that Title was fixed in the Crown, long before the Pope's pretended Donation." To all which I make Attestation, to all Posterities, *Ἀπορροφῶ hoc meo. Ita testor, Christoph. Wren, à memoriâ, & secretis honoratissimi ordinis. [Ex isto autographo avi mei pie memoriæ transcripti C. W. anno Domini 1733.*

Citatio supradicta, in registro scil. libro-nigro, sic se habet.

P. 187.

["Henricus VII.] quia virtutibus cæteris sui temporis antecelluit, quasi *consensu totius Christianismi voce, tum præcipuus ecclesiæ, fideique Christi defensor est habitus; cujus prærogativæ candidissimum titulum, illustrissimus ejus hæres meritissimè recepit, & receptum, ita percoluit, ut quod pater egregiè cæperat, filius absolutissimè perfecit.*"

[King Henry VII.] because he excelled his Contemporaries in Virtues, was by the unanimous Voice of all *Christendom*, then esteemed the *principal Defender of the Church, and of the Faith*; the bright Title of which Prerogative, his most illustrious Heir most deservedly received, and adorned it, that what his Father had thus excellently begun, he his Son most absolutely finished it. [Anstis of the Garter, Tom. II. P. 266.]

Humphry of Lancaster, Duke of Gloucester, fourth Son of King Henry IV. Uncle to King Henry VI. created Duke of Gloucester by his Brother King Henry V. in the Year 1414. and surnamed the *Good*; upon his Marriage with *Jacoba*, Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Bavaria, used these Titles; Humphry, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother, and Uncle to Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Pembroke, Lord of Friesland, great Chamberlain of the Kingdom of England; Protector and Defender of the said Kingdom, and Church of England. [Sandford's genealogical History of the Kings of England, &c. Book IV. chap. 7. p. 316.]

NUMB. III.

A Memorandum of Dean WREN's, relating to the ancient Arms of the French Kings.

*Notes M. S.
to Heylyn's
Cosm. B. I.
p. 205.*

THE ancient French Heralds say, the Ensigns armorial of the Kings of France, Anno Christi 484. were [*Tres Crapauds*] three Toads. The first Change of the Coat was Azure, *Frettè* and *Semè* of Flower de Lyces Or, first changed by King Edward III. and so put into his Broad Seal Anno Regni 20°. after his Conquest of France, thirty-four Years before Charles VI. came to the Crown. In the East Window of the Church of *Hafely Magna, Oxon*, where I was Rector Anno 1639, the Coat of France stood as above, *Frettè* and *Semè* of Flower de Lyces, put in there, together with his own Coat near it, by the Lord Barentine, Knight of Rhodes, and a great Benefactor to that Church; a Man of great Valour and Possessions in France as well as England: his Tomb, at the North-East Side of the Chancel, shews, he was of a gigantick Stature; and his Statue of one entire Stone, which I digged out of a Heap of Rubbish there, makes it appear he was (not two Inches lower than) seven Foot high.

Some further memorable Notes.

*Ibid. B. I.
p. 285.*

The victorious King Edward III. was Founder of the most noble Order of the Garter, whereof were (by several Kings his Successors) created nine Emperors, fifty-five Kings, four hundred Princes, the last whereof was Prince Palatine Rupert.

*Ibid. B. I.
p. 285.
Altea Gray-
Fryers.*

The wicked and tyrannical Prince King Richard III. being slain at *Bosworth*, his Body was begged by the Nuns at *Leicester*, and buried in their Chapel there; at the Dissolution whereof, the Place of his Burial happened to fall into the Bounds of a Citizen's Garden, which being (after) purchased by Mr. Robert Herrick (some Time Mayor of *Leicester*) was by him covered with a handsome Stone Pillar, three Foot high, with this Inscription, "Here lies the Body of Richard III. some Time King of England," This he shewed me [*Chr. Wren*] walking in the Garden, Anno 1612.

Testimonial of the wonderful Oak in the New Forest in Hampshire, by Dr. CHRISTOPHER WREN.

THE Account of the Oak in the New Forest, King James I. could not be induced to believe, till Bishop Andrews, [of Winchester] in whose Diocese the Tree grew, caused one of his Chaplains, a Man of known Integrity, to give a true Information of it, which he did: for upon the Eve of the Nativity, he gathered about 100 Slips, with the Leaves newly opened, which he stuck in Clay, in the Bottom of long, white Boxes, and so sent them Post to the Court; when they deservedly raised not only Admiration, but stopp'd the Mouth of Infidelity, and Contradiction for ever.

Of this I was both an Eye-witness, and did distribute many of them to the great Persons of both Sexes in Court, and to others, ecclesiastical Persons; but in the last *troublesome Times*, a devilish Fellow, (of *Herostratus's* Humour) having hewen it round at the Root, made his last Stroke on his own Leg, whereof he died, together with the old wonderful Tree; which now sprouts up again, and may renew his oaky Age again, if some such envious Chance does not hinder or prevent it, from which the Example of the former Villain

may

may perhaps deter the Attempters. This I thought fit to testify to all future Times, and subscribe with the same Hand, through which those little oak Slips pass.

Ita testor Christ. Wren, domino Lancelotto à sacris domesticis, Ἀυτοπύρις, Andrews ep. tunc: & Carolo regi, patrono opt. maximo (postea) ex Ἀυτοπύρις, fidus as- Winton. sertor.

Ego Christophorus Wren, ex autographo reverendi avi mei, ad amissum See Brown's vulgar Error, p. 100. transcripsi, anno Domini 1735.

"On the North-side of Malwood-Castle in New-Forest, is the Oak that Camden's buds on Christmas-day, and whithers again before Night; which was or- Brit. Mus. sc. cond. edit. by Bish. Gibson. Vol. I. p. 134. der'd by King Charles II. to be paled round."

"Agreeable to this is the Hawthorn-tree, at Glassenbury, which budded on Christmas-day, as if it were in May.

"As also the Walnut-tree there, which never budded before the Feast of St. Barnabas, and on that very Feast-day shot out Leaves in great

"Abundance." Ditto, Vol. I. p. 79.

Observatio sanguinis in occiso, & submerso, ad rei præsentiam, effluentis. Ex schedis reverendi Christop. Wren, S. T. P.

*S*ubmersis clam, subilire sanguinem ad accessum intersectoris certum est; ex historia toti provincie Oxon, notissima. Apud Ricot (in parochia de Haseley, cujus cura mihi olim demandata est) ad barones Norricios spectantem; varii custos grandævus, à nepote, in vivarium noctu allectus, cum tempus pactum præverteret, sub quercu recumbens, sopore correptus est; quem sic repperit, nepos accedens, (spe hæredii, cui post mortem senis destinatus est) excerebravit, tractumque in profundam fossam, lapide ingenti, ad collum appenso, demersit; ubi 5, hebdomadis plus minus delituit cadaver, stupente domino, totaque vicina, quid de sene actum esset; post dictum tempus fœnectores, ad margines fossæ, operas producentes, tam ingentia muscarum examina conspexerunt, ut ad inquisitionem tanti ostentis impellerentur; tandemque visum primò obscure, deinde multo labore extractum cadaver, putridum, & vix sibi cohærens extrahunt, & extractum recognoscunt; sed de interfectore nemo mortalium conicere quicquam potuit; interfectum fuisse, & summâ vi illic projectum indicio fuit, saxum ad collum appensum; quod omnem, de suicidio, dubitationem sustulit prorsus.

Ad scelus igitur tam atrox detegendum, solerter admodum, impulsu ejus, qui vindictam sibi propriam esse vult, dominus Noricius jussit putridum corpus, sed in aquis, ab extremis fœtoribus præservatum, dominicâ jam proximâ, in cœmeterio juxta portam ecclesiæ exponi, ut egressientium oculis & tactui pœnè obversaretur. Solus scelestus ille nepos, facinoris tanti conscius, quasi conspectum carissimi avunculi nequiret ferre, abducere se, multo dolore quasi oppressum, conatus est; at dominus Norricius suspicatus, illius fuisse facinore senem ablatum, cui hæredii lucrûm obventurum erat, eo-urgentiùs detrahentem, accedere impulit; manumque mortui (quod plurimè sponte fecerant) digito attingere; quo tactu (mirum dictu!) Oculi (in cadavere) quasi Dei digito aperti, palam se movere visi, & sanguis è naribus effluens, adeo conserrnarunt ficarium, ut in terram dilapsus, fateretur scelus à se clam potratum, sed justissimo Dei judicio patefactum; ex quo judicio primum, dein carnifici oblatum, dignas tanto scelere pœnas, in patibulo dedit. Quod memorandum, meaque ipsius manu signandum duxi. Ideoque ita testor.

CHRISTOP. WREN, Rector ecclesiæ prædictæ.

Ex autographo.

O O

NUMB

NUMB. IV.

A prophetick Observation copied from the Dean's own Hand, in a small Note-book of his, written, as it should seem, in the Year 1623. He died in 1658, viz. eight Years before the Fire of London.

"*L* *Atinæ literæ numerales, nullæ sunt præter has septem nobis adhuc in usu quotidiano.*

{MDCLXVI.}

"*Note, That all the numeral Letters in the Latin Tongue, can make up but 1666. so that when the odd 666, are completed in the Years of*

"*Christ, it may bode some ominous Matter, and perhaps the last End.*"

The Year of Christ 1666, proved ominous and direful to the Nation, by the unparallel'd Calamity of the great and dreadful Fire of London; "which

Inscript on the Monument.

"*was merciless to the States and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all Things resemble the last and great Conflagration.*"

Extract from the same Note-book.

Luc. c. x.
v. 5.
MDCLXVIII.

"*In quancunque domum introieritis primum dicite;*

"*PAX SIT HVIC DOMVI.*"

*Tam solenni præcepto, tempestivo voto
subscripti introiens*

Scil. de
Knoyle.
Scil. 1623.

C. W. Rector.

Julii 28, anno dicto.

Inscriptum vestibulo domus meæ parochialis de Knoyle in agro Wintoniensis, eo ipso anno quo institutus & inductus sui, 1623.

[*Ex notis ad Helvici chronologiam.*]

Anno Domini 1610. Henricus IV. rex Galliarum occisus erat, & descendam tanti regis cædem, non fuit à memoriâ excidere, verissimum illud chronogramma.

Scil.
MDLXVIII.
1610.

Tristia sangVineo LILla rore MaDent.

Georgius dux Buckinghamiæ, inter medias copias, in expeditione ad insulam Rupellanam, à Feltono gregario milite, cultro erat confossus; exitus hujus diri præsagium omen implevit non solum nomen ipsius, sed et titulum ejus bonorarium, in hoc stupendo chronogrammate,

MDCLXVIII.

GeorgIVs DVX BVCKIngbaMIæ periit, scil. 1628.

Helvicus opus suum chronologicum ultra annum Christi 1650. non produxit, metu, fortassis, vanissimæ illius conjecturæ, quæ se oblectarunt nonnulli; qui mundum anno 1656. periturum igne præscirent, cum ad eundem annorum numerum post incarnationem perveniret, quo à conditu submersus est. — Inter hos

bos fatidicos agmen ducit * Alstedius homo multæ lectionis, sed ^{παλινδρος} palindros, & plagiarius, qui (ut graculus) furtivis doctissimorum, quotquot sunt, pennis se con-vestivit; inter cætera verò audaciæ indicia, præcipuum hoc fuit, de mundi incendio, quod, quasi à Dei conciliis, privilegio plusquam angelico, non coniecit modo, sed definivit; & ne non satis insanire videretur, characterem addidit chronologicum, quasi fallere nescius, *MVNDI ConſLagratio.*

Scil.
MDCLVI.
1656.

N U M B. V.

Christophorus Wren, filius unicus reverendi Christoph. Wren,
Decanus Windesfori natus erat.

DIE 2 VIIIbris 20^o paulò ante octavam vespertinam, anno 1632. cyclo ☉ 17, ☿ 18, litera dominicali B. 3^o post Bissextum. Quo anno contigit Σωμωτικῆς Σελήνης ☉ & ☿; quam ad monitum Kepleri, observavit Gassendus, Parisiis.

Hic obiter notanda erit sententia ejusdem reverendi Christophori Wren, ad hæc verba—“ Anno Christi 812, Helvicus ponit eclipſin ſolarem; ſed nescio an eclipſis dicenda ſuit: aiunt hiſtorici horum temporum, maculam quandam in ſole obſervatam per 7 dies; alii 9 dicunt; quidam parùm mathematicè dicunt fuiſſe Σωμωτικῆς Σελήνης Mercurii in ſole; at hoc meritò exſibilant aſtronomi, quibus certum eſt, tam velocem, & volubilem eſſe ☿ motum, ut im-poſſibile ſit, ſolem tot diebus cum ☿ conjungi; inde tamen, nuper inventi ſunt, inter quos Alſtedius, qui præterquam quod ſcribat hoc accidiſſe anno 813. cyclo ☉ 10, ☿ vero 16; Προφωτιſμὸς unius anni ſolidi inde, jam poſt annos 800, ex eventu, ariolatur, hoc prodigium haud dubiò ſignificaffe obſcurationem evangeliū ſub pontificibus Romanis; quod majori zelo quam ſcientiâ dictum, prætereundum potius cenſeo, quam redarguendum; viderint noſtri mathematici quibus otium eſt, iſta ad ἐκκλιπὸν reducenda an non fuerit hæc macula quædam ingentior; quales, hodiè, obſervant per ſolare corpus quotidie ferri plurimas eaſque nec quantitate, nec figurâ, pares; viderint, porrò, annon cometa cenſendi ſint iſtæ maculæ, qui quamdiu, intra ſolis diſcum manſerint, (è quo omnes cometas prodire notum eſt) nigri apparent, & opaci; cum longius à ſole proceſſerint, lumen rarum & diaphanum, magiſque indies evanidum oſtentant.” [Ex notis MS. ad Helvici chronologicam, p. 116. & 166, 167.]

Sed veræ ☉ & ☿ conjunctionis prognosticon, per eundem reverendum & eruditum virum, apertum erat in hunc modum, Σωμωτικῆς Σελήνης ☉ & ☿ continget Octobris 24^o anno Christi 1651. ſed non niſi in ipſo exitu a nobis conſpicienda, ſi fortè aurora clarum oſtendat ſolem. Intrabit autem ☿ ſuper diſcum ſolis, ad ſeſquiſecundam, mane; & pertranſibit eum paulò ante 8^{am}.

Hoc loco addatur ejusdem doctiſſimi, viri obſervatio ad paragraphum ſequentem Helvici chronologiæ, in pagina 182. litera E ſcil. “ Eclipſis terræ lunaribus formidanda in 19 grad. (quæ vulgo creditur eſſe horrenda planè & terribilis eclipſis ☉ Solis) in grad. 19. 2. Aug. 1. ſtyl. vet. anno 1654. paulò ante meridiem; Romæ fatalis; ſi modo eclipſes numerandæ ſint inter prophetas; neque enim prædicere ſolent, nec prædicare quicquam; nec majori oſtento ſunt quam aſſiduus cælorum motus; quorum concurſum ſciolus quilibet, ad omnia temporum momenta remotiſſima, ex naturalibus principiis prædicere poſſit; quales habeant cauſas ſcimus omnes; quales habituræ ſint effectus nemo

Ex notis MS.
ad Helvici
chron. p 182.

Replicatio,
contrà eclip-
ſecon terra-
rem.

* Floruit Centuria XVI.

“ mortalium

"mortalium præscire potest; nemo nisi insanus audet ariolari; metuant sibi a signis cæli, qui scelerum suorum conscii, irati cæli minas non possunt non horrere; at quibus cælum patria est, jubentur non timere.
 "Annon dementia est, brevissimas obtekti solis tenebras, magis horrere, quam jugem 8, 12, 16, sæpe horarum quâ involvitur noctem? annon ab absente quotidie tot horis continuis sole, majus longè detrimentum, si detrimentum sit, quod non solum assiduum est, sed etiam naturale, quam ab eodem præsentem, sed ad paucissima momenta, obvelato, justè metuendum est? lunæ umbra, nunquam ad centum miliarium mensuram, in terrâ extenditur; adeoque, nusquam hæret, sed continuo motu circumfertur celerrimè; at ipsa terra, suâ nos umbrâ, assiduè, ad multas horas involutas tenet; etiam densæ sæpe numerò nubes totum solum terræ auferunt; idque in multos dies; non sine multo sæpe horrendoque procellarum depluvio, metuendo sanè cum sentitur, & postquam recessit, adhuc descendendo. Non igitur, tam ab intercurrentibus luminaribus terræ obtenebratio, quam ab ipsâ terrâ tenebræ, aut metuendæ, aut dolendæ sunt; fuerunt hæc quas eclipses vocant gentilium terriculamenta, quibus vafri nebulones, obtenebratis illuserunt mentibus, dum attonitis interim marsupia expilarent."

N U M B. VI.

Ex schedis D. CHRIST. WREN decani Windesorienf.

ANNO 1628, serenissimus rex Dr. Mathæum Wren ad decanatum capellæ regię de Windesor evexit, loco Dr^{is} Henrici Beaumont defuncti, qui, non ita pridem, anno scil. 1622. ad istam sedem promotus fuerat, per abdicationem D. Marci Antonii de Dominis, archi-episcopi Spalatensis; de quo viro, utpote notabili, pauca subjiciemus.

Marcus Antonius de Dominis archi-episcopus Spalatinus deferens pontificem Romanum, ad regem Angliæ se contulit, homo doctus sanè, & in omni genere eruditionis instructissimus; sed & idem ventricosus, & cerebrosus; nec facillè dixerim ciborum, vinique, an pecuniarum magis avidus; quibus (post exhaustos in decanatu Windesorienf. & hospitali, quod vocant Sabaudienf. amplissimos reditus) cum se expleri satis, in Angliâ non posse timeret, gurges verè inexplebilis; Gondomari legati Hispanici technis illeceus; jamque omnia sibi ex votis cessura apud pontificem (invenitium studiorum olim Socium) promittens, Romam repetiit; ubi primum perfidiæ in sedem Romanam accusatus, dein schismatis (contrà ipsam) attentati reus factus; sententiam incarcerationis primum subiit, anno 1622. postea viricombusi, ut multi asserunt sed extincti sive tædio, sive tormentis in carcere cadaver exustum est, anno 1624. certè nullo martyrio activo vel passivo. Adeò injuriarum tenax Roma est; nec læsæ quam avet majestatis post cælum secundæ, si non cum cælo dividendæ, in longissima tempora obliviscitur.

In Relation to a Person so extraordinary, this further Account may be adjoined.

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, arriving in England, in 1617. both preached, and wrote well against the Church of Rome, and extoll'd the Protestant Religion, being a Man of rare Parts, and general Learning, in regard whereof, he came to be made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*, Preferments of Dignity and Value, which he enjoyed some Years, though in all other Respects, voluptuous, haughty, rapacious,

and

and profuse; at length in Expectation of greater Promotions, and decoy'd by the Craft of Count *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, he repaired again to *Rome*, where, he renounced, and reproached the *Protestant Religion*; "re-
"turning like a Dog to his Vomit, and as a Sow that is washed, to her wall-
"lowing in the Mire." But all he could do to satisfy the Court of *Rome*, had no Effect, the *Inquisition* laid hold on him, threw him into Prison, where he died, and his Body was burnt for a Heretick. Some Good, however, sprung from this Evil, for we are assured, that to this Man the World has been obliged for that noble History of the Council of *Trent*; since by his Means, and the Measures he had concerted with the famous Father *Paul*, before he left *Italy*, Archbishop *Abbot* got the Manuscript transmitted by Parcels into *England*.

Defensio ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, contra M. Anton. de Dominis, archi-episcopi Athen Oxon. Spalatensis injurias [Lon. 1625. per Rich. Crackanthorpe regis majestati à p. 418. *facris*. This Book was held to be the most exact Piece for Controversy, since the Time of the Reformation.

The Story of this Arch-apostate and Impostor, as particularized more extensively, and explained in other Memoirs, which coincide with Dean *Wren's* previous Accounts, is too remarkable to be omitted.

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato*, on his Arrival in *Eng-land*, had been fourteen Years Arch-bishop of that See in *Dalmatia*, under the State of *Venice*; and pretending Conscience, he renounced the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and conformed to that of *England*, about a Year before he arrived here; he said, the *Romish* Church was mystical *Babylon*, the Pope a *Nimrod*, a *Tyrant*, *Schismatick*, *Heretick*, and even *Anti-christ* himself. It seems he had a Pique against Pope *Paul V.* for making him pay five hundred Crowns a Year out of his Bishoprick to a Suffragan, and in a Fury left *Italy*. Coming to *England*, he was received by King *James*, with as much Favour as if he had been a real Convert. He soon found out the King's Foible, and flattering him for his Learning and Knowledge in Divinity, obtained several rich Presents, and profitable Preferments, his Majesty sending him a fair Basin and Bowl of Silver, the Archbishop received it with this Compliment, *Misit mihi rex Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. The King of Great-Britain has sent me a silver Basin to wash from me the Filth of the Roman-church, and a Silver Cup to mind me to drink the Purity of the Gospel.*

He was soon after made Dean of *Windsor*, with a good Parsonage annexed to it, and Master of the *Savoy*.—*Gondomar* the *Spanish* Envoy, taking Offence at a Jest the Archbishop made upon him, told King *James* he was still a Papist in his Heart, and he would prove it. To effect it, he wrote to his Master the King of *Spain*, to demand *de Dominis's* Pardon of the Pope, with a Promise of Preferment, and a Cardinal's Cap, if he would sign a Recantation of what he had said and written against the Catholic Church. *De Dominis* readily embraced the Motion, and signed the Recantation, which was presented him by *Gondomar*, who carried it immediately to the King. His Majesty ordered the Matter to be kept secret, *de Dominis* being at that very Instant an importunate Petitioner for the Arch-bishoprick of *York*, vacant, as it was thought, by the supposed Death of *Matthews*; which his Majesty denying him, after he was convinced of his Falshood, *de Dominis* desired Leave to depart the Kingdom, and was commanded to do so within twenty Days, and never to return. This Message startled *de Dominis* who expected to be courted to stay in *England*; and when he found the King was in earnest, he made all the Interest he could to be permitted to stay, but all being in vain, he shipp'd himself with Count *Swartzenbourg*, the Imperial Ambassador, and returned to *Flanders*, from whence he went to *Rome*, where he lived on a

small Pension paid him by Pope Gregory XV. whose Successor Urban VIII. prohibited the Payment of it ; and upon Information of some Expressions of his in Praise of the Books he had written against Popery, he was seized and thrown into Prison, where he died, and his Corpse being excommunicated after his Death, was burnt in the Field of *Flora*.

N U M B. VII.

Collectanea quædam apprimè curiosa de cæremoniis, & pompâ electionis & inaugurationis serenissimi principis *Caroli à Carolo*, in ordinem garterii. Ex schedis decani CHRISTOPHERI WREN.

ANNO Domini 1638. ad 19^{um} Maij, commilitones, de indictione festi prius pro more admoniti, in obsequium Supremi, Windesoram convolant, festum, quod Sancti Georgii dicitur, postridie celebraturi.

Ad augendam pompam convenerant serenissima regina ; dux Eboracensis parvulus ; & ducissa de Chevereux à Galliis Advena.

Vicesimum Maij, Stæ. & individue trinitati sacrum, manè in palatio castri, summâ cum devotione, concioni attentissimus, observabat Supremus.

Ad 3^{am} verò ejus diei, ipse cum commilitonibus octo, in domum capitularem descendentes, insignia ordinis induunt ; induti quoque Supremo astant.

Hinc Comes Pembrochiæ &	}	Illinc Comes Arundel, &
Montgomeriæ,		Surriæ.
Comes Sarum.		Comes Dorset.
Comes Hollandiæ.		Comes Bercheriæ.
Comes Lindseæ.	}	Comes Danbiæ.

Dein in capellam itur ; ubi post primam lectionem, habitum est scrutinium, ad supplenda tria stalla jam vacantia, cujus forma, hæc erat ; nominabant honoratissimi Domini commilitones.

	PRINCIPES.	BARONES.	EQUITES.
Comes Pembrochiæ, & Montgomeriæ.	{ Prin. Carolum. Comitem Essexiæ. Comitem Leicestriæ.	Dns. Clifford. Goring. Herb. de Cher.	Tho. Germin. Hen. Fane. Robt. Mansel.
Comes Arundel, & Surriæ.	{ Prin. Carolum. Comitem Bathon. Comitem Essex.	Dns. Clifford. Strange. Herb. de Cher.	Guil. Howard. Hen. Fane. Rich. Anslow.
Comes Sarum.	{ Prin. Carolum. Com. Bedford. C. de Novo Castro.	Dns. Clifford. North. Goring.	Guil. Howard. Hen. Fane. Tho. Germin.
Comes Dorset.	{ Prin. Carolum. Com. Essex. Com. Hertford.	Dns. Aberguenny Goring. Wimbleton.	Jo. Ogle. Car. Morgan. Hen. Herbert.

Comes.

Comes Hollandiæ.	{ Prin. Carolum.	Dns. Clifford.	Tho. Germin.
	{ Com. Essex.	Goring.	Hen. Fane.
	{ Com. Warwick.	North.	Tho. Rowe.
Com. Berks.	{ Prin. Carolum.	Dns. Edw. Howard.	Guil. Howard.
	{ Com. Essex.	Goring.	Robt. Manfel.
	{ Com. Rutland.	Cherbury.	Car. Morgan.
Com. Lindsey.	{ Prin. Carolum.	Dns. North.	Hen. Fane.
	{ Com. Rutland.	Goring.	Tho. Germin.
	{ Com. Essex.	Clifford.	Car. Morgan.
Com. Danby.	{ Prin. Carolum.	Dns. Wimbleton.	Tho. Germin.
	{ Com. Essex.	Goring.	Edw. Verney.
	{ Com. Northampton.	Cottingham.	Robt. Manfel.

Finito cum sacris scrutinio, & in domo capitulari exutis ornamentis, ascendit Supremus cum commilitonibus in castrum.

Maij 21. Supremo diebus commilitonibus chlamydati stipato, obsequebantur omnes ordinis officarii, in camerâ privatiore.

Jamque redintegrato concilio, permissum est serenissimæ reginæ Mariæ, & ducissæ de Chevereux, assistere, dum primo genito Carolo, Magnæ Britannæ principi fierent electionis solennia.

Ante omnia quidem, commilitones rogant binos primores ordinis (com. scil. Pembrokia, & com. Arundel.) ut principem, reliquorum nomine, Supremo præsentarent, equitis bacchalaurei titulo, & ritibus (uti leges jubent) primò initiandum.

Primus enim ille apud Britannos dignitatis omnis militaris gradus est; bonorum omnium, in Angliâ, quasi basis; adeo ut nulli, de gente Britannicâ, quantumcunque, alias, polleat sanguinis, aut virtutum præcellentia, fas sit in honoratissimam societatem cooptari, nisi quem primus iste militaris honoris gradus habilem reddiderit & capace.

Primum itaque, solenni more, princeps genibus innixus à Supremo creatur eques auratus.

Et in augmentum honoris, ex nobilibus evocati sunt quatuor, quos familiis auspiciis, in spem majoris gratiæ, Supremus sublevaret.

Horum primus comes Essexiæ, Dominis Frederico Hamilton, & Roberto Honywood, equitibus stipatus, ad solium Supremi procumbit creandus.

Hunc sequutus est comes Sancti Albani, quem dextrâ, dominus Rogerus Palmer, eques Balneatus; sinistrâ, dominus Henricus Mildmay, gemmarii regii custos, comitabantur. Dein processit comes Elgin, cui parastatæ erant dominus Joannes Meldram, & dominus Joannes Withrington.

Quarto loco, dominus vice-comes Grandison, medius ivit, inter dominum Joannem Harper, & dominum Joannem Lucas.

His peractis cæremoniis, precancellarius hesternum scrutinium pronus Supremo præsentabat; quo perlecto, juventutis principem Carolum, jam octennem, sed virtutibus longius multo quam ætate proventum, Supremus in augustum ordinem cooptat; electumque, rescripto suo ad regem armorum dato, nunciari jussit, cujus hæc erat forma idiomate Anglico.

Charles R.

“OUR most dear, and entirely beloved Son, having to our great Comfort seen, and considered the Ripeness of your Youth, and conceiv'd joyful, and pregnant Hopes of your manly Virtues, in which we are assured, you will increase to your own Honour, both in Prowess, Wisdom, Justice, and all princely Endowments; and that the Emulation of *Chevalry* will in your tender Years provoke and encourage you, to pursue the Glory of heroick Actions, befitting your royal Birth, and our Care and Education. We with the *Companions* of our most noble Order of the *Garter*, assembled in *Chapter*, holden this present Day at our Castle of *Windsor*, have elected and chosen you one of the *Companions* of our Order. In Signification whereof, we have sent to you by our trusty, and well-beloved Servant, Sir *John Burroughs*, Knight of the *Garter*, and our principal King of Arms, these our royal Letters, requiring you to make your speedy Repair unto us, to receive the *Ensigns* of our most honourable Order, and to be ready for your *Installation*, upon the twenty-second of this present Month.

“Given under the Signet of our Order, at our Castle of *Windsor*,
“the 21st of May, in the 14th Year of our Reign, 1638.

“To our dearly beloved Son, Prince Charles.”

Hic autem opportunè, scriba, à Supremo doceri petiit supplex, nùm eandem ipsammet formam principi obstringendo, perlegeret, quam reliqui omnes, (in ordinem cooptandi) præstabant, juramenti.

Ipsissimam (inquit) verbis consuetis propone; quod & factum est.

Accedentem igitur, non sine debita veneratione ad thronum Supremi, exultans plenè affectibus excipit augustus Pater; statimque periscelide, adamantium fulgoribus coruscante, lævam cingit tibiam; repente cancellario banc formulam.

Ad gloriam Dei omnipotentis, & honorem decusque tuum, cinge tibiam tuam hoc insigni periscelide, circumferens in signum, ac memoriam illustrissimi ordinis, nusquam oblivioni dandum aut omittendam, quod eo moneris, ut valeas, & velis in iusto bello, quod solum inibis, stare firmiter, agere fortiter, & feliciter omnino vincere.

Quæ nostro idiomate sic sonat.

“To the Glory of Almighty God, and for thine Honour and Renown, tye about thy Leg this noble *Garter*; wear it as a Symbol of the most illustrious Order; never to be forgotten, or laid aside; that thereby thou may'st be admonished to be courageous, and having undertaken a just War, into which only thou shalt be engag'd, thou may'st stand firm, valiantly fight, and successfully conquer.”

Deinde iconem, Sancti Georgii, gemmâ insculptam, & cæruleæ vittæ annexam, collo principis Supremus appendit,—cancellario pergente, in hæc formâ.

Torquem hunc in collo deferens ad augmentum honoris, & in signum quoque clarissimi ordinis a te suscepti, cum imagine sanctissimi martyris ac Christi militis Georgii, cujus imitatione provocatus, mundi hujus tam prospera quam adversa sic pertranseas, ut animæ pariter ac corporis hostibus hic strenuè devictis, non temporariæ modo militiæ gloriæ, sed & perennis victoriæ palmam denique recipere valeas.

Nostro idiomate.

“Wear this Ribband about thy Neck, adorn'd with the Image of the blessed Martyr, and Soldier of *Christ* St. George; by whose Imitation in-
“cited,

“ cited, thou may’st so pass through worldly Prosperity and Adversity,
 “ that having stoutly vanquish’d thine Enemies, both of Body and Soul,
 “ thou may’st not only receive the Praise of this transient Combat, but be
 “ crowned with the Palm of eternal Victory.”

Principi ad hunc modum recepto, gratulabantur sigillatim omnes commilitones.

Fecialibus feoda geminata sunt, ex superabundanti gratiâ Supremi; propterea quod, excellentissimus princeps, primò in ordinem equitum bacchalaureorum; dein, in honoratissimam commilitonum societatem, secundum leges ordinis repetitis cæremoniis, fuisset assumptus.

Tantæ, tamque spontaneæ munificentie sensus, occasionem fecit procancellario, ulterioris gratiæ à Supremo implorandæ; ut conjugibus commilitonum liceret festorum diebus sinistrum brachium gemmatâ periscelide cingere, & chlamyde uti cæruleâ, sicut præci moris fuit; sed, inconsultâ reginâ, nihil decernendum censuit Supremus, nec, gratiam hanc, nisi ad heroinarum concepta vota, concedendam.

Collare cum icone San. Georgianâ; & periscelis; & reliqua ornamenta ordinis, quæ ab illustrissimo Gustavo Adolpho, Suecorum rege invictò, dum viveret, gestata fuerant, ipsoque defuncto, per legatum honorarium reddita, decreto Supremi, Windeforæ in ærario reponi jubentur, sub salâ custodiâ; in perpetuum memoriam glorioissimi illius regis & commilitonis.

Jamque adolescente 22 Maij, è concilio, ad matutinas perexit Supremus, cum principibus, conjunctasque orationibus oblationes, quas eminentiori præ cæteris devotione absolvit optimus princeps; geminas nempe hydrias quarum materiam, ex argento cælato, ter deaurato, superabat opus singulare; pendentes uncias 387 libris 235, æstimatas, ad altare, genibus innixus, conceptisque hisce verbis Deo dicavit “ Tibi, & perpetuo tuo servitio, partem bonitatis tuæ offero, domine Deus omnipotens.”

Hydrias verò oblatas, reverendissimus prælatus, benedictionem solitam præfatus, in æternos Dei usus, separavit.

Post confessum, bini commilitones primores, relictis stallis, principem solâ tunicâ, holosericâ coccineâ amictum, gladioque succinctum, antecedentibus pro more officiaris, ad stallum deducunt, quod inferius Supremi à dextris subjacet; ubi statio fiebat, donec solenne juramentum, supra memoratum, quo cæteri commilitones obstringi solent, ex libri ordinis à scriba prælectum, præstaret, viz.

Ego, Carolus nominatus atque electus unus egregiorum equitum illustrissimi ordinis hujus militaris, promitto, & per sacrosancta evangelia Dei, quæ tango, hic manifestè jure, quod omnia ordinis istius statuta, atque articulos in iis contentos legibus divinis & patriis minime adversantes quatenus ad ne spectabunt, inviolabiliter observabo—Ita me Deus adjuvet, & sancta ejus Evangelia.

Quod linguâ vernaculâ sic se habet.

“ I Charles being chosen to be one of the honourable Company of this most
 “ noble Order of the Garter, do promise, and swear by the holy Evangelists, by me here touched, inviolably to observe all the Statutes of the said
 “ Order, or any Articles in them contained; the same being agreeable and not
 “ repugnant to the Laws of Almighty God, and the Laws of this Realm, as
 “ far forth as to me belongeth and appertaineth. So God help me and his
 “ holy Word.”

Sacramento istoc auctoratum, dicti bini comites, extemplo, trabem cæruleâ, & humerali honorario ornant, proloquente cancellario in formulam consuetam, viz.

Accipe chlamydem hanc cælici coloris, in signum clarissimi hujus ordinis, & in augmentum etiam honoris tui, rubro clypeo dominicæ crucis, uti cernis, insigni-

tam, ut cujus virtute semper ac vigore protectus, per hostes tutus abeas, eos ubique superare valeas, & præclarissimis denique meritis, post egregiam hanc hujus temporis militiam, ad æterna, verèque triumphalia gaudia pertingas.

Sic Anglicè.

“Receive this Robe of heavenly Colour, (the Livery of this most excellent Order) in Augmentation of thine Honour, enobled with the Shield, and Red Cross of our Lord, by whose Power thou may'st safely pierce Troops of thy Enemies, and be over them ever victorious; and being in this temporal Warfare glorious in egregious and heroick Actions, thou may'st obtain eternal and triumphant Joy.”

Cæteris insignibus quibus claret hic ordo, conspectius geritur collare; collare est ex auro obryzo; contextiturque perpetuâ periscelidum minutarum serie, unitas Angliæ rosas cingentium, vinculisque elegantibus ad invicem connexarum; cui appendi solet imaguncula Sancti Georgii draconem conficientis supinatam, sed equo simul & sessorî atrociter minantem, quæ quidem ex adamantibus plurimis & ingentibus affabrè compaginata, non minus arte quam pretio splendat.

Hoc cervix principis circumdata est, repetitâ, per cancellarium, oratiunculâ supra memoratâ, viz.

“Wear this Collar about thy Neck, &c. changing only the Word Ribband for Collar.

Deinde capitium ex holoferico nigro, catenellâ adamantinâ cinctum, plumâque candidâ decorum imponebatur.

Fulgens denique tot tantisque heroicis ornamentis, virtutibus ipse fulgentior, stallum (a dextrâ supremi primum) ascendeat.

Augetur interim sociorum numerus inexpectato accessu ducis Levinæ, & comitis Kellia.

Insuper, operæ pretium est meminisse, ad augendam solennitatem, huc confluxisse venerandissimos antistes Guil. archiepi. Cantuariensem, Gulielmum Londinensem magnum Angliæ thesaurarium, Matthæum Eliensem, capellæ regię decanum; aliosque viros præcellentes, præter capellanos regios, regique chori ministros symphoniacos; nec non alios è clero complures; qui ad unum omnes, litaniam (procedendo) decantabant, donec totam capellam, & aream, quæ cimiterio destinata est; perlustrassent, partim candidis, partim stolis byssinis, qualiter canonici nostrates ex præcepto solent, partim denique acupictis, auroque intertextis, induti; sacro huic agmini coryphæum ponebat honoratissima commilitonum fraternitas, ipsorumque pars optima maximum Carolus uterque filius princeps, paterque Supremus.

In his processionibus, ipse augustissimus rex, nec non Supremus sub cælo portatili, sive umbraculo ex holoferico confecto, pergebat, columnis quatuor argenteis suffulto, cujus faciem superiorem occupabant regalia insignia, auro gemmisque intertexta; alteram faciem emblema spiritus sancti sub specie columbæ descendentis, illustrabat.

Supremo quoque viginti principum filii, partim diætæ umbrella, partim trabecæ elongatæ gestandæ gratiâ, famulabantur.

Hos omnes dum spectaret serenissima regina, è fenestris cameræ quæ ad australem angulum capellæ propendit, non sene honorario obsequio prætereuntes; ingenti dulcedine capta est.

Quis enim miretur, tantæ prolis augustam matrem, ad conspectum tam suspende, in filio octenni, indolis regię, percussam quasi & attonitam? cum inter exercitatissimos commilitones pauci tunc fuerant, qui operosa illius tridui munia, tam exactâ observantiâ, tam dulci decore, tam indefessâ, usque ad extremum, patientiâ, absolverint; testes appello, rorantes spectatorum oculos, prorumpentibus

tibus gaudiis impares, quibus etiam suffragetur heroici senis, Arundelæ comitis incoacta illa ad principem professio. "Pudorem nobis omnibus suffudisti hodie, excellentissime princeps, quibus penè fatiscentibus tua stupenda tolerantia, torpentibus tua invicta constantia, oscitantibus devota tua pietas & cbservantia, opprobrio sunt."

Sacrorum, & processionum, ad palatium castri, solennitatem, succedunt epule regales omni magnificentie apparatu instructissimæ; quibus demùm clausulam ponit commilitonum solita veneratio Supremo exhibita, in medio aulæ San. Georgianæ, dum ad lotiones surgunt, reddibita quoque a Supremo est, solennis valedictio.

Non omittendum est, quod in australi capellæ San. Georgianæ alâ, scriba ponendam curaverat tabulam diptycham; cujus in mediâ facie apparebat laurea ingens, imperiali scuto Supremi circumfusa; ipsa verò laurea, tam foliorum, quam baccarum intermicantium 13. paribus, utrinque florebat, consimili ordine erumpentibus, quæ stalla, ex utroque latere capellæ, commilitonibus, qui in vivis sunt, solent assignari.

Hæc tabula votiva prægrandis, scitè & nitidè delineata, & elaborata, inscriptionem sequentem annexam habuit.

Laurus Britannica, imperatoria, æterna,
[Ab Edvardo Tertio, ante annos tercentum,
In honorem augustissimi ordinis, plantata,
Successorumque ejus Carolo, maximo, fota,
Principumque, qui in hæc syllabo recoluntur,
Quadringentorum, triginta trophæis ornata,
Ut semper floreat, colatur, augeatur,
(Si invidiæ non litas) sponte, lector, vovebis.

Ex illâ lauro, est
Hæc quam suspicis,
Laurea Carolina,

Cujus baccæ exteriores, viventium principum
Inscripta gerunt nomina patronymica;
Quæ introrsum succrescunt, distincta diadematum
Fastigia gestant, tantis natalibus congrua.

Folia itidem, quæ foris expansa conspicis,
Eorundem titulos exhibent honorarios;
Quæ introrsum pendent scutiformia, ferunt
Aptata titulis, arma gentilitia.

Ad immortale decus Carolini nominis
In Supremo Britannici orbis & ordinis,
Filioque juventutis principe, venerandissimi,
Et heroicæ fraternitatis, commilitonum
Qui nunc florent æternâ famâ dignissimorum,
Votivam hanc tabulam, posteritati consecrat

Supremo,

THE LIFE OF

Supremo, qui est à sacris, augustoque ordini

A memorialibus, longè indignissimus,

Christophorus Wren, decanus Windesforiensis,

Post prægressos annos, notæ æræ

1627.

Quæ DeV's eX pVrâ V'IrgIne faCtV's hoMo est,

Mai 22, quo

Carolus princeps installatus est.

Additamenta,

Ex schedis ejusdem.

Cedro & marmore digna.

Anno Domini 1637, Octobris 2. commilitones undecim, apud castrum regale Windesforæ, Supremum venerati, concilium inchoant.

Vasa argentea tertium deaurata, operis verè dædalei, pendentia uncias MCCXX, Supremi, & commilitonum pietate parata in usum capellæ de Windesfor, jussit Supremus crastino offerri per donatores, oblata verò dicari æterno Dei optimi maximi, servitio, per reverendissimum prælatum ordinis.

E capitulo ad vespertinas itur.—

Dein sacra finita sequitur cæna regalis in aulâ S. Georgianâ.

Octobris 3. solennia repetunt Supremus, & commilitones à sacris in capellâ exorssi; quam, præeunte choro, dalmaticis pretiosissimis vestito, peragrant, litaniam cantantes.

Jamque liturgiâ ad offertorium emensâ, reverendissimus Gaulterus epis. de Winton, præsul nobilissimi ordinis, ante mediam partem stans altaris, selectiores quasdam veteris testamenti sententias, ad dedicationem templi Solomonici, & donaria ejus spectantes, resonabat, dum Supremus, & principes offertorio se accingunt; quarum prima desumpta est, ab Exod. xxxv. 4. secunda ib. v. 21. tertia Sancti Matthæi ii. 11.

His quasi invitatus Supremus, folio descendit, triplicique adoratione interjectâ, Deum unum in medio chori venerans, ad summos gradus septi in genua procumbit; tum quoque pollubrum maximum, (unciarum ccx) ex astante mensâ, canonici stolati manibus allatum, humillimè Deo offert, his verbis, nostro idiomate conceptis.

“ Particulam bonitatis tuæ, erga nos, omnipotens Deus, tibi, tuoque servitio “ consecrandum offero.”

Oblatum recipit prælatus, & super altare ponit conspicuum.

Tunc porro, ab hoc augustissimi regis exemplo, commilitones singuli suam quisque vas, formâ & verbis per omnia similibus obtulerunt.

Nec reticendum est, singulos, insuper, aurum, & argentum signatum, uti oblationum illarum semper mos fuit, in pollubrum aliud à canonico protensum conjecisse; posthæc vasis singulis super mensam Dei decenter locatis, præsul manum suam, quasi ex Dei parte, sigillatim imponens, his verbis, sermone vernaculo usus est.

“ Domine Deus, pater cælestis, nos humillimi servi tui, obnixè te obsecramus, “ ut gratiose accipere digneris hæc sacra anathemata, per serenissimi Supremi, “ dominique nostri, Caroli regis; & honoratissimorum qui hic adsunt commilitonum manus, tibi oblata; concede quæsumus & fac, ut quicquid hodiè tibi “ oblatum est, ab omni usu prophano præservetur, tuoque semper servitio maneat consecrandum; per Jesum Christum, dominum nostrum. Amen.

“ Bene-

"Benedicimus te, glorioſe Domine Deus noſter, quod placuerit tibi indere in
 "corda ſereniſſimi Domini noſtri Caroli, & principum iſtorum, ſanctas has obla-
 "tiones ſervitio tuo dicare; reſpice quaſumus de ſummo cælo, & effunde bene-
 "dictiones tuas ſuper caput ſereniſſimæ majeſtatis ejus; benedic ei in proſapia
 "ejus regiâ; in ſereniſſimâ reginâ Mariâ; in illuſtriſſimo principe Carolo;
 " & in reliquis omnibus regiâ ſtemmatis germinibus; benedicas quaſumus iſis
 "omnibus, quorum donationes tibi oblataſ, hic hodiè accepiſimus; decidat bene-
 "dictio tua, ſicut nos cæli ſuper ipſos, & ſuper proſapias iſtorum, & ſuper
 "omnia quæ, a te, iſtorum ſunt; & concede, ut ſancto devotoque eorum quæ
 "hic offeruntur uſu, nominis tui gloria ſemper annuncietur, majeſtas tua de-
 "bitis hiſce obſequiis noſtris exaltetur; per Jeſum Chriſtum, Dominum noſtrum.
 "Amen."

NUMB. VIII.

Extract from Mr. Aſhmole, of the Order of the Garter.

THAT it might appear what was given, by whom, and how beſtow'd
 towards the furniſhing the Altar of the Chapel of St. George, at *Wind-*
ſor; it was appointed, that a ſhort hiſtorical Account of the ſacred Offerings,
 and Gifts, ſhould be made and preſerved in the *Chapter-houſe*, at *Windſor*.
 The Book deſigned for this Purpoſe is now with his *Majeſty*, being a large
 thin Folio in Vellum, wearing this Title.

P. 497.

ΣΤΗ ΘΕΩ.

*Memoria, veritati, virtuti ſacrum. Altare liberæ capellæ regiæ Sancti
 Georgii martyris, infrâ caſtrum regale Windeſoriense, ampliſſimis donariis,
 Deo optimo maximo per auguſtiſſimum ſupremum, & honoratiſſimos commili-
 tones nobiliſſimi ordinis à perſcelide dicatis, recentèr adauctum, deſcribit humil-
 limus illius ordinis ſervus & ſcriba C. Wren, decanus Windeſorienſis, Anno Do-
 mini 1637.*

It contains the Orders made in *Chapter* 1625, 1630, and 1668, with the
Commiſſionary Letters thereupon iſſued, together with the Names of all the
Knights-companions preſent at each Chapter.

After theſe follow the *Arms and Quarterings*, very fairly limn'd in Metal,
 and Colour, within a *Garter*, over each a *Coronet* ſuitable to the Dignity of
 the Perſon; and underneath are entered the *Stiles* of all the *Knights Compa-*
nions, who were of the Order in the Year 1625, or admitted after, to the Time
 of making the Book; as alſo the Sum which each *Knight* paid to the *Regi-*
ſter. But as to any Account of *Plate* provided upon the *Sovereign's*, and ſuc-
 ceeding *Knights Companions* Contributions, there is none, though probably in-
 tended to fill up the many blank Leaves that followed.

NUMB. IX.

TO the few Extracts, inserted before, from the Memoirs of the Garter, compiled by Drs. *Matthew*, and *Christopher Wren*, wherein an Idea may be formed of the royal Magnificence, and eminent Piety of King *Charles the Martyr*, it may be pertinent, and curious to add the Preface of a prior Register and Memorial, by Dr. *Beaumont*, the immediate Predecessor of Dr. *Matthew Wren*; commencing on the Death of King *James I.* and the Accession of Prince *Charles* his only Son, to the imperial Throne.

Carolus Jacobi beatissimæ memoriæ jam vitâ defuncti regis, filius unicus & hæres, Deo summo auspice, nec non divinâ ejus gratiâ sic ordinante, 27 die Martii, Anno 1625, eodem die & immediatè post patris mortem, non minùs jure suo optimo, quàm summo omnium ordinum applausu & gaudio, paternorum regnorum habenas gubernandas suscepit; quod ut feliciter ei accideret, Deo in gloriam, ecclesiæ in augmentum, & populo in summam felicitatem, summis votis ut omnes precantur, itâ cum omnium virtutum cumulo adeò accumulatus sit princeps, & quod summum est, veræ religionis, & pietatis zelo ita accensus, ut nihil suprà in eo desiderari potest, spes omnium sic eventurum certissimè eis spondet, & promittit.

Spes itaque hæc certissima, de optimo tanti regis regimine omnium animis adeo infixâ & hærens, ut non potuit summum omnium lætum ob patris, per totum orbem optimi regis obitum, non plurimùm lenire, & demulcere; sic sanè omnium animos summâ lætitiâ itâ implevit, ut læta jam maxima erat, utrùm, lætusne, ob Jacobi ab imperio decessum, an lætitia ob Caroli ad imperium accessum, major esset; quàm verò bona quæ adsunt, & quæ continuò sequutura certissimè sperantur, majore lætitiâ mortalium animos perfundere solent, quàm lætu eos obruere possit præteritorum amissio, vicit tandem pro Caroli electione in regnum summa concepta lætitia lætum, licet & illum maximum, qui ob Jacobi mortem omnium mentes invasisset.

Carolus Rex serenissimus, & nobilissimi ordinis garterii Supremus, plurimas ob causas non convenire judicans festum Georgianum hoc anno solitis diebus viz. 22, 23, & 24 Aprilis jam currentis celebrandum; sed præcipuè quòd ante iusta patri tanto regi piè & debitè soluta, intempestivum maximè videretur in festis celebrandis se aut alios versari: decreto sub sigillo ordinis confecto, & in manibus Georgii Moore equitis aurati, & ordinis insignissimi cancellarii dignissimi, remanente, prorogandum illum festum pronuntiavit, à diebus illis superiùs nominatis, ad 16, 17, & 18, mensis Augusti dies; mandans omnibus præclarissimi ordinis commilitonibus, nec non officiariis omnibus ut præsidè tùm essent ad majestati suæ, prout deceret, inserviendum, &c.

N U M B. X.

Nonnulla maxime notanda, è registro garterii, vulgo dicto libro nigro.

Scriptus est iste liber temporibus regis Henrici VIII.

Rex Henricus I. Beaclerk instituit collegium sacerdotale Windeforæ.

Ordo à subligari nuncupatus, a rege Ricardo I. erat inventus, sed ab Edvardo III. institutus.

In altero humero, in crure, interdum & in pollice gestari solet apophthegma gallicum.

Cerulei subligaris nomen indidit ordini rex Edwardus III.

Sacellum Sancti Stephani Westmonasterii incepit Edvardus III, perfecit R. Richardus II.

R. Henricus V. Cænobia Syonis, & Sheynense, ædificavit; atque diadema imperiale primus gestavit.

Regis Henrici VI. corpus Windeforam ab Edvardo quarto advectum, miraculis claruit.

R. Edvardus III. templum Windeforæ ab Edvardo III. ædificatum, ampliùs augustiùsque exædificavit; Reginaldus à Graius R. Henrici VII. à consiliis, magnus erat benefactor.

Vir prudens & agilis Thomas Wolfæus cardinalis, prudentissimi regis delectissimus à consiliis, bono spiritu prædixit, hanc structuram incepit Henricus VI. perfecit VII. ornabit VIII. cujus ori virtutem propheticam ille dederit, qui Balaamica voci vaticinium indidit.

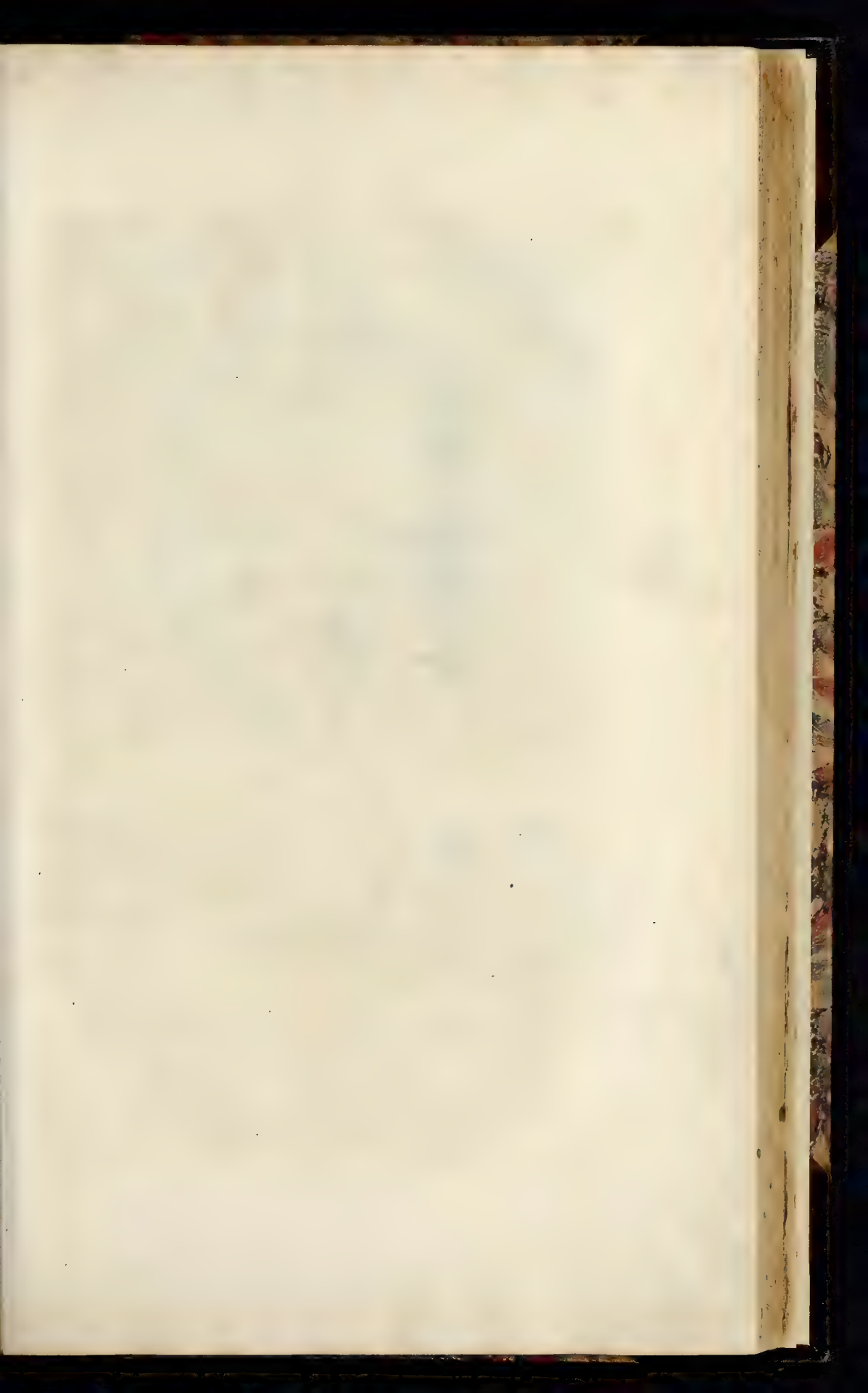
Historia Sancti Georgii Cappadocis sub Daciona tyranno asseritur à St. Ambrosio; de Dracone, & regiâ puellâ liberatâ, forsitan est apocryphum vel allegoricum.

Cor, & portio calvæ Sancti Georgii, reliquiæ Windeforæ Sigismundus imperator retulit cor, cum ab Henrico V. ascisceretur in ordinem.



1. ЯЗ. 40 Г. 1. 1119

2





Numere Pendere et Mensura



T H E
L I F E
O F
Sir *CHRISTOPHER WREN*, Knt.

P A R T I.

S E C T. I.

Of the Works in Mathematicks of Sir Christopher Wren.



*S*IR *CHRISTOPHER WREN*, the only Son of Dr. *Christopher Wren*, Dean of *Windsor*, was born at *East-Knoyle* in *Wiltshire*, on the 20th Day of *October* in the Year of our Lord 1632. His Mother was *Mary* Daughter and Heir of Mr. *Robert Cox* of *Founthill* in the same County.

His first Education in *Classick Learning* was (by reason of a tender Health) committed to the Care of a Domestick Tutor, the Rev. *William Shepheard*, M.A. excepting that for some short Time before his Admission in the University, he was placed under Dr. *Bushy* at *Westminster School*.

In the Principles of *Mathematicks*, upon the early Appearance of an uncommon Genius, he was initiated by Dr. *William Holder*, before-mention'd; some Time Sub-Dean of the *Royal Chapel*; Canon-Residentiary of *St. Paul's* and *Ely*, &c. (This Gentleman was a great Virtuoso and a Person of many Accomplishments, fam'd for his wonderful Art, in making a young Gentleman named *Alexander Popbam*, who was born deaf and dumb to speak: He wrote an ingenious Discourse of the *Elements of Speech* 1669; had good Skill in the Theoretick and Practical Parts of *Musick*; and published a Treatise of the *Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony* 1694; and of the

ancient

Edict. 3.

ancient Greek *Musick*. Also a Discourse concerning *Time* 1712, with Application of the *Natural Day*, *Lunar Month*, and *Solar Year*, as *Natural*; and of such as are derived from them: as *Artificial Parts of Time*, for *Measures* in Civil and Common Use, for the better Understanding of the *Julian Year* and *Calendar*.)

At the Age of *Thirteen*, this young Mathematician had invented a new *Astronomical Instrument*, of general Use, which (together with an Exercise in *Physicks*, *De Ortu Fluminum*, founded on some Hints, and Principles suggested by his *Father*,) he dedicated in this Manner,

Reverendo Patri Domino *Christophero Wren*, S. T. D. & D. W.
Christopherus Filius Hoc suum Panorganum Astronomicum
 D. D. XIII°. Calend: Novem. An°. 1645.

Si licet, & cessent rerum (pater alme) tuarum
Pondera, devotæ respice prolis opus.
Hic ego fideos tentavi pingere motus,
Cælicaque in modulos conciliare breves.
Quo (prolapsa diu) renoventur tempora gyro,
Seculaque, & menses, imparilesque dies.
Quomodo sol abeat, redeatque, & temperet annum,
Et (raptum contrâ) grande perennet iter.
Cur nascens gracili, pleno orbe refulget adulta,
Cur gerat extinctas menstrua luna faces.
His ego numinibus dum lito, atque ardua mundi
Scrutor, & arcanas conor inire vias,
Adsis O! faveasque pater, succurre volanti
Suspensum implumis dirige prolis iter,
Nè malè, præcipiti, nimium præ viribus audax
(Sorte sub Icareâ) lapsus ab axe ruam:
Te duce, fert animus, studiis sublimibus hisce
Pasci, dum superas detur adire domos.

Dedicatio, ad Patrem, Tractatûs De Ortu Fluminum.

Jurè accepta Tibi refero mea Flumina; pulchrè
Derivata suum respicit Unda caput.

About the same Time, he invented a *Pneumatick Engine*; the Description of which, with the Schemes, he thus introduced to his Father;

Permitte mihi obsecro (Reverende Pater) prolusiones meas tuæ semper paternitati vovere; & si arrideant quæ olim in Physicis, De Ortu Fluminum: quæque nuper in Opticis, nova tentavi; solitâ nunc etiam indulgentiâ, Pneumaticum Hoc (quod antè inter stia excogitavi, jamque ad incudem reduxi) excipias rogo.

He contrived also a peculiar *Instrument* of Use in *Gnomonicks*, which He explained in a *Treatise*, intitled *Sciotericon Catholicum*: the Use and propos'd End of which, was the Solution of this Problem, viz. "On a known Plane, in a known Elevation, to describe such Lines with the expedite turning of Rundles to certain Divisions, as by the Shadow of the Style may shew the equal Hours of the Day."

In the Year 1646, and Fourteenth of his Age, Mr. *Wren* was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner at *Wadham-College*, in the University of *Oxford*; where he soon attracted the Friendship, and Esteem of the two most celebrated

brated Virtuosi, and Mathematicians of their Time, Dr. *John Wilkins*, Warden of *Wadham*, (afterwards Bishop of *Chester*) and Dr. *Seth Ward*, *Savilian* Professor of *Astronomy*, (afterwards Bishop of *Sarum*;) which continued with Intimacy and Affection during their Lives.—By the Means of Dr. *Wilkins*, who was Chaplain to his Royal Highness *Charles Elektor Palatine*, while resident in *England*, he had the Honour to be introduced to the Acquaintance and Favour of that Prince, a great Lover and Encourager of *Mathematicks*; and useful Experiments.

There is extant an Epistle to his Royal Highness, introductive of a Present to Him on those Subjects, which is here inserted from the first rough Draught.

To his Most Illustrious Highness CHARLES, Prince Elektor Palatine of the Rhine, &c.

Most Illustrious Prince,

WHEN of old a Votive-Table was hung up to some Deity or Hero, a few small Characters, modestly obscuring themselves in some shady Corner of the Piece (as yet the modern Custom is) were never prohibited from revealing the poor Artist, and rendering him somewhat a Sharer in the Devotion: Indeed I was almost prompted to such a Presumption, out of my own Zeal to a Prince, so much *mercurialium custos viro-*rum, but the learned Votary who consecrates these Tables to your Highness (being one who suffers me to be a most addicted Client of his) civilly ob-^{Sappoi'd}stetricated my Affection to your Highness, by adding his Commands to me to tender this Oblation: And had not my too indulgent Patron by undeservedly thinking them not unfit for his own presenting, (tho' exceedingly beneath your Highness's Acceptance) robb'd me of my Humility, and taken away the extreme low Thoughts I should otherwise have had of them, I must needs have called the first Device, but a rustick Thing concerning Agriculture only*, and therefore an illiberal Art, tending only to the saving of Corn, improper in that glorious prodigal Soil of your's, where every Shower of Hail must necessarily press from the Hills even Torrents of Wine. The other Concept I must have deplor'd as a tardy Invention, impertinently now coming into the World, after the Divine German Art of Printing. Of the third Paper I cannot say any Thing too little, 'tis Extenuation enough to say that they are two Mites, two living Nothings, nay, but painted Nothings, the Shadow of Nothing; and this Shadow rarified too, even to forty thousand Times its former Extension; if it presents you with any Thing in Nature, 'tis but with a Pair of Atoms. Now if it be possible for your Highness to force your self to accept such extreme Littlenesses as these, you will therein imitate the Divinity, which shews it self *maxime in minimis*, and preserve that Devotion towards your Highness, which I conceived while yet a Child, when you was pleas'd to honour my Father's House by your Presence, for some Weeks†, who therefore must eternally retain a Sense of being

Your Highness's most humble and

most devoted Servant,

CHRISTOPHER WREN.

* A Planting-Instrument, which being drawn by a Horse over a Land ready plow'd and harrow'd, shall plant Corn equally without Want and without Waste.

† The Deanry-House at *Windfor*, which his Highness occasionally made use of for Retirement, and Benefit of the Air.

Of his Tract abovementioned, intitled *Sciotericon*, and other Inventions, and Experiments, at the Age of Sixteen, relating to *Gnomonicks*, is a memorable complimentary Account from an eminent Mathematician of that Time, as follows:

Speſtatiffime Juvenis,

Sciotericon tuum ΑΚΡΙΒΩΣ concinnatum, curſuſque beliaci fidelem interpretem accepi equidem, & ſummā luſtravi cum voluptate; cæterum hæreo, utrum artiſicis ingenium, an authoris munus magis congratuler; utrumque ſupens demiror, deoſculor; ubi Solis diurna converſio, atque acceſſu, deceſſuque annuo intra ſolſtitiales terminos dimetitur; quin & ipſa cæli faciès, & variegatæ plagæ uno intuitu contemplandæ exponuntur. *OPTANON OPTANON* non alio delectu gaudens quam proprio, & ſi magneticæ acus invento minus æquale, certè magis infallibile, quòd illud alienum ſuperbiens ductum tuo ſubdis diſtāmini, & ſine iſtius adminiculo veraci conciliās concordia, jubèſque (tuā manu dimotā) ad inſtitutum tuum ſubſiſtere. Inſuper non infra hujus ſolarii circumulum tua admiranda compinguntur. In paternis ædibus ſolertia tuæ ſpecimina, & limatæ Philoſophiæ ΑΕΙΨΑΝΑ omnibus aulaïs anteferenda appenduntur; & pro re natā, in cameris, in tricliniis, & per quaſcunque feneftras ſol radios immittit, eos gnomonicorum ſubjicis regulis. Neque cæleſtis motus contrario diſpoſitu (qualis inter analemma, & horologium ſolet dirigi) ſed (retorti luminis beneficio) iſſiſſimi ſolaris circuitus projectione æmulā. Ut ſol de ſphærà ſuā deductus tanquam ſponſus procedens de thalamo exultat ut gigas ad currendum viam. O te felicem! qui ipſum Phæbum ante conſpectum provebis. Quātam meſſem ſpondent hæc tenuioris ætatis ſemina? Nec malè auguror te id genus ſtudioſum TAMEIA, & Eleuſinia ingreſſum, ad illorum delicias provebendas natum, terrasque adhuc in hoc globo incognitas tuā diſquiſitionis clave adaperiendas; adeo in id nervos intendis tuos. Quòdque vortat tibi ſæliciter ſummopere adprecor. Vale Mathematicorum ocellè, & ama

Die ſalutiſeræ paſſionis,
10 April. 1649.

tui obſervantiſſimum,

THOMAS AYLESBURY.

Exat penes
colleſtorem.

At the Age of Sixteen, he contrived, and modelled on Paſteboard, illuſtrated with curious *Aſtronomical* Delineations in proper Colours, a new Hypotheſis, entitled, *Hypotypoſis Proſtaphæreſeſon Lunæ*, in quā Circulationes ejus ſecundum Rationes Tyconianas; novā hæc Hypotheſi exactè demonſtrantur.

About the ſame Age, he translated into Latin, a Tract of Mr. Oughtred's *Clavis Mathematicæ*, [*clavis verè aurea*] viz. of Geometrical Dialling; which that eminent and learned Mathematician published with his other Works, inſerting this memorable Remark in his Preface.—

Oughtred.
Clavis Math.
Præſatio.
Oxoniz
1652. Edit. 3.

Partem autem illam quæ geometricam horologiorum ſciotericonum rationem tradit, ex Anglico idiomate in Latinum vertit Dominus Chriſtophorus Wren, Collegii Wadhemenſis commenſalis generoſus, admirando prorsus ingenio juvenis, qui nondum ſexdecim annos natus, *Aſtronomiam*, *Gnomonicam*, *Staticam*, *Mechanicam* præclaris inventis auxit; ab eoque tempore continuò augere pergit; & reverà is eſt a quo magna poſſum, neque fruſtrà prope diem expectare.

Exat penes
colleſtorem.

An Eſſay of his Skill in *Gnomonicks*, at that Age, was a very curious *Reſlecting-Dial*, deſign'd on the Cieling of a Room, with this Inſcription embelliſh'd with divers Deviſes, particularly two Figures repreſenting *Aſtronomy*,

Astronomy, and Geometry, and their Attributes, artfully drawn with his Pen, viz.

C H R. W R E N.

*Angustis satagens his laquearibus
Ad cæli methodum tempora pingere
A Phæbo obtinuit luminis ut sui
Idæam, speculo, linqueret æmulam,
Quæ cælum hoc peragret luce vicariâ,
Cursusque effigiem fingeret annui;
Post annos Epochæ ———*

VIRGINEO QVIBVS

VERE FACTVS HO MO EST EX VTERO DEVs, *Scil. 1648.*

ETATISQVE SVÆ NVPERÆ.

*Ætat. suæ,
16.*

An early Proficiency in Learning and Mathematicks, may be further discern'd by the following *Specimens* of some few of his *Juvenile Studies*, the Dawnings of a bright Day, viz. *An Epistle to his Father*, informing him of the Friendship he had obtained of Dr. Scarborough, (afterwards Sir Charles Scarborough, a celebrated Physician, and Mathematician :) of his Invention of a *Weather Clock*; and an *Instrument* to write in the Dark: Of a *Treatise* of *Spherical Trigonometry*, in a new Method; with an *Epitome* of the same, engraved on a small circular Brass Plate: Of his Proposal to translate Part of Mr. Oughtred's *Clavis Mathematicæ* of *Geometrical Dialling*, and his Epistle to the Reverend Author upon that Occasion. — To which are added some poetical Essays; one, particularly, to reform the Fables of the *Zodiack*.

Anno 1647. ætat. suæ 15.

Doctōis Clarissimi consortio (Reverende Pater,) *suprà modum mihi amicissimi* [Scil. Caroli Scarborough, M. D.] *utor; nec dedignatur affabilis & humillimus vir, plurima quæ in mathematicis multo cum plausu egit, meæ (non dicam judicio) sed phantasiæ ineptæ subijcere, & quid sentiam lenissimâ aure attendere; sæpe etiam imparibus meis ratiociniis inniti, dum ipse vicissim quicquid in Organicis, Mechanicisve pulchrum inveni, aut a te accepi, magnâ cum illius delectatione profero; quorum aliqua, ut ex ære, sibi suis fabrefieri impensis curarem, beri à me impetravit; Ætherocriticon scilicet; & Memoriale Cylindrum, cujus ope, noctu & in tenebris scribitur. Composui nuper Trigonometriæ Tractatum, qui methodo novâ, totam, puto, Trigonometriæ Sphæricæ Theoriam, paucis quibusdam regulis brevissimè complectitur: * Cujus epitomen ipse rursus in rotulâ æneâ, Jacobi circiter Aurei magnitudine, descripsi; multumque in eâ, propriâ manu, arrepto artificis stylo sculpsi: Hâc visâ a doctore rotulâ, non acquievit donec sibi similem acquiserit. Extare nōsti in linguâ vernaculâ laudatissimum Oughtredi de Horologigraphiâ Geometricâ tractatum, quem ut linguâ Romanâ vestiret, Doctorem [Scarborough] sæpissimè (senio fatigatus) author rogaverat; Ille verò majoribus implicatis negotiis, in me laborem transtulit, Cui jam penè finem imposui: Epistolam quoque authori additurus, ut hoc modo, in magnum mei commodum; (taliam promittente Doctore) Senis conciliem favorem simulque totius studiosorum in Matheſi chori, qui Oughtredum, quasi patrem & magistrum agnoscunt. —* Extat in M.S. * Desideratur.

The Epistle abovementioned to the Rev. Mr. Oughtred, was in this Form :

Venerabili Authori

CLAVIS verè *Attreà*;

Sæculi sui

(*Si quis unquam ab Apollonio & Diophanto
Heroibus*)

Magno Geometrà,

Æterno Oramento. S.

Scil. Mathe-
matica.

Tam appositè hoc nostrò ævò (vir ornatissime) effulsit, e mathematicarum artium sphaerâ, Clavis Tua, ut illam vel ipsi peritiores cynosuram fidelem agnoverint; nec immeritò, quum jam, tè duce, turbidum latumque algebrae oceanum, certò, tutòque remigiò exercent, ut reliqua illa Matheſeos adhuc incognita paulatim detegant. Sed erant e trivio, lippì quidam, qui Stellam Hanc Eximiam, tanquam obscuram & nebulosam culpabant, velati scintillulas illas in cælo minores, quæ licèt verè immensæ sint & fulgidæ, nec magnitudine nostro huic cedunt globo, imò nec cæteris forsan ejusdem chori, cum tamen vastissimâ sphaeræ abyſſo lateant, nimîa sublimitate suam adimunt gloriam, & vulgarem omnem effugunt aciem. Optimè igitur auctiori operis tui splendori consulens, tam nostro quam Romano horisonti (in secundis editionibus) conspicuum magis effecisti Hoc pulcherrimum fidus: Attamen in Romano hemisphaerio, à faculâ illâ incomitatum apparuit, quæ horologiographicam artem tam eleganter illustravit. Quocirca ut in digniori quoque linguâ clavi tuæ (ut gemmæ margarita pensilis) annexa prodeat, huic me rei, tenues conatus adhibere jussit clarissimus Doctor Scarborough; vir, cujus non ità tibi aliena est amicitia, non ità literatis ignotus est ingenti splendor, ut mihi necesse sit, Illum non minùs in medicinâ, & penitioribus harum artium adytis, quam omnimodâ ferè politiori literaturâ versatissimum dicere; cujus humanitati, & apertissimo genio, non minimum e tenui (si quem habeo) Matheſeos gustu debeo; imò cujus & arti vitam ipsam dum nuper morbo langueſcerem, quasi ΘΕΟΥ ΧΕΙΡΙ, debeo. Parce igitur, vir optime, quod ex illius obsequio tantis nominibus sacro, in vestram peccarem gravitatem, dum pueri stylium tuis aptare scriptis conatus sum, quæ verborum lenocinia non ambiunt, sed propriâ magis brevitate conspicua reident, brevitate, inquam, illa tam saturâ, sensuque ad apices usque literarum refertâ: merito enim in Clavi Tuâ, usitatum mortalibus, sed mysteriis ineptum, ratiocinium rejecisti, & symbolis, notisque, sine perplexâ verborum farragine, legentium animis uno ferè intuitu mirandos conceptus tuos inseris. Ardua sanè methodus, sed eò magis divina; hoc enim, ut mihi videtur, est cælitè imitari, qui locutionis humanæ morâ non impediti, referando tantum animum mysteria invicem pandunt. Religioſe igitur in hac Horologiographiâ Tuâ verbum ferè verbò reddere conatus sum; (licet hanc fortasse quum ad praxin magis pertineat, laxiùs uti decebat, aliquantò scripsisti) nempe verebar, ne incitiâ meâ vel unus istius scientiæ pereat apex, cujus ego me vel tyronem esse satis docilem, plurimum gloriæ duco, & hoc summo ambio, ut (licèt adhuc ignotum) annumeres inter cultores tui observantissimos

CHRISTOPHORUM WREN.

This famous Mathematician, Mr. William Oughtred, in his Preface abovementioned, to his *Clavis Mathematicæ* where he had given a just Character of Mr. Christopher Wren, makes this Encomium on the incomparable Anatomist, Physician, and Mathematician, Dr. Charles Scarborough, before-mentioned, viz.—*Accessit & alter* hortator vehemens, dominus Carolus Scarborough, doctor medicinæ, suavissimis moribus, perspicatissimoque ingenio vir, cujus tanta est in matheſi solertia, & suprà fidem fælix tenaxque memoria, ut omnes Euclidis,*

* Dr. Seth Ward.

Archi-

Archimedis, aliorumque nonnullorum ex antiquis propositiones & demonstrationes recitare ordine, & in usum proferre potis sit.

Mr. Christopher Wren was an Assistant to the said Dr. Scarborough, in anatomical Preparations and Experiments, especially upon the Muscles of human Bodies, during their Studies at Oxford and elsewhere; and particularly he explained by Models formed on Pasteboards, the *Anatomical Administration of all the Muscles of an human Body, as they naturally rise in Dissection*, &c. for the Use of Dr. Scarborough's celebrated Lectures in the publick Theatre in Surgeon's-Hall.—These Models, by credible Report, were deposited in the said Theatre, and destroyed at the Fire of London. Hence came the first Introduction of Geometrical and Mechanical Speculations into Anatomy.

ZODIACUS Reformatus.

*Atria multiplici radiantia lumine cæli
Stellarumque sacros usus, quoscunque, vetusti
Vana superstitio fiedè detorserat ævi,
Pangere fert animus. Tu, quem purissima vestit
Gloria circumdans, oculis impervia nostris,
Qui solo in numeros cogis vaga sidera nutu,
Mundi magne parens, regni cælestis origo,
Annue conanti, devotumque accipe carmen :
Nil mihi Castaliò sapiunt de fonte liquores,
Nil mihi Pierides, & inania nomina Musæ
Dulce sonant, tu solus ades, placidèque faveto,
Dùm tua facta canam, vastumque ingentis Olympi
Dùm populo modulabor opus ; gens nescia veri
Ut factum, longæque animum caligine mersum
Attollat cælo, & flammantia lumina mundi
Dum stupet, auctori solùm tibi ponat honores,
Codicis & sacri varios conformet ad usus.*

*Hos ergò æthereos ignes sub nocte micantes,
Indigenas cæli, numerosumque agmen Olympi,
Nominibus, numerisque suis distinguere primi
Cæpère Assyrii, studiis gens dedita sacris ;
Hi solis, lunæque vices, metasque vagantum
Stellarum, liquidasque vias inquirere docti
(Ne nimium confusa forent, quærentibus astra,
Aut forsàn cælo sua ne mensura deesset)
In species varias animantium, & nomina certa
Disponere ; novis ornantes astra figuris.
Fælices animæ ! (primò ratione sagaci
Quæ detexistis cæli secreta ; docentes
Terrarum populos, in cæli limina certos
Ferre gradus ; primasque suas agnoscere sedes ;)
Non vos incuso (cæli profapia !) quorum,
Nec cæca ambitio, nec lucri insana libido,
Fictorumque unquam veneratio stulta decorum,
Sublimes animos formis pellegerit istis,
Fallere mortales miseros ; sed degener orbis,
Et fictis ludens, vatum fanatica turba,
Falsidici vates, temerant qui carmine verum,
(Spurca superstitio postquam possederat urbes*

Niliacas,

Niliacas, mentesque leves) inventa Parentum
 In nugas torserè suas, cœloque pudenda
 Monstra intrusèrunt; nam quæ non horreat auris
 Pasiphaën Tauro junctam? Vaccaque Tonantem?
 Incestosque toros infandaque crimina divum,
 Quæque Thyestæas absolvant fercula mensas *?
 At licet æternæ gens legis nescia, veri
 Contemtrixque Dei, solidè erravere poetæ,
 Hæcine adhuc decuit servari nomina stellis
 Christicolas inter? Patriæ cælestis alumnos
 His decuit sedem maculis fœdare futuram?
 Cur nos alterius cælestia regna patere
 Quam Veri Artificis, tacitè pateremur honori?
 Cumque sub astrorum formis, celebrare poetæ
 Divorum soleant, præclaraque gesta virorum,
 Cur non fas nobis potius dispersa per orbem
 Inclyta facta Dei canere, & miracula dextræ?
 Immensam & quoties aulam stellantis Olympi
 Suspiciamus, sancto Scripturæ à fonte petitis
 Historiis, veteres astrorum aptare figuras.

* Saturni scil.
 filios suos de-
 vorantis.

Aries ♈.

Hic mihi Zodiaci princeps, & janitor anni
 (Quæ secat Equatrix obliquam lineam zonam,
 Et monet æquales cum lucibus esse tenebras,)
 Dux gregis occurrit stellato vellere fulgens.
 Hunc, quia Phryxum olim vexit, Phryxique sororem,
 Trans mare, cum fugerent iram fraudemque novercæ,
 Jupiter in cælo (sic mendax fama) locavit:
 At quoniam hæc merito? Pecori debebat honores,
 (Quod profugi vector) tantos, ut ad æthera tollat?
 Vobis steriles nugæ! quid enim hæc deliria tanti?
 Sed tu, quàm melius, fulgentia lumina cæli
 Christicola aspiciens, feriis Paschalibus ortum
 Cum Phæbo, Domini Paschalem dixeris Agnum?
 Ceu fuit ille Aries, Patriarchæ sacra parante,
 Obtulit Isaac qui se (vadis instar) ad aras;
 Dignus ob hoc cæli nitidas augere figuras,
 Quod Christo, Christique typo se præstitit arrham.
 Ipse (Rubo quasi adhuc latitans) vix cernitur illic
 Ter sex exiguis ubi ducit sidera stellis:
 Et, licet occiduam rapiatur pronus in orbem,
 Flebit in ortivum remeantia lumina solem.

Gen. xxii. 13.

Taurus ♉.

Proxima Lanigero, roseum conversus ad ortum,
 Lucida, procumbens, jactat sua sidera Taurus;
 Sive sit Europæ Cretæas vector ad oras,
 Infamisve tuæ sceleratæ Taurus amore
 Pasiphææ; nostrum non est aspergere tantis
 Criminibus sacrum (multo minus æthera) carmen.

Aut

*Aut si peccantium populorum crimina cælo
Inscribi fas sit, cur non hic jure legendus,
Aureus iste fuit vitulus*, cui turba rebellis
Iacidum quondam (divino fœdere rupto)
Montibus Horebi stolidos celebrabat honores:
At nunc subvectus cælo (memorable signum
Fœdisfragæ gentis) medio spectatur in orbe,
Ter denis de nocte micans, stellisque duabus;
Quarum quæ dextro nitidissima splendet oculo
Stella dei Remphan Pharii † est, in cuius inanem
Descivit fœdæ cultum sine mente popellus,
Flevit & exilium meritò Babylonis in oris.
Apparent Hyades per frontem & cornua sparsæ,
Et quæ collustrant septenâ lampade dorsum;
Iacidum lachrymæ, scelerisque piacula tanti;
Jamque rigare solent effusis imbris orbem,
Cum primum madido Phœbum comitantur ab ortu,
Indicioque docent quâ sint ab origine natæ,
Hactenus imbrifero Graus cognomine dictæ ‡.*

* Exod. xxxii.
4.

† Act. vii. 43.

‡ Hyades ab
Ætæ plueræ.

Gemini. II.

*Succedunt Tauro, Geminorum sidera, (Phœbi
Exurit Lybicas ubi scandens currus arenas;
Quaque novas fecat æstates à vere Colurus;)
Hæc erat (ut veterum commenta est fabula vatum)
Lædæ progenies, & Cygni furta Tonantis,
Quorum præmeruit, vitæque & morte vicissim
Divisâ, pietas cælum, æthereasque choreas:
Scilicet ex istis Pollux Jovis agnita proles,
Interitusque expers, mortali semine cretum
Alternatim ornat, partito numine fratrem.
Nobile par fratrum; nisi nobis pagina fatam
Nobiliore pari, memorasset sacra Rebeccam ||;
E quibus, Æterno selectus Judice, Jacob,
Pro Polluce magis, pro Castore convenit Esau.
Votigenæ fratres, dubiæ discordia matris.
Pondera, primatumque ipso captantia partu;
(Dum pater Iaacus senior, sterilibus stupescit
Conjux, dividuo turgentia viscera fœtu)
Nunc quoque sidered nudi spectantur arenâ,
Arcto stringentes luctantia pectora nexu;
Implicitumque jubar ter seno lumine vibrant.*

|| Gen. xxv.
21.

Cancer ☉.

*Fallor? An æquorci jam nactus brachia Cancri
Cynthius, assiduus nostrum fervoribus orbem
Torret, nocturnas vix admissurus habenas.
Hunc pede (non alio merito, vel origine) pressum
Alciden referunt cælo posuisse, quod illi
Forcipibus calcem, missus Junone, momordit;
Quin potius terrâ fineret periisse sepultum,
Quam cælo inscribi, quem vivum senserat hostem.*

c

Siccine

*Siccine cælorum splendentia regna patere
 Futilibus nugis patietur dia poesis?
 At mihi priscorum ratio non displicet illa,
 Qui Cancri speciem stellis donasse videntur,
 Rursus in humentes, quâ sol cùm pervenit illuc
 Cancri more means retro, delabitur ausros,
 Visurus nunquam flammis propioribus arcton:
 Cur non & nobis parili sub imagine, vates*
 Devius, & similis Cancro, dicatur † Iadon?
 Quem iussi immemorem, (nimium dum credulus ori
 Mendaci auscultans, tulerat vestigia retrò)
 A Domino immissi leto dedit ira leonis:
 Hinc trux illa feræ propè stat frendentis imago,
 Quâ tribus atque decem (non multi luminis) ardet
 Sideribus Cancer, (delusi emblema prophetæ)
 Ne tamen hic Geminos nimium mireris || Afellos,
 Quos mediâ Cancri cernis confidere testa;
 Hic deceptoris vector, vectorque prophetæ
 Alter decepti, iuncto augent lumine sidus.*

* I. Regum
 XIII. 22.
 † Joseph. hoc
 nomine ap-
 pellatur.

|| Duæ stellæ
 in signo
 cancri sic
 denominatæ.

Leo ♌.

*Nè mirere truncem pecudes comitare Leonem,
 Indomitamque feram veteres posuisse furores;
 Pacificum, variâ sphaeræ testudine, cælum
 Ingeminare melos agnosce, modosque potentes,
 Harmonicoque choros ducentia sidera gyro:
 Attamen ingenitæ nondum satis immemor iræ,
 Spirat adhuc ignes, & pectore flagrat anbelo,
 Præcipue tunc, cùm rabientem Syrius urget.
 Hunc, sylvæ olim Nemeæis, vulnere clavæ
 Herculeæ cecidisse ferunt, quem ad sidera Juno
 Transtulit occisum, præclara quinque minores
 Præter ter denas, accendens lampade flammæ.
 Quid tanti, hæc? Majora cano (nec ficta) Leonem
 Herculeæ plusquam prostratum robore dextræ;
 Scilicet hunc, imberbis adhuc quem * Sampsonis ira
 Faucibus elisis, vasti nec vulnere trunci,
 Sed manibus solum jugulavit inermibus, Hyblæ
 Florileges aptam præbens cultoribus alvum.
 Seu fuit ex illis unus, quorum ora † prophetes
 Clausa specu medio intrepidus mulcebat, atroces
 Quem stupuere feræ, nec jam discernere pectus
 Angelicis totidem plenum virtutibus ausæ.
 Sitve emblema || Leo sceptrum-gestantis Iudæ,
 Quem fore Messia stirpem, sobolisque futurum
 Salvifica proavum, sancti cecinere prophetæ.*

* Judicum
 xiv. 5, 6, 8.

† Daniel. vi.
 16, 22, 23.

|| Apocal. v. 5.

Virgo ♍.

*Quod si virgineis mansuescere velle leones
 Sub manibus constet, prægressum Virgo Leonem
 Non inconcinne sequitur; quam supplice voto
 Jam Vertumnus adit, gravidis oneratus aristis,*

Erugibus

*Frugibus ut bene sit, satagens, dum Virginis astra
Spiciferæ refugum excipiunt Hyperionis axin.*

*Seu fuit illa Ceres, quæ latè prospicit arvis
Frugiferis, avidi fortunans vota coloni :
Sive Isis totum furis agitata per orbem,
De bove, jam Pharium numen : seu candida, sedem
Vendicet hanc potius, terras, Astræa, relinquens,
Ter denis ubi cincta micat, stellisque duabus.*

*At mihi, præ reliquis, placet, hæc illustra cæli,
Virginis eximias consignent, sidera, laudes
Jepthiadis * ; casta primo quam flore juventæ,
Intentam choreis, temerè devovit ad aras
Infelix genitor, vittis nec tempora virgo
Funestis cingi, patriâ victrice, recusat.
Gloria fæminei sexus miranda ; minorem
Ni faculam, multò majori lumine, obumbres
Tu genetrix, tu sponsa Dei, tu palmitis illa
Divini radix, virgo intemerata Maria ;
Numinis afflatu solo, maris inscia, cujus
Sancta salutifero tumuerunt viscera fœtu,
Illæsoque Deum peperisti virgine flore ;
Tu sine pulchra tuæ hæc splendent sidera laudi,
Et tremulis, præ se, vibrent tua nomina flammis,*

* Judicum xi.
30, 31, 34.

Libra ♎.

*At jam signiferi medio sub tramite circi,
Libra pari, lucis mensurans tempora, lance,
Cum tenebris, rigido nimios cum frigore soles,
Occurrens jactat bis quatuor astra novemque.*

*Virginis Astrææ trutina est (sic fama poetis)
Quâ terrestribus adhuc hominum discernere facta
Consuevit parili lancis libramine Virgo ;
Jamque polo dominæ pedibus subiecta (colurus
Signifero in partes quâ sese dividit æquas)
Autumni à calido confinia seperat æstu ;
Ætnæumque deum, ficulis qui præsidet antris,
Artificem agnoscit, puro nam cuderat auro,
Fabriliisque sui monumentum insigne laboris
Sideribus Libram inseruit : Tu loripes astra
Splendida constasti squalens ? credamne, Cyclopâm
Fumosis cæli partem radiare favillis ?*

*His consignetur potius sapientia stellis
Summa Creatoris, magnæque potentia dextræ,
Quæ regit immensum justo moderamine mundum,
Noctivagasque faces, quæ dat sua lumina soli ;
Aère quæ medio libratam sistere molem
Telluris, pelagique jubet ; vastumque capaci
Continet oceanum palmâ ; spatiosaque cæli
Atria circumdat manibus ; parilique supinos
Pondere suspendit montes ; quæ nubila frænât ;
Irrigat optatis sitientes imbribus agros ;
Temperat & prudens structuræ cuncta biformis,
Non secus ac justo pendens libramine lancis.*

Scorpio

Scorpio ♏.

*Quæ nova jam cæli facies? Quisve horridus annum
Declivem Boreas contristat, & asperat auras?
Scilicet auratas Phœbi jam tardat habenas
Scorpius, atque hebetes radios, gelidoque veneno
Letibiferi tinctos stimuli, vix sustinet ultro
Extendi effætis marcentia lumina terris.
Monstrum ingens latè protendit brachia, caudæ
Nigraque circuitu sinuat curvamina longo;
Undique bis denis, trinisque aspersa favillis;
Quas fertur posuisse Jovem, memorabile victi
Orionis signum; nam cum sua robora jactans
Omnia derisit, terræque animalia sprexit;
Hoc monstrum objecit tellus irata, superbam
Sævo urinigenæ domuit quod cuspide linguam.*

*Si documenta viris temerè deducat ab astris
Vana superstitio, meliori emblemate nobis
Hoc placet inventum; mundi fabricator, olympo
Sidus hoc inseruit, discant ut ad æthera duos,
Difficileque aditus, & vix penetrabile, sedes
Ad superas quod ducit iter; per monstra ferarum,
Scorpium & horrendum, dirâ qui cuspide caudæ
Vulnerat in venas, subitum insinuatque venenum:
Haud aliter justos tenebrosi tortor averni
Subdolus infestat, fidum, Christique ministrum,
Undique inexploto quærit, quem devoret ore.*

*Ite procul timidi, sacræque absistite sede,
Quæis fixus stat corde pavor, procul ite fugaces:
At vos herôes! Vos sancta in bella, piorum
Fortunata phalanx, Christo auctorata magistro;
Pergite magnanimi, fidoque umbone salutis
Muniti, sanctique armati flaminis ense.
Horrida inaccessum per monstra, per ardua, cælo
Quærite iter; mundi transite obliacula; tandem
Eveniet tempus, quandò hæc super astra dabuntur
Æternæ sedes, requies & certa laborum;
Quâ sanctas, nec telum hostile, neve aspidis ira,
Sollicitent animas, nec mortis causa, metusve,
Nec Satanæ rabies; tuti gradiemini in atrum
Scorpium, & ardentis Erebi calcabitis angues,
Gaudentes Christi æternos celebrare triumphos,
Altitonans postquam descenderit æthere Judex,
Carne triumphali victricia signa reportans:
Tunc mortem absorptam, tunc cæco carcere clausum
Luciferum, eniti frustra cernetis, averni
Sulfureos nigris spumantem faucibus ignes.*

Sagittarius ♐.

*Aspice ut intentus cursu venatur anhelò,
Stelliferasque plagas vasti perlustrat olympi
Arcitenens jaculis, in cæli monstra minaci
Missurus nervo volucrem, diramque Sagittam,*

*Et certo letum tibi, Scorpio, destinat ictu ;
Jam pede sanato, jam sævâ tabe sagittæ
Herculeæ lacerum miseratus Jupiter, astris
Chironem inseruit, dum morbo fractus atroci,
Et vitæ impatiens miseræ, crudelia sæpè
Fata vocat, Parcas surdas, nimiumque morantes ;
Jussus at Autumni humiferam jam claudere metam,
Sidere triceno decoratus splendet, & uno.*

*Tantos Centaurus, pedibusque citatus equinis
Saturni incesti spurius meruisset honores,
Dedecus ! impuro cælum ut contaminet Astro ?
Planius & melius (nisi me sententia fallit)
* Ipse est aurato diademate tempora cinctus,
Et niveo portatus equo, fortemque sagittis
Armatus dextram, (sic visio sacra) Johanni
Spectandum qui se dederat dilapsus Olympo.*

* Apocal. vi.
2.

Capricornus ♑.

*Jamque Magellanicas linquens Australibus oras
Flammis, auricomus nostrum meditatur ad orbem
Scandere paulatim Phæbus, tardeque morantem,
Lucibus extentis, cogit decrescere noctem,
Ægocerotâ intrans :*

*Pan deus, Arcadiæ qui currere gaudet in altis
Montibus, hunc cælo ascivit, quod fortè gigantes
Immanes fugiens, variis cum quisque deorum
(Terrore anguipedum) formis latuere ferarum,
Ipse sub birfuti velatus tegmine capri
Illusit rabidas hæc fraude Typhœos iras,
Imposuitque sui stellis monumenta pericli.*

*Sunt quoque qui Capram, puerum quæ lacte tonantem
***** Defunt cætera.*

Alia tentamina poetica, stylo variato.

In Domini Natalem.

*EN qui supremâ luce prognatus, patris
Splendor coruscus gloriæ ; qui sidera
Fræmis cœrcet, quem decemplex machina
Cæli pævescit, & tremunt fundamina
Mundi loquelis quassa fulminantibus ;
In exoletâ nascitur jam infans castâ ;
Hospes jumentis ; brumæ adustus frigore ;
Dum mandra cunas præbet, & membris sacri
Culmus puelli gaudet agrestis premi ;
Circumque floccis puræ ab insolentibus
Nives tenelli provocantur pectoris ;*

*An natus isto vilius quis principe ?
At ecce pennata hinc epheborum cohors
(Pompæ superbi major omni Cæsaris)
Tantis ministrat sedula in natalibus ;
Et non nocivo gloriæ dum fulgure
Squalentis antri dissipat caliginem,*

d

Dat

*Dat nesciente splendidissimam diem
Sole, exiitque noctis obscuræ peplum :
Nascentis illinc solis a cubilibus
Ducit sabæos stella natalis sopbos,
Qui purpurato provoluti poplite,
Illustri fulvi e ponderosis offerunt
Gazis metalli munus, & quicquid tulit
(Phœbi renascentis jubar fragantius
Expertæ) tellus, thuris & myrrhæ ferax.
An natus isto ditius quis Paupere ?*

*Cum Bethlemiæcis, nato, in præsepibus, agnos
Offerrent agno rustica turba Dei.
Eximii cepit species Corydona puelli,
Et qui divino fulsit in ore decor :
Arripuitque leves, (queis vincere suetus) avenas,
Talibus & laudes cepit inire modis.
O nix ! O niveo candor qui fronte relucet !
O niveo aspersum vellere molle caput !
O mitis tenero refidet quæ pectore bruma !
O manus ! O purâ rosida colla nive !
Audiit hunc pendens, nivibus gravis, aere nubes,
Candoresne, inquit, deperit iste meos ?
Nec plura, illimes diffundit credula floccos
Cælo multiforæ qua patuere casæ :
Sistite cui Corydon, crudeles sistite plumæ,
Membra nec audaci lædite sacra gelu ;
Non vestri hic candor generis, nix ista calefcit,
Nempe empyræâ de regione venit.*

De Pomo-Punico immenso, quod, strenæ loco, Jani kalendis exhibuit optimo viro amico suo charissimo E. F. Christophorus Regulus ; cujus in cortice erat fissura, ut solet, per quam grana apparuerunt, & circa corticem scriptus erat hic versiculus, literis aureis —

Natum est in titulos crescere rite tuos.

*Accipe quæ mitto (num dicam Punica ?) dona ;
Nescio quid falsi Punica dona sonent.
At nihil hic falsi, nil fuci ; ni male forsan
Gentilem sapiant Punica Poma fidem.
Candidus hic amor est, & amicæ pectoris ardor,
Votaque ab officio scripta, dicata, pio.
Tot tibi felices concedat Jupiter annos,
Tot tibi Nestoreos mitia fata dies ;
Candida tot facili surgant tibi sidera cursu
Grana quot extremo cortice tecta latent.*

* Scil. per fissuram.

* Grana jacent intus positi velut ordine dentes,
Sic oris speciem Punica Poma gerunt :
Os istud tibi, si gustes, mea vota loquetur,
Nempe potest proprio dulcius ore loqui.

Extract of a Letter written, as it seems, in the Year 1649,
and 17th of his Age.

To my Reverend Father Doctor WREN.

Reverende Pater,

Humanissimo summorum amicorum hospitio receptus ferias hasce pascatis transegi, & quantâ cum jucunditate, ex hoc brevissimo loci elogio con-
ficere licet: Domus præclara (vel potius palatium principe non indignum, sive amplitudinem, seu fabricæ pulchritudinem, seu suppellectilis splendorem (respicias summo pænè montis altissimi clivo insidet; horti circumjacent amœnissimi, innumeris ambularis referti, tam sabulo quam cespite montano stratis: Nec desunt piscinæ ingentes, nec luci altissimi, quorum summitates, clamorissimæ cornicum republicæ, nidorum suorum pagis, seu potius civitatibus integris onerant: Vivarium quoque adjacet satis amplum & amœnum; foris sane paradisum esse terrestrem, intus autem cælum ipsum dixeris, (& quidem verius quam de Cæsaris palatio poeta, "par Martial. "cælo domus est at melior dominus.") Quid ni enim beatissimum hunc locum. Cælum vocem? In quo prisca pietas & religio terris fugatæ sceleratis, latibulum hic tandem invenisse dicantur, in quo virtutes omnes, non ut alibi sæpe, degunt, sed hic incolere amant; gratiæque tergemina (divinæ scilicet) hunc sibi locum, quasi Parnassum suum aut Pindum evangelicum elegerunt; Quo denique matres sanctæ, & virgines, cantica divina psallendo, aut orationem thura castissima offerendo, aut sacra legendo, meditando, confabulando, diem fere integram in beatissimo dei & angelorum consortio absumunt. Inter tot delicias, tibi quod benè valeam scribere, quid erit nisi ΤΑΥΤΟΛΟΓΕΙΝ? Tantæ felicitati meæ vix certè quicquam amplius desiderari potest, modo valeas ipse, & benedicas

Filio tuo obsequentissimo,

5 Cal. April.

CHRISTOPH. WREN.

At the Age of Nineteen he compos'd a short Algebraic Tract, relating to the Julian Period, of great Use in Chronology; which was * inserted ^{in the Fifth Edition of Helvicus's Theatrum Historicum & Chronologicum;} Anonymus. after the Prolegomena. Printed at Oxford, Ann. 1651.

Opus hoc ΠΟΛΥΧΡΗΣΤΟΝ, dilucidum, & rebus chronologicis appositissimum, ^{Vide notas (quo annis periodi Julianæ è datis cyclis indagari, & erui docetur) editioni MS. ad Helvici Theatrum quinta Helvici assutum, ab Authore ægrè efflagitavit Typographus, utpote Chronologicum, per De-Theatro spectaculum verecundè censebat. — De quâ re insuper hanc notam canum Chr. Wren. Pater ejus Reverendus memoriæ tradidit. — "Denique Filio meo modestè renitenti incentivum adhibui, ut tractatulum illum algebraicum Julianæ periodi "è cyclis in historia datis) expiscandæ, accommodatissimum, sudante hoc prælo "Oxonienfi, præfigi sineret.}

In 1650 he proceeded Bachelor of Arts at Wadham-College; in 1653, Master of Arts; and in the same Year was elected into a Fellowship of All-Souls. In 1657, he was chosen Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-College in London; and in 1660, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of

of *Oxon*, (upon the Resignation of *Dr. Seth Ward*, afterwards Bishop of *Sarum*.) In 1661, he took his Degree of Doctor of Civil Law at *Oxon*; and was some Time after admitted to the same Degree at *Cambridge*. In 1680, he was elected President of the *Royal Society*.

[*Christophorus Wren, A. M. collegii omnium animarum socius electus erat in Hist. & Antiq. Univer. Oxon. professorem Astronomiæ Savilianum in Academia Oxon. Feb. 5, 1660, admissus Lib. II. p. 42. 15 Maii sequentis. Doctoratum postea in jure civili suscepit; & regię majestati rei architectonicę procurator supremus, sive generalis, meritißimus audit.*]

Dr. Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society.

"Some Space after the Conclusion of the Civil Wars, *Dr. Wilkins's* Lodging at *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, was made the Place of Resort for virtuous and learned Men, of Philosophical Minds, where the first Meetings were held which laid the Foundation of the *Royal Society* for improving of natural Knowledge: The principal and most constant at the Assemblies were *Dr. Seth Ward*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, *Mr. Boyle*, *Dr. Wilkins*, *Dr. Wallis*, *Dr. Willis*, *Sir William Petty*, *Mr. Matthew Wren* *, *Dr. Godard*, *Dr. Bathurst*, *Dr. Christopher Wren*, and *Mr. Rook*.

* Eldest Son of Mat. Bishop of Ely.

"Here they continued without any great Intermissions, till about the Year 1658; but then being called away to several Parts of the Nation, and the greatest Number of them coming to *London*, they usually met at *Gresham-College*, at the *Wednesday's* and *Thursday's* Lectures of *Dr. Wren* (Professor of *Astronomy*) and *Mr. Rook*, (Professor of *Geometry*.) This Custom was observed once if not twice a Week, in Term-Time; 'till they were scattered by the miserable Distractions of that fatal Year, when the Continuance of their Meetings there might have made them run the Hazard of the Fate of *Archimedes*: For then the Place of their Meeting was made a *Quarter for Soldiers*. But upon the Restoration of the King, Philosophy had its Share in the Benefits of that glorious Action: For the *Royal Society* had its Beginning in the wonderful pacifick Year 1660, and as it began in that Time, when the Kingdom was freed from Confusion and Slavery; so in its Progress, its chief Aim hath been to redeem the Minds of Men from Obscurity, Uncertainty, and Bondage."

Preamble of a CHARTER to incorporate the Royal Society,
[from a first Essay, and rough Draught, by Mr. Christopher Wren.]

CHARLES, &c.

WHEREAS amongst our regal hereditary Titles (to which by divine Providence, and the Loyalty of our good Subjects, We are now happily restored) nothing appears to Us more august, or more suitable to our pious Disposition, than that of *Father of our Country*, a Name of Indulgence as well as Dominion; wherein we would imitate the Benignity of Heaven, which in the same Shower yields Thunder and Violets, and no sooner shakes the Cedars, but dissolving the Clouds, drops Fatness. We therefore, out of a paternal Care of our People, resolve, together with those Laws which tend to the well Administration of Government, and the People's Allegiance to us, inseparably to join the supreme Law of *Salus Populi*, that Obedience may be manifestly not only the publick but private Felicity of every Subject, and the great Concern of his Satisfaction and Enjoyments in this Life. — The Way to so happy a Government, we are sensible is in no Manner more facilitated than by the promoting of useful Arts and Sciences, which, upon ma-
ture

ture Inspection, are found to be the Basis of civil Communities, and free Governments, and which gather Multitudes, by an *Orphean* Charm, into Cities, and connect them in *Companies*; that so, by laying in a Stock, as it were, of several Arts, and Methods of Industry, the whole Body may be supplied by a mutual Commerce of each others peculiar Faculties; and consequently that the various Miseries, and Toils of this frail Life, may, by as many various Expedients, ready at Hand, be remedied, or alleviated; and Wealth and Plenty diffused in just Proportion to every one's Industry, that is, to every one's Deserts.

And there is no Question but the same Policy that founds a City, doth nourish and encrease it; since these mentioned Allurements to a Desire of Cohabitation, do not only occasion Populosity of a Country, but render it more potent and wealthy than a more populous, but more barbarous Nation; it being the same Thing, to add more Hands, or by the Assistance of Art to facilitate Labour, and bring it within the Power of the few.

Wherefore our Reason hath suggested to us, and our own Experience in our Travels in foreign Kingdoms and States, hath abundantly confirmed, that we prosecute effectually the Advancement of Natural Experimental Philosophy, especially those Parts of it which concern the Encrease of Commerce, by the Addition of useful Inventions tending to the Ease, Profit, or Health of our Subjects; which will best be accomplished, by a *Company* of ingenious and learned Persons, well qualified for this sort of Knowledge, to make it their principal Care and Study, and to be constituted a regular *Society* for this Purpose, endowed with all proper Privileges and Immunities.

Not that herein, we would withdraw the least Ray of our Influence from the present established Nurseries of good Literature, and Education, founded, by the Piety of our Royal Ancestors, and others, to be the perpetual Fountains of Religion, and Laws; that Religion, and those Laws, which, as we are obliged to defend, so the holy Blood of our martyr'd Father hath inseparably endear'd to us; but, that we purpose to make further Provision for this Branch of Knowledge likewise, Natural Experimental Philosophy; which comprehends all that is required towards those Intentions we have recited; taking Care in the first Place for Religion, so next, for the Riches and Ornament of our Kingdoms; as we wear an *Imperial Crown*, in which *Flowers* are alternately intermixed with the *Ensigns of Christianity*.

And whereas we are well informed, that a competent Number of Persons of eminent Learning, Ingenuity, and Honour, concurring in their Inclinations and Studies towards this Employment, have for some Time, accustomed themselves to meet weekly, and orderly to confer about the hidden Causes of Things; with a Design to establish certain, and correct uncertain Theories in Philosophy; and by their Labours in the Disquisition of Nature, to approve themselves real Benefactors to Mankind: And, that they have already made a considerable Progress, by divers useful and remarkable Discoveries, Inventions and Experiments, in the Improvement of Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Astronomy, Navigation, Physick, and Chymistry; we have determin'd to grant our Royal Favour, Patronage, and all due Encouragement, to this illustrious *Assembly*, and so beneficial and laudable an Enterprize. — Know therefore, &c.

A CATALOGUE of New Theories, Inventions, Experiments, and Mechanick Improvements, exhibited by Mr. Wren, at the first Assemblies at Wadham-College in Oxford, for Advancement of Natural and Experimental Knowledge, called then the New Philosophy: Some of which, on the Return of the publick Tranquillity, were improved and perfected, and with other useful Discoveries, communicated to the Royal-Society.

Ex autograph.

PICTURE of the Pleiades.

Hypothesis of τ , in Solid.

Hypothesis of the Moon's Libration, in Solid.

Illumination of the μ and Planets, in a dark Room.

A New Projection Goniscope.

New facile exact Ways of Observation.

To find whether the Earth moves.

The Weather-Wheel.

The *Libra Expansionis Aëris*.

Weather-Clock.

Perpetual Motion, or Weather-Wheel and Weather-Clock compounded.

The Ballance, to weigh without Weights.

Strainer of the Breath, to make the same Air serve in Respiration.

Artificial Eye, with the Humours truly and dioptically made.

The like Eye made with one Humour only.

To write in the Dark.

To write double by an Instrument.

A Scenographical Instrument, to survey at one Station.

A Perspective Box, to survey with it.

Several new Ways of graving and etching.

Many curious and new Ways of turning.

To weave many Ribbons at once with only turning a Wheel.

Divers Improvements in the Art of Husbandry *.

Divers new Engines for raising of Water.

A Pavement harder, fairer, and cheaper than Marble.

To grind Glasses.

A Way of Imbroidery for Beds, Hangings, cheap and fair.

New Ways of Printing.

Pneumatick Engines.

New Designs tending to Strength, Convenience, and Beauty in Building.

Many new Designs in Sciography.

Divers new Musical Instruments.

A Speaking Organ, articulating Sounds.

New Ways of Sailing.

The best Ways for reckoning Time, Way, Longitude, and observing at Sea;

Probable Ways for making fresh Water at Sea.

Fabrick for a Vessel for War.

To build in the Sea, Forts, Moles, &c.

Inventions for better making and fortifying Havens, for clearing Sands, and to found at Sea.

To stay long under Water.

Ways of submarine Navigation.

Easier Ways of Whale-fishing.

New offensive, and defensive Engines.

* See Museum
of the R. S.
Dr. Grew.
p. 371.

Secure and speedier Ways of attacking Forts than by Approaches and Galleries.

New Ways of Intelligence, new Cyphers.

Some Inventions in Fortification.

To pierce a Rock in Mining.

To purge or vomit, or alter the Mass by Injection into the Blood, by Plaisters, by various dressing a Fontanell.

Some Anatomical Experiments.

To Measure the Basis and Height of a Mountain, only by journeying over it

To Measure the straight Distance, by travelling the winding Way.

A Compass to play in a Coach, or the Hand of the Rider.

To perfect Coaches for Ease, Strength and Lightness, &c.

§ In Automaton ΑΙΘΕΡΟΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΝ,

Chordâ Musicâ animatum,

Authore & Inventore CHR. WREN.

§ Cujus est mentio supra, in epistola ad patrem suum.

Grandior, Italici solito modulamine pletri,
 Quæ tremuit nuper, pollice tacta fides*.
 Cum cælo tacitum servat nunc fœdus, & ausu
 Indicat æthereos, nobiliore, modos:
 Quicquid vis gelidæ regionis, in aëra nostrum
 Imprimat, oblata machina fronte refert;
 Sive leoninum†, rabies canis augeat, æstum;
 Quo gravis exhaustum fervor hinculat humum;
 Sive sub hydroporo situlam vertente, procellas
 Depluat imbriferi roscida barba noti:
 Aërios quocunque modo, vaga sydera, tractus
 Nutibus officiant, nocte, dieve, suis;
 Sphærarum studiosa fides discernit, & index
 Impiger in scripto protinus orbe notat:
 Tantane vis nervo est? Despectæ viscera felis
 Concineri æthereis sic potuisse choris?
 An quæ vis felis vivæ [predicere nimbo ‡]
 Extinctæ servant viscera sicca parem?
 Quis neget harmonicis volvi cælestia gyris,
 Ludere qui fidibus sydera & ipsa videt?

* The great Base-Springs of Viols call'd Catlings, because made of Cats-Guts.

† Diebus canicularibus sole leonem peragante, duce firiò.

‡ Cum caput pede tergit post aures.

Mr. Henry Oldenburg, the first Secretary to the Royal-Society, with Disingenuity, and Breach of Trust, communicated, and clandestinely convey'd into foreign Parts, particularly Germany and France, divers of the Inventions, and original Experiments of the Author; which were afterwards unfairly claim'd by others, as the true Inventors, and publish'd abroad under other Names.

As the first Ideas and Essays of ingenious Minds, have their peculiar Weight, with the candid and judicious *Virtuosi*; the following Papers are here inserted, appearing to be the original Sketch, in an *English* Dress, of an *Inauguration Speech*, deliver'd by Mr. Wren in *Latin*, at *Gresham-College*, from the *Astronomy-Chair*, upon his Election to that Professorship. || The *Ann.* 1657. *who was then* *about 25 Years* *of Age.* *publick Speech*, also divers Variations from it, and some Things (it may be) explanatory thereof, is of further Use or Entertainment to the Curious.

Tbc

The SPEECH.

LOOKING with respectful Awe on this great and eminent Auditory, while here, I spy some of the politer Genii of our Age; here, some of our Patricians; there many choicely learned in the Mathematical Sciences, and every where, those that are more Judges than Auditors; I cannot, but with juvenile Blushes, betray that which I must apologize for. And indeed I must seriously fear, lest I should appear immaturely covetous of Reputation, in daring to ascend the Chair of Astronomy, and to usurp that big Word of Demonstration, *Dico*; with which (while the humble Orator insinuates only) the imperious Mathematician commands Assent: When it would better have suited the Bashfulness of my Years, to have worn out more *Lustra* in a *Pythagorean* Silence.

I must confess I had never design'd any Thing further, than to exercise my *Radius* in private Dust, unless *those* had inveigh'd against my Sloth and Remissness, with continual but friendly Exhortations, *whom* I may account the great Ornaments of Learning and our Nation, *whom* to obey is with me sacred, and *who*, with the Suffrages of the worthy Senators of this honourable City, had thrust me into the publick *Sand*. That according to my slender Abilities, I might explain what hath been deliver'd to us by Ancients, concerning the Motions and Appearances of the Celestial Bodies, and likewise what hath been found out of new by the Moderns; for we have no barren Age; and now in this Place, I could point to *Inventors*; *Inventors*, a Title so venerable of old, that it was Merit enough to confer on Men Patents of *Divinity*, and perpetual Adoration.

Nor need I therefore to so knowing an Auditory, relate to what End, or praise *Hercules* (as they say) by troubling you with a tedious Encomium of Astronomy: We shall leave this to the *Dutch* Writers, whose swelling Title-Pages proclaim that their Books are useful to Theologians, Philosophers, Philologers, Mathematicians, Grammarians, and who not?—It were frivolous to tell you, how much Astronomy elevates herself above other Sciences, in as much as her Subject, the beauteous Heavens (infinite in Extension, pure and subtile, and sempiternal in Matter, glorious in their starry Ornaments, of which every one affords various Cause of Admiration, most rapid, yet most regular, most harmonious in their Motions, in every Thing, to a wise Considerer, dreadful and majestic) doth precede either the low or the uncertain Subjects of other Sciences: It were pedantick, to tell you of the Affinity of our Souls to Heaven, of our erected Countenances, given us on purpose for Astronomical Speculations; or to acquaint you, that *Plato* commended it to his Commonwealth's-Men, while he says, "*Ex ejusmodi disciplinis, instrumentum quoddam animi expurgatur, reviviscitque, quod anted ex aliis studiis infectum, occæcatumque fuerat, solo enim hoc inspicitur veritas.*" Tho' truly elsewhere he gives us this great Truth—" *Ani-* "*madvertisi eos, qui naturâ mathematici sunt, ad omnes ferè disciplinas ac-* "*tiores apparere; qui autem ingenio hebetiores sunt, si in hoc erudiantur,* "*etiamsi nihil amplius utilitatis assequantur, seipsis tamen ingeniosiores effici solere.*" I might be too verbose should I instance this particularly in shewing how much the Mathematical Wits of this Age have excell'd the Ancients, (who pierc'd but to the Bark and Outside of Things) in handling particular Disquisitions of Nature, in clearing up History, and fixing Chronology: For, Mathematical Demonstrations being built upon the impregnable Foundations of Geometry and Arithmetick, are the only Truths, that can sink into the Mind of Man, void of all Uncertainty; and all other Dis-

courses

courses participate more or less of Truth, according as their Subjects are more or less capable of Mathematical Demonstration. Therefore, this rather than Logick is the great *Organ Organon* of all infallible Science; altho' I will not exclude Logick from being an Instrument of Reasoning, but rather include it in Geometry; for, the technical, and most useful Part of it, concerning Syllogism, and the Art of Reasoning, is but a geometrical Ordering the *data per media proportionalia* to determine the *questum*. It would be endless to run through the whole Encyclopædy, and shew you in every Part the great Use of Astronomy; even Queen Theology hath been much beholding to the trusty Service of this *ancilla*, in settling the sacred History by the Help of Chronology, which as it is a Part of Astronomy, is built chiefly upon the unerring Chronicles of the *gesta superum & celorum*, Observations of Eclipses, great Conjunctions, and the like Appearances; without which Indexes of Times, all sacred and profane History were but indigested Heaps, and Labyrinths, where Men are at a Loss either to begin or end. But Chronology (a Thing too much neglected by the Ancients) hath given an Ichnography of this Labyrinth, and describ'd Times, as it were in a Map, by which we may run back secure to many Chyliads of Years, conversing with those of remote Ages, and there finding new Discoveries, as by Navigation we converse with those of distant Climates.

Some, it may be, will knit the Brow, if I should say, that even Holy-Scripture itself, sometimes requires an astronomical Interpreter; who else shall give a good Account of the *Hexameron*, or decide the Controversy about the Retrocession of the Shadow upon the Dial of *Abaz*? When without a Miracle that might be many Ways done by the meer Fabrick of the Dial; for it is easy to frame a Dial with such a Stile, that every Day at such a Time, the Shadow shall seem to return; but what the Dial was, we know, if we may believe the *Hebrew* Writer, who describes it obscurely, yet so that I can easily fancy it to be the same with that which the *Eastern* Nations used, and which *Vitruvius* tells us, *Berosus Chaldeus* brought into Greece — *Hemicyclium excavatum ex quadrato, ad enclimaque succisum, hoc est, ad elevationem poli.* — The Retrocession must therefore be real, either in the Sun or Shadow only; but what if it were in neither truly, but from a Parelion? the Sun return'd ten Degrees by which it had gone down; might not a Parelion suddenly appear at ten Degrees distance from the Sun, the Sun being just set under the Horizon, or being hid by a Cloud? (for, Parelions are Refractions made in nitrous Vapours higher than the Clouds) so the Shadow of this Parelion would make an Appearance as if the Sun had started back; 'tis what *Cadamustas*, and other Describers of the *East Indies* say, happens often in the Island *Sumatra*, in the Month of *April*; for ten or fifteen Degrees the Sun seeming to start back, and then to return again, where otherwise he would have appear'd. This may be done either by a Parelion, or a strong Refraction through a Vapour in an angular Form, like a Glass Prism, passing between the Eye and Sun; for, if you gently pass a Prism of Crystal before any Objects, the Objects will appear to start out of their Places. Neither need we fear to diminish a Miracle by explaining it; this Retrocession of the Sun was given as a Sign, so was the Rainbow, which had it appear'd never since, had been miraculous.

I might ask the Theologian, who shall explain to me, how our *Saviour*, who was buried on *Friday-Night*, and rose again before Day on *Sunday*, could be said to be three Days and three Nights in the Sepulchre, when his Stay there was but a full Day and two Nights? The World hath hitherto shifted off this Difficulty with a *Synecdoche*, by taking in Parts of *Friday* and Parts of *Sunday*, but yet they want a third Night; neither doth *Grotius*, with

an Acceptation sometimes of any Part of a Day or Night, for a whole *Nycthemeron*, in the Civil Law, much mend the Matter: Here seems to be need of an Astronomer, who thus possibly may explain it. — While there was made by the Motion of the Sun, a Day and two Nights in the Hemisphere of *Judæa*, at the same Time in the contrary Hemisphere was made a Night and two Days; join these together, you have three Days and three Nights; for *Christ* suffer'd not for *Judæa* alone, but for the whole World, and in Respect of all the Inhabitants of the Earth *conjunctim*, he rested three Days and three Nights, tho' in Respect of *Judæa*, or any particular Horizon, but one Day and two Nights.

Who but the Astronomer shall explain to us how many *hundred* Times one of the great Luminaries exceeds the other, which yet is but one of some Thousands as great as itself, or bigger? Who can better magnify the Arm that expanded the Heavens, than he who tells you, that *Seven thousand* Miles will fall short of the Diameter of this Earth, and yet that this Diameter repeated a *thousand* Times will not reach the Sun; or this Distance between the Sun and us, repeated a *thousand* Times, reach the nearest fix'd Star? And yet in probability some are infinitely more remote than others. — Certainly as Secretaries of Princes are they only, from whom true Histories of those Princes are to be expected; so he only can truly describe the World, whose Skill in Astronomy hath given him Right to the glorious Title of *Hipparchus*, to be *conciliorum naturæ particeps & interpres*.

But not to enlarge in extending the Dition of Astronomy to the Empyræum; her Influence is great over sublunary Sciences; among which, should I say that even Physick hath its Use of Astronomy, I might seem to patronize the ungrounded Fancies of that Sort of astrological Medicasters, who do nothing without the Favour of their *Archæus*, and intitle one Planet or other to every Herb, or Drug, which they suppose invalid, unless mystically tim'd with this or that Aspect; ceremoniously numbering the critical Days, not considering that neither Time or Number hath any reality *extra intellectum humanum*. But, tho' with Contempt of these Follies, let me seriously ask the most rational philosophical Enquirer into Medicine, whether those Aphorisms, wherein *Hippocrates* hath marshal'd Diseases under the Seasons of the Year, and the several Winds, and the Varieties of Weathers, have not as much of the Aphorism in them, as the rest; and were not as diligently collected from the *Brasen-Tables*, from Experiments deriv'd in Succession from his aged Preceptors before him, and from his own unerring Industry, as the rest? But it may be objected, that these astrological Aphorisms favour much of the *Chaldean* and *Syrian*, from whom it appears the *Græcians* receiv'd much of their Art of healing, as they did almost all their other Learning: And indeed we find by *Herodotus*, that the Knowledge of Physick by way of Aphorism was proper to the *Babylonians*, who recorded publicly the History of the Disease, and Method of Cure of every particular Patient that recover'd, to which Records others resorted in difficult Cases, that had the like Diseases, and the great Learning of these Nations being Astrology, we may imagine that they made good Observations of epidemical Diseases from the Distempers of the Air, from the celestial Influences, which are now either wholly lost, or deprav'd, or useless, as not suited to our Climate: What other Subject those medicinal Books of the Friend and Contemporary of *Hippocrates*, *Democritus* ΠΕΡΙ ΑΚΑΙΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΚΑΙΡΙΩΝ, reckon'd in the Catalogue of his Works by *Laertius*, should contain, I know not, sure I am, that if we dissected Animals of the same Species, in various Changes of Weather, we should find great Difference in the Brain, as to Dryness or Moisture, and Weight; and in the Viscera, and Mass of Blood, as to the

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Quantity, and Salt in it: and in the *Lymphæductus*, as to their Turgency, as I have frequently tried: And if with these, we join the Experiments of the Fermenting of Wines, and other Liquors against moist Weather; the souring of them in Thunder, and dry Weathers; adding likewise the History of Pests, and epidemical Diseases, we shall find a great Deal of Reason to conclude, that there is a true Astrology to be found by the enquiring Philosopher, which would be of admirable Use to Physick, though the Astrology vulgarly receiv'd, cannot but be thought extremely unreasonable and ridiculous, as any Thing among the many Impostures that have been impos'd by Antiquity upon the credulous World to him that hath given up himself to Demonstration.

Hitherto in these greater Faculties, Theology, sacred and profane History and Physick, we have been but assisted a little by Astronomy, but if we look into the next Class of Science, we shall perceive ourselves wholly indebted to her. It is Astronomy that enlarg'd both our Understanding and Habitation; hath given Politeness, and consequently Religion and Laws to the barbarous World. He that looks upon that little Parcel of the World, which the Ancients contented themselves with, and sees now, how we furrow the great Ocean, and gather our aromattick Harvests from the remotest Parts of the Globe, and can enjoy in our own *Europe*, whatever *Thule* or *Æthiopia*, the rising or setting Sun can produce, must needs rejoice, that so much larger an Inheritance is fallen to Mankind, by the Favour of Astronomy. It was Astronomy alone, that of old undertook to guide the creeping Ships of the Ancients, whenever they would venture to leave the Land to find a neighbour Shore; tho' then she was a humourfome Guide, and often vailing the Face of Heaven with Clouds, would cruelly leave them to the giddy Protection of Fortune, and for the most Part only tols'd them up and down, and sported herself with their Ruin: But if she deign'd to shew them one Glimpse of a Star, if but of *Alcor*, or the least allicant Spot of Heaven, it was enough to pave a Way for them homeward, through the Horror of the Waves and Night. In this is truly perceiv'd the Influx of Heaven, when the Influx of one *Cynosura* can move a thousand Sail of Fraught-Ships, and render the one Element as habitable, and more fruitful than the other, tho' more hazardous. Thus did the Ancients every where cultivate the Mediterranean Waters, but their Fear of venturing into the Ocean they dissembled by Religion, lest they should violate the Rites of *Thetis*, and the Water Deities.

At last, Astronomy took to herself another Assistant, *Magneticks*, a Kind of Terrestrial Astronomy, an Art that tells us the Motions of our own Star we dwell on, whose every Fragment moving in true Sympathy with the great One, bids us, in spite of Clouds, pass the vast Ocean, and possess every Piece of our own Star: and now were the Gates of true Science open'd, and the poor Philosophers *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Leucippus*, *Empedocles* are laugh'd at, for making the Earth a Pillar, or a Table, or a Drum, or inclin'd of its own Nature. In a few Months we shake Hands with the *Antipodes*, and pity the suppos'd heretical Bishop for his unseasonable venting the Truth; and also the pious Ignorance of the *Fathers*, that would have the Plane-Earth fixed upon infinite long Roots. But divine Astronomy, intended to discover to Man her own yet hidden Glory, as well as those of the Terrestrial Globe, for after the prodigious Attempt of *Columbus*, and as it appears to me, the difficulter Voyage of *Vasco de Gama*, who before pursu'd the weak Beginnings of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and twice scour'd through the *Torrid Zone*, in doubling the *Cape*, first finding it habitable, discovering the Errors of the Ancients about *Africk*, and first opening a Way to the *Indies*

Indies by Sea. By these, and succeeding Voyages, perform'd by the Circumnavigators of our Nation, the Earth was concluded to be truly globous, and equally habitable round. This gave Occasion to *Copernicus* to guess why this Body of Earth of so apt a Figure for Motion, might not move among other Cœlestial Bodies; it seem'd to him in the Consequences probable, and apt to folve the Appearances, and finding it likewise among the antiquated Opinions, he resolv'd upon this Occasion to restore Astronomy. And now the Learned begin to be warm, the Schools ring with this Dispute; all the mathematical Men admire the Hypothesis, for saving Nature a great deal of Labour, and the Exence of so many Intelligences for every Orb, and Epicycles; yet the apparent Absurdity of a moving Earth makes the Philosophers condemn it, tho' some of them taken with the Paradox, begin to observe Nature, and to dare to suppose some old Opinions false; and now began the first happy Appearance of Liberty to Philosophy, oppress'd by the Tyranny of the *Greek* and *Roman* Monarchies.

Among the honourable Assertors of this Liberty, I must reckon *Gilbert*, who having found an admirable Correspondence between his *Terella*, and the great *Magnet* of the Earth, thought, this Way, to determine this great Question, and spent his Studies and Estate upon this Enquiry; by which *obiter*, he found out many admirable magnetical Experiments: This Man would I have adored, not only as the sole Inventor of Magneticks, a new Science to be added to the Bulk of Learning, but as the Father of the new Philosophy; *Cartesius* being but a Builder upon his Experiments. This Person I should have commended to Posterity in a Statue, that the deserv'd Marble of *Harvey* might not stand to future Ages, without a Marble Companion of his own Profession. He kept Correspondence with the *Lyncei academici*, at *Rome*, especially with *Franciscus Sagredus*, one of the Interlocutors in the Dialogues of *Gallileus*, who labour'd to prove the Motion of the Earth, negatively, by taking off Objections, but *Gilbert* positively; the one hath given us an exact Account of the Motion of Gravity upon the Earth; the other of the secret, and more obscure Motion of Attraction and magnetical Direction in the Earth; the one I must reverence for giving Occasion to *Kepler* (as he himself confesses) of introducing Magneticks into the Motions of the Heavens, and consequently of building the elliptical Astronomy; the other of his perfecting the great Invention of Telescopes, to confirm this Astronomy; so that if one be the *Brutus* of Liberty restor'd to Philosophy, certainly the other must be the *Collatinus*.

And here I should not slightly mention that great foreign Wit, *Kepler*, the Compiler of another new Science, *Dioptricks*, (in which, of the Mathematicks only, we can boast that we had not the *Græcians* for our Masters) but more eminent for being the *Eudoxus* of this Age, the Inventor of the elliptical Hypothesis; but since he was only the first Founder of these *magnalia*, and that the Perfection of both these are justly to be expected from Men of our own Nation at this Day living, and known to most of this Auditory, the Clarity of these latter, makes me cease from a larger Encomium of *Kepler*, and reserve it for Posterity to bestow upon them, when it shall be more seasonable to give them an Apotheosis among those great Inventors I have named.

And indeed, of all the Arguments which the Learned of this inquisitive Age have busy'd themselves with, the Perfection of these two, *Dioptricks*, and the Elliptical Astronomy, seem most worthy our Enquiry: For natural Philosophy having of late been order'd into a geometrical Way of reasoning from ocular Experiment, that it might prove a real Science of Nature, not an Hypothesis of what Nature might be, the Perfection of Telescopes, and

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Microscopes, by which our Sense is so infinitely advanc'd, seems to be the only Way to penetrate into the most hidden Parts of Nature, and to make the most of the Creation.

I cannot (most worthy Auditors) but very much please myself in introducing *Seneca*, in his Prophecy of the new World, —

*Venient annis sæcula feris,
Quibus, oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, & ingens pateat tellus,
Novosque Tiphys detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.*

But then I only begin to value the Advantages of this Age in Learning before the former, when I fancy him continuing his Prophecy, and imagine how much the ancient laborious Enquirers would envy us, should he have sung to them, that a Time would come, when Men should be able to stretch out their Eyes, as Snails do, and extend them to *fifty* Feet in length; by which means, they should be able to discover *Two thousand* Times as many Stars as we can; and find the Galaxy to be Myriads of them; and every nebulous Star appearing as if it were the Firmament of some other World, at an incomprehensible Distance, bury'd in the vast Abyss of intermundious Vacuum: That they should see the Planets like our Earth, unequally spotted with Hills and Vales: that they should see *Saturn*, a very *Proteus*, changing more admirably than our *Moon*, by the various Turnings, and Inumbrations of his several Bodies, and accompany'd besides with a *Moon* of his own; that they should find *Jupiter* to be an *oval Earth*, whose Night is enlighten'd by four several *Moons*, moving in various Swiftneses, and making Multitudes of Eclipses: That they should see *Mars*, *Venus* and *Mercury* to wax and wain: And of the *Moon* herself, that they should have a Prospect, as if they were hard by, discovering the Heights and Shape of the Mountains, and Depths of round and uniform Vallies, the Shadows of the Mountains, the Figure of the Shores, describing Pictures of her, with more Accurateness, than we can our own Globe, and therein requiring the *Moon* for her own Labours, who to discover our Longitudes, by eclipsing the *Sun*, hath painted out the Countries upon our Globe, with the Point of her conical Shadow, as with a Pencil. After all this, if he should have told them, how the very Fountain of Light is variegated with its *Faculae* and *Maculae*, proceeding round in regular Motions, would not any of the Astronomers of his Time have chang'd their whole Life for a few windy Days, (in which principally the *solar* Spots appear) or a few clear Nights of our *Sæculum*.

But I have lost myself upon this Subject, as endless as the Universe itself: So large a Field of Philosophy is the very Contemplation of the *Phases* of the celestial Bodies, that a true Description of the Body of *Saturn* only, were enough for the Life of one Astronomer; how much more the various Motions of them; which I am not now to descant on, but reserve for the continual Subject of my future Discourses in this Place, a Place, in which the Magnificence of our illustrious Founder *Gresham* hath adorn'd this opulent City, with the Profession of the Sciences, in his own House, by a rare Example, leaving the *Muses* to be *here* his Heirs and Successors for ever; who seem to be affected with the Place, having preserv'd it in Esteem, by furnishing it hitherto with Men of most eminent Abilities, especially in mathematical Sciences; among whom the Names of *Gunter*, *Brerewood*, *Gillibrand*, *Foster*, are fresh in the Mouths of all Mathematicians,

cians, for the excellent Remains they have either left behind them in Print, or adorn'd the Tables with, in reading. Amongst which, the useful Invention of *Logarithms*, as it was wholly a *British* Art, so here especially receiv'd great Additions: and likewise, the whole Doctrine of *Magneticks*, as it was of *English* Birth, so by the Professors of *this Place* was augmented by the first Invention and Observation of the Mutation of the magnetical Variation; a Thing, I confess, as yet crude, yet what may prove of Consequence in Philosophy, and of so great Use, possibly to the Navigator, that thereby we may attain the Knowledge of *Longitudes*, than which, former Industry hath hardly left any Thing more glorious to be aim'd at in Art.

And now since the Professorship I am honour'd with, is a Benefit I enjoy from this City, I cannot conclude without a good Omen to it. I must needs celebrate it, as a City particularly favour'd by the Celestial Influences, a *Pandora*, on which each Planet hath contributed something; *Saturn* hath given it Diuturnity, and to reckon an earlier *Æra* ab *Urbe condita* than *Rome* itself. *Jupiter* hath made it the perpetual Seat of Kings, and of Courts of Justice, and fill'd it with inexhausted Wealth. *Mars* has arm'd it with Power. The Sun looks most benignly on it, for, what City in the World so vastly populous, doth yet enjoy so healthy an Air, so fertile a Soil? *Venus* hath given it a pleasant Situation, water'd by the most amene River of *Europe*; and beautify'd with the external Splendor of Myriads of fine Buildings. *Mercury* hath nourish'd it in mechanical Arts and Trade, to be equal with any City in the World; nor hath forgotten to furnish it abundantly with liberal Sciences, amongst which I must congratulate this City, that I find in it so general a Relish of Mathematicks, and the *libera philosophia*, in such a Measure, as is hardly to be found in the Academies themselves. Lastly, the *Moon*, the Lady of the Waters seems amorously to court this Place:

“ *Atque urbem magis omnibus unam*

“ *Positabitâ coluisse Delo.*

For to what City doth she invite the Ocean so far within Land as here? Communicating by the *Tbames* whatever the Banks of *Maragnon* or *Indus* can produce, and at the Reflux warming the frigid Zones with our Cloth; and sometimes carrying and returning safe those Carines that have encompass'd the whole Globe. And now since Navigation brings with it both Wealth Splendor, Politeness and Learning, what greater Happiness can I wish to the *Londoners*? Than that they may continually deserve to be deem'd as formerly, the great Navigators of the World; that they always may be, what the *Tyrians* first, and then the *Rhodians* were call'd, “ *The Masters of the Sea* ;” and that *London* may be an *Alexandria*, the establish'd Residence of Mathematical Arts.

SECT. XL. p. Extracts from the Conclusion of the second Part of Dr. SPRAT'S
311. Lond. History of the Royal Society, &c.
1667.

“ IN the whole Progress of this Narration, I have been cautious to forbear commending the Labours of any private *Fellows* of the Society. For this, I need not make any *Apology* to them; seeing it would have been an inconsiderable Honour, to be prais'd by so mean a Writer: But now I must break this *Law*, in the particular Case of Dr. *Christopher Wren*: for doing so, I will not alledge the Excuse of my Friendship to him; though *that* perhaps were sufficient; and it might well be allow'd me to take this Occasion of publishing it: But I only do it, on the meer

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“ Consideration of Justice : For in turning over the *Registers* of the *Society*,
 “ I perceiv’d that many excellent Things, whose first *Invention* ought to be
 “ ascrib’d to him, were casually omitted : This moves me to do him Right
 “ by himself, and to give this separate Account of his Endeavours, in pro-
 “ moting the Design of the *Royal Society*, in the small Time wherein he has
 “ had the Opportunity of attending it.

“ The first Instance I shall mention, to which he may lay peculiar Claim, *Locus of Mo-*
 “ is the *Doctrine of Motion*, which is the most considerable of all others, *tion.*
 “ for establishing the first *Principles* of *Philosophy*, by geometrical *Demon-*
 “ *stration*. This *Des cartes* had before begun, having taken up some *Ex-*
 “ *periments* of this Kind upon Conjecture, and made them the first *Founda-*
 “ *tion* of his whole *Sysem* of *Nature*. But some of his Conclusions seem-
 “ ing very questionable, because they were only derived from the gross Trials
 “ of Balls meeting one another at *Tennis* and *Billiards*, Dr. *Wren* produc’d
 “ before the Society, an *Instrument* to represent the Effects of all Sorts of
 “ *Impulses*, made between two hard globous Bodies, either of equal, or
 “ of different Bigness and Swiftnes, following or meeting each other, or
 “ the one moving, the other at rest. From these Varieties arose many un-
 “ expected Effects ; of all which he demonstrated the true *Theories*, after
 “ they had been confirm’d by many hundreds of *Experiments* in that *Instru-*
 “ *ment*. These he propos’d as the *Principles* of all *Demonstrations* in *natural*
 “ *Philosophy*. Nor can it seem strange, that these *Elements* should be of such
 “ universal Use ; if we consider that *Generation*, *Corruption*, *Alteration*, and
 “ all the Vicissitudes of *Nature*, are nothing else but the Effects arising from
 “ the meeting of little Bodies, of different Figures, Magnitudes and Ve-
 “ locities.”

[NEWTONI *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathem.* Edit. 2. Can-
 LĒGES MOTVS. tab. 1713. p.
 19.

SCHOLIUM.

*H*ætemus principia tradidit a mathematicis recepta & experientia multi-
 plici confirmata. Per leges duas primas & corollaria duo prima, Galilæus invenit descensum gravium esse in duplicata ratione temporis, & motum projectilem fieri in parabola conspirante experientia, nisi quatenus motus illi per aeris resistentiam aliquantulum retardantur. Ab iisdem legibus & corollariis pendent demonstrata de temporibus oscillantium pendulorum, suffragante horologiorum experientia quotidiana. Ex his iisdem & lege tertia Christophorus Wrennus eques auratus, Johannes Wallisus S. T. D. & Christianus Hugenius, hujus ætatis geometrarum facile principes, regulas congressuum & reflexionum duorum corporum seorsim invenerunt, & eodem fere tempore cum Societate Regia communicarunt, inter se (quoad has leges) omnino conspirantes : & primus quidem Wallisus, deinde Wrennus & Hugenius inventum prodiderunt. Sed & veritas comprobata est a Wrenno coram Regia Societate per experimentum pendulorum : Quod etiam clarissimus Mariottus libro integro exponere mox dignatus est.]

“ The second Work which he has advanced, is the *History of Seasons* :
 “ which will be of admirable Benefit to Mankind, if it shall be constantly
 “ pursued, and deriv’d down to Posterity. His Proposal therefore was, to
 “ comprehend a *Diary* of Wind, Weather, and other Conditions of the Air,
 “ as to Heat, Cold, and Weight ; and also a general Description of the
 “ Year, whether contagious or healthful to Men or Beasts ; with an Ac-
 “ count

" count of *Epidemical Diseases*, of Blasts, Mill-Dews, and other Accidents, belonging to Grain, Cattle, Fish, Fowl, and Insects. And because the Difficulty of a constant *Observation* of the *Air*, by Night and Day, seem'd invincible, he therefore devis'd a *Clock* * to be annex'd to a Weather-Cock, which mov'd a Rundle cover'd with Paper, upon which the Clock mov'd a black Lead Pencil, so that the Observer by the Traces of the Pencil on the Paper, might certainly conclude, what Winds had blown in his Absence for twelve Hours space: After a like Manner he contriv'd a *Thermometer* to be its own *Register*: And because the usual *Thermometers* were not found to give a true Measure of the Extension of the *Air*, by Reason that the accidental Gravity of the Liquor, as it lay higher or lower in the Glass, weigh'd unequally on the *Air*, and gave it a farther Contraction or Extension, over and above that which was produced by Heat and Cold; therefore he invented a *circular Thermometer*, in which the Liquor occasions no Fallacy, but remains always in one Height moving the whole *Instrument* like a Wheel on its *Axis*.

* In the Museum of the Royal Society, Dr. Grew's Catalogue, p. 357.

[In an Improvement of his Invention of the *Weather-Wheel*, (the only true Way to measure Expansions of the *Air*) he contriv'd the *Instrument* to be more firmly made, by causing the *circular Pipes* (which cannot be truly blown in Glass) to be form'd of Brass, by those who make Trumpets and Sack-butts, who wiredraw their Pipes through a Hole to equal them, and then filling them with melted Lead, turn them round into what Flexures they please: The Inside of the Pipe he varnish'd with *China Varnish*, to preserve it from the Quicksilver, and the Glass fix'd to it, with Varnish; which is the best Cement in the World, for thus the *Chinese* fix Glass and Mother of Pearl in their Works.]

To his Invention of the *Weather Clock*, other Motions were afterwards added by Mr. *Robert Hook*, Professor of *Geometry* in *Gresham-College*.

It hath six or seven Motions; first a *Pendulum Clock*, which goes with three quarters of a 100 lb. Weight, and moves the greatest Part of the Work with this, a *Barometer*, a *Thermometer*, a *Rain-Measure*; such an one as is next describ'd; a *Weather-Cock*; to which subserves a Piece of Wheel-Work analogous to a *Way-Wiser*; and a *Hygroscope*; each of which have their *Register*, and the *Weather-Cock* hath two; one for the *Points*, the other for the *Strength* of the Wind. All working upon a Paper falling off of a *Rowler* which the *Clock* also turns.

Mr. *Hook's* Proposal for augmenting the *Weather-Clock*, was first offer'd by him to the *Royal-Society* in the Year 1664, upon the Description of one made by Sir *Christopher Wren*. [*Waller's Life of Hook*, page XI.]

The *Instrument* call'd the *Thermometer*, tho' of very ancient Invention, there having been one of them found by *Robert de Fluctibus* graphically delineated in a MS. of five hundred Years Antiquity at least; yet it has still receiv'd other useful *Advancements* from that curious Artist Sir *Ch. Wren*, by the Invention of the *circular Thermometer*.

Dr. Plot's nat. Hist. of Oxford, p. 229.

† In the Museum of the Royal Society, Dr. Grew's Catalogue, p. 358. " He contriv'd an *Instrument* to measure the Quantities of *Rain* that falls in any Space of Time, on any Piece of Ground, as suppose on one Acre in one Year; this, as soon as it is full, will pour out itself, and at the Year's End discover how much *Rain* has fallen on such a Space of Land, or other hard Superficies, in order to the *Theory of Vapours, Rivers, Seas*, &c." [A Triangular Tin Vessel hanging in a Frame, as a Bell, with one Angle lowermost. From whence one Side rises up perpendicular, the other floaped; whereby the Water, as it fills, spreads only on one Side from the Centre, till at length it fills and empties itself. Which being done, a leaden Poise on the other Side, immediately pulls it back to fill again.]

" He

" He devised many subtil Ways for the easier finding the Gravity of the Atmosphere, the Degrees of Drought and Moisture, and many of its other Accidents. Amongst these Instruments, there are Balances, which are useful to other Purposes, that shew the Weight of the Air by their spontaneous Inclination.

" Amongst the new Discoveries of the Pendulum, these are to be attributed to him, that the Pendulum in its Motion from rest to rest; that is, in one Descent and Ascent, moves unequally in equal Times, according to a Line of Sines: That it would continue to move either in circular or elliptical Motions; and such Vibrations would have the same Periods with those that are reciprocal; and that by a Complication of several Pendulums depending one upon another, there might be represented Motions like the planetary helical Motions, or more intricate: and yet that these Pendulums would discover without Confusion (as the Planets do) three or four several Motions, acting upon one Body with differing Periods; and that there may be produced a natural Standard for Measure from the Pendulum for vulgar Use.

" He has invented many Ways to make astronomical Observations more accurate and easy: he has fitted and hung Quadrants, Sextants, and Radii, more commodiously than formerly: He has made two Telescopes, to open with a Joint like a Sector, by which Observers may infallibly take a Distance to half Minutes, and find no Difference in the same Observation reiterated several Times; nor can any warping or luxation of the Instrument hinder the Truth of it.

" He has added many Sorts of Retes, Screws and other Devices to Telescopes, for taking small Distances, and apparent Diameters to seconds. He has made Apertures to take in more or less Light, as the Observer pleases, by opening and shutting like the Pupil of the Eye, the better to fit Glasses to crepusculine Observations. He has added much to the Theory of Dioptricks; [by giving a true Account of Refraction, and of Vision; as that the crystalline Humor is not the principal Instrument of Refraction in the Eye, nor essential to Vision, but merely to convenient Vision.] " He had added much to the Manufacture itself of grinding good Glasses. He has attempted, and not without Success, the making of Glasses of other Forms than spherical. He has exactly measur'd and delineated the Spheres of the Humors in the Eye, whose Proportions one to another were only guess'd at before. This accurate Discussion produc'd the Reason, why we see Things erected, and that Reflection conduces as much to Vision as Refraction.

[He contrived an artificial Eye, truly and dioptrically made (as large as a Tennis-Ball) representing the Picture as Nature makes it: The Cornea, and an Eye in the Crystalline were Glass, the other Humours, Water. He took an exact Survey of an Horse's Eye, measuring what the Spheres of the Crystalline and Cornea were, and what the Proportions of the Distances of the Centers of every Sphere³⁵⁹ were upon the Axis: the Projection in triple the Magnitude, was presented to Sir Paul Neile, and the Experiment occasionally reiterated.]

" He discours'd to the Society a natural and easy Theory of Refraction, which exactly answered every Experiment. He fully demonstrat'd all Dioptricks in a few Propositions, shewing not only (as in Kepler's Dioptricks) the common Properties of Glasses, but the Proportions by which the individual Rays cut the Axis, and each other; upon which the Charges (as they are usually call'd) of Telescopes, or the Proportion of the Eye-Glasses, and Apertures are demonstrably discovered.

h

" He

" He has made constant Observations on *Saturn*; and a Theory of that Planet, truly answering all *Observations*, before the printed Discourse of *Hugenius* on that Subject appeared.

By a thirty-six Foot Glass, he drew many exact Pictures of *Saturn*, not only of his *Ansule*, but his *Spots*; and attained to a *Theory* of his *Rotation*, and various *Inclination* of his *Body*. He also drew the *Spots* of *Mars*. He made the Tube an *Astronomical Instrument* to observe to *Seconds*; by which he took the *Motions* of *Jupiter's Satellites*, and *Saturn's Moon*; and not only drew Pictures of the *Moon* as *Hévelius* had done, but gave more exact Surveys and Maps of her, and discovered exactly her various *Inclinations*, and therein *Hévelius's Errors*; he caused a *Needle* to be made of forty Inches, in order to discover the *Annual Motion* of *Variation* in it.

" He has essay'd to make a true *Selenography* by Measure; the World having nothing yet but Pictures, rather than Surveys or Maps of the *Moon*. He has stated the *Theory* of the *Moon's Libration*, as far as his *Observations* could carry him. He has composed a *Lunar Globe*, representing not only the Spots and various Degrees of Whiteness upon the Surface, but the Hills, Eminences and Cavities, moulded in solid Work. The *Globe* thus fashioned into a true Model of the *Moon*, as you turn it to the Light represents all the menstrual Phases, with the Variety of Appearances that happen from the Shadow of the Mountains and Vallies.

Of the *Globe* of the *Moon* in solid Work; and of the *Micrographia*.

1661.

To Dr. WREN at All-Souls College in Oxford.

S I R,

Ex autograph. I AM commanded by the Royal Society to acquaint you, that his Majesty expects you should prosecute your Design of making the Representation of the Lunar Globe in *Solido*; and that you should proceed in drawing the Shapes of little Animals as they appear in the Microscope; and that he doth expect an Account of this from you shortly.

I am, S I R, &c.

HEN. POWLE.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Robert Moray, and Sir Paul Neile, on the same Subject.

To Dr. WREN Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

Much honoured Friend,

THE King hath commanded us to lay a double Charge upon you, in his Name, to perfect a Design, wherein he is told, you have already made some Progress, to make a Globe representing accurately the Figure of the Moon, as the best Tubes represent it: and to delineate by the Help of the Microscope the Figures of all the Insects, and small living Creatures you can light upon, as you have done those you presented to his Majesty. If it were needful to add any further Excitement to your Industry, we should tell you how much our whole Society is rejoiced, that his Majesty has a just Esteem of your Parts, and honours you with his Commands, which we are confident will prevail with you, and therefore we reserve all
other

other Motives for other Things, only we expect you will signify to us your Readiness to comply with his Majesty's Pleasure; and you may be sure we will improve it as much to your Honour and Advantage, as is possible for much honoured Friend,

Your most affectionate humble Servants,

*Whitehall, 17 May,
1661.*

R. MORAY, P. NEILE.

Second Letter from Sir Robert Moray. To Dr. WREN, &c.

My worthy Friend,

SINCE my last I told the King you had finished your Lunar Globe, and desired to know what are his further Commands; and he commanded me to let you know, he would have you bring it hither to him. I have also to tell you, that in Compliance with your Desire to be eased of the further Task of drawing the Figures of small Insects by the Help of the Microscope, we have moved his Majesty to lay his Commands on another, one *Vander Diver*; and we have also persuaded Mr. *Hook*, to undertake the same Thing. This is all the Trouble you shall now have from, my worthy Friend,

Your real humble Servant,

*Whitehall, 13 August,
1661.*

R. MORAY.

N. B. Sir Robert Moray, one of his Majesty's Privy Council in Scotland, [Character of Sir R. Moray. See Bp. Burnet, Echard, &c.] was an excellent Mathematician, and well versed in Natural Philosophy and Chymistry; he was among the first who modelled, instituted, and promoted the Royal Society, and was elected the second, after the Lord Brouncker, President. He was universally beloved and esteemed; of so great Piety, that in the midst of Armies and Courts, he spent many Hours a Day in Devotion. He had an Equality of Temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in Practice a Stoick. He had a Superiority of Genius and Comprehension to most Men. He had a most diffused Love to all Mankind, and delighted in every Occasion of doing Good, which he managed with great Discretion and Zeal.—A Character so parallel in all Points, to that of Sir Christopher Wren, naturally produced a most friendly and inviolable Attachment to each other. He died suddenly at Whitehall, and being particularly in the King's Favour, was at his Majesty's own Charge, buried in Westminster-Abbey, in the Year 1673.

In Observance of the King's Commands, and Directions of the Royal Society*, the Globe of the Moon in solid Work was accurately finished, and presented to his Majesty at Whitehall, fixed on a Pedestal of *Lignum Vitæ*, curiously turned, with this Inscription engraved on the Foot, and a Scale of Miles.

CAROLO SECVNDO
M. BR. FR. ET HIB. R.
CVIVS AMPLITVDINI QVIA VNVS NON
SVFFICIT
NOVVM HVNC ORBEM SELENOSPHÆRIO
EXPRESSVM
D. D. D.
CHR. WREN.

His

His Majesty received it with particular Satisfaction, and ordered it to be placed among the Curiosities of his Cabinet.

Dr. *Sprat*, late Bishop of *Rockester*, in his Observations on Monsieur *de Sorbier's* Voyage into *England*, (dedicated to Dr. *Wren*) has this Reflection. — “In which is Monsieur *Sorbier* more ridiculous, his History or his Policy? his History in speaking so many false Reproaches aloud, his Policy in whispering such Trifles with so much Caution. I beseech you, Sir, let us allow him the Reputation of this new Invention intire, tho’ he did not think fit to name the famous Author of the Lunar Globe, which he saw in the King’s Closet.”

London 1665. *Extract from the Preface of Mr. Hook’s Micographia.*

* *Bishop of
Chester.*

BY the Advice of that excellent Man Dr. *Wilkins**, I first set upon this Enterprize, [*Micographia*, or *Physiological Descriptions of minute Bodies made by the Help of magnifying Glasses*] yet still came to it with much Reluctancy, because I was to follow the Footsteps of so eminent a Person as Dr. *Wren*, who was the first that attempted any Thing of this Nature; whose original Draughts do now make one of the Ornaments of that great Collection of Rarities in the *King’s Closet*. This Honour which his first Beginnings of this Kind have received, to be admitted into the most famous Place of the World, did not so much incourage, as the Hazard of coming after Dr. *Wren* did affright me; for of him I must affirm, that since the Time of *Archimedes*, there scarce ever met in one Man, in so great a Perfection, such a mechanical Hand, and so philosophical a Mind.

Dr. *Sprat’s*
Hist. of the
Royal Society.

“He has made Maps of the *Pleiades*, and other *Telescopical Stars*; and proposed Methods to determine the great Doubt of the Earth’s Motion or Rest, by the small Stars about the Pole to be seen in large *Telescopes*.

“In order to *Navigation*, he has carefully pursu’d many *magnetical Experiments*; of which this is one of the noblest and most fruitful of *Speculation*. A large * *Terella*, or *orbicular Loadstone* about four Inches and

* *In the Museum of the
Royal Society.*
Dr. Grew,
p. 364.

“a half in Diameter, is placed in the Midst of a plain Board, with a Hole, into which the *Terella* is half immers’d, till it be like a *Globe*, with the *Poles* in the *Horizon*; together with 32 *Needles* upon the Margin of the Table, by which the different Respect of the *Needle* to the several *Points* of the *Terella* may be observ’d. Then is the Plane dusted over with *Steel*-Filings equally from a *Sieve*: The Dust by the *magnetical* Virtue is immediately figur’d into *Furrows*, that bend like a Sort of *Helix*, proceeding as it were out of one *Pole*, and returning into the other; And the whole Plane is thus figur’d like the *Circles* of a *Planisphere*.

“It being a Question among the Problems of *Navigation*, very well worth resolving, to what mechanical Powers the sailing (against the Wind especially) was reducible; he shewed it to be a *Wedge*; and he demonstrated how a *transient Force* upon an *oblique Plane*, would cause the Motion of the *Plane* against the first *Mover*; and he made an † *Instrument* that mechanically produced the same Effect, and shewed the Reason of failing to all Winds.

† *In the Museum of the
Royal Society.*
Dr. Grew,
p. 364.

“The *Geometrical Mechanicks* of *Rowing* he shewed to be a *Vellis* on a moving or cedent *Fulcrum*. For this End he made *Instruments* to find what the Expansion of Body was towards the Hindrance of Motion in a liquid *Medium*; and what Degree of Impediment was produced, by what Degree of Expansion: with other Things that are the necessary Elements
“for

"for laying down the Geometry of *Sailing, Swimming, Rowing, Flying,*
 "and the *Fabricks of Ships.*

"He has invented a very curious and exceeding speedy Way of *Etching.*

"He contriv'd a peculiar * *Instrument* to draw *Perspective* with. He has start-^{In the Ma-}

"ed several Things towards the Emendation of *Water-Works.* He has made^{seum of the R.}

"*Instruments of Respiration*; and for straining the Breath from fuliginous^{S. Dr. Grew,}

"Vapours, to try whether the same Breath, so purify'd, will serve again.

A Description of the *Vessel* for cooling, and *percolating* the *Air* at once, he produc'd to the *Society*, and left in Mr. *Boyle's* Hands; by which it appear'd, that something else in *Air* is requisite for *Life*, than that it should be cool only, and free from the fuliginous Vapours and Moisture it was infected with, in *Expiration*; for, all those were deposited in its Circulation through the *Instrument*, upon a Suggestion that *nitrous* Fumes might be found requisite, he contriv'd Ways to supply that too, by placing some benign *chymical* Spirits, that by fuming might infect the *Air* within the *Vessel.*

"He was the first *Inventor* of drawing Pictures by *microscopical Glasses.*

"He has found out perpetual, at least long liv'd Lamps, and Registers of

"Furnaces, and the like, for keeping a perpetual Temper, in order to various

"Uses; as hatching of Eggs, Insects, Production of Plants, chymical

"Preparations, imitating Nature, in producing Fossils and Minerals,

"keeping the Motion of Watches equal, in order to *Longitudes* and *astronomical*

"Uses, and infinite other Advantages.

He made it no small Part of his Business to have a Fire frequently going in the Laboratory for choicer Experiments in *Chymistry*, well knowing that many Parts of Philosophy are not to be pierc'd far into, without this Help; and little to be done in the Business of Trades without it. Mechanical Philosophy only teaches us what probably may be done in Nature, by the Motion and Figures of the little Particles of Things, but *Chymistry* helps to determine what is actually done by the Motions of those invisible Parts of Liquors, Spirits and Fumes; and oftentimes gives Light enough to contradict mechanical Hypotheses that otherwise seem well grounded. Thus in the Body of a Man, if we consider it only mechanically, we may indeed learn the Fabrick and Action of the organical Parts, but without Chymistry, we shall be at a Loss to know, what Blood, Spirits and Humours are; from the due Temper of which, (as of the Spring in the Barrel Wheel) the Motions of all the Part depend. With divers new and useful Experiments in this *Art*, he had frequent Opportunities of entertaining his Royal Highness *Prince Rupert*, and his Majesty *King Charles the Second*, who were both illustrious *Spagyrist*s and *Operators*. The *Prince*, as a distinguishing Mark of his Esteem, was pleased to enroll him in a List of such special Friends, to whom he Yearly sent a Present of Wine, from his Appenage on the *Rhine.*

"The noted Chymist and Rosicrucian *Peter Sthael*, of *Strasburgh*, in *Life of Ant. a*

"*Royal-Prussia*, was brought to *Oxford* by the honourable Mr. *Robert Boyle*,^{Wood, p. 559.}

"An. 1659. Among the chiefest of his Scholars were Dr. *John Wallis*,^{Oxon. 1730.}

"Mr. *Christopher Wren*, afterwards a Knight, and an eminent Virtuoso, with

"others of great Names in Physick and Learning.

He found out several new geometrical Bodies, that arise by the Applica-^{Dr. Plot's nat.}

tion of two *Cylinders*, and one *lenticular Body* fit for grinding one another;^{Hist. of Ox-}

by whose mutual *Attrition*, will necessarily be produc'd a *conoides hyperboli-*^{fordshire, p.}

cum, and two *cylindroides hyperbolicæ*. The Engine whereby this may be^{287.}

done being represented in *Sculpture* in our *Philosophical Transactions*, and de-^{Philosophical}

sign'd for grinding hyperbolic Glasses.^{Transactions,}

He first observ'd, that a *plain straight edg'd Chisel*, set any way obliquely to a *Cylinder* of Wood, did necessarily turn it into a *cylindroides hyperbolicum convexo concavum*; the several Sections whereof are accurately demonstrated by Dr. Wallis. [Wallisii *mechanica, sive de motu. pars 2. de calculo centri gravitatis cap. 5. prop. 32.*]

*Philosophical
Transactions,
No. 98. p.
6146.*

In the Year 1658, he first found out a *straight Line* equal to a *cycloid*, and the Parts thereof. As is clearly made appear in his Behalf by the Right Honourable and learned the Lord Viscount *Brounker*, Chancellor to her Majesty, and President of the *Royal Society*; and the Reverend and learned Dr. *John Wallis*.

He was the first Inventor of the Art of Graving in *Mezzo-tinto*; which was after prosecuted and improv'd by his Royal Highness *Prince Rupert*, in a Method somewhat different, upon the Suggestion (as is said) of the learned and ingenious *John Evelyn*, Esq; Of this Art some original Essays are extant: viz. the Head of a *Moor*, &c. by the Inventor: The Executioner of St. *John Baptist* by the *Prince*; on the Sword is the Mark, R. P. f. (i. e. *Rupertus Princeps fecit.*) over it, an *Electoral Coronet*:

*Extract from Dr. Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire,
Page 269. Chap. IX. of Arts, Sect. 140.*

THE erect southern declining *Dial*, over *All-Souls-College Chapel*, is a neat Piece of Work, so curiously contrived by Sir *Christopher Wren*; that tho' it stands high, yet by the Help of two *half Rays*, and one *whole one* for every Hour, one may see to a Minute what it is a *Clock*, the *Minutes* being depicted on the Sides of the *Rays*, viz. Fifteen on each Side, and divided into *fives* by a different *Character* from the rest.

He invented the Art of *Double Writing*, that is, of making two several Pens upon two several Papers to write one and the same Ducture of Letters, with as near as possible the same Beauty and Facility that is found in common Writing, by an Instrument call'd the *Diplographical Instrument*.

Ad Regem, feliciter Reducem.

*Apply'd to K.
Charles II. af-
ter his Resto-
ration.*

*Diffluit en gemino quam prodiga sepia ductu,
Ut cadat in titulos, Carole magne, tuos.
Marte, ac consilio nam te his scribere magnum,
Unica si nequeat dextera, dupla valet.*

Uses of the Diplographical Instrument.

First, THAT by the Help of this Instrument only, every ordinary Penman may at all Times be suddenly fitted to write two several Copies of any Deeds and Evidences, from the shortest to the largest Length of Lines, in the very same Compass of Time, and with as much Ease and Beauty, without any dividing or ruling, as without the Help of the Instrument, he could have dispatch'd but one.

Secondly, That by this diminishing the tedious Labour of Transcriptions of the greater Sorts of Deeds, Indentures, Conveyances, Charters, and all other Duplicates, the Works of the Pen, (which in so many several Kinds, and several Offices are yearly numberless) are not only shorten'd, but the Penmen themselves both reliev'd, and recompens'd by an honest Gain, with half the wonted Toil.

Third,

Thirdly, There will be in both Copies thus drawn, such an exact Likeness in the same Number, and Order of Lines, and even of Words, Letters and Stops, in all Places of both Copies; that being once sever'd, there shall hardly be discern'd any Difference between them, except such as is merely casual, as Spots or Marks in the Parchment.

Fourthly, This Instrument will undoubtedly prevent the mischievous Craft of Corruption, Forgery and Counterfeiting of Hands and Seals, or if any such foul Practice be attempted, will effectually and manifestly discover it; for what will it avail to counterfeit a Seal, or the Hand that signs, unless a Duplicate could be made in every Line, Letter and Dot, like the twin Copy? Which without the Help of the same Instrument is impossible: so expedient might it be to all Intents and Uses of *the State*, in Matters of the greatest Consequence, that publick Acts be written by this Instrument, for Testimony and Assurance to all Times.

Three Years after he had brought this Invention to Maturity, it seems, other Persons at *London*, publickly pretended to be the Authors; which oblig'd him to assert his Right to it, in a Letter to a certain Friend, who, among others, had been a Judge of the first Experiment. *

* Probably to
Dr. John Wil-
kins.

S I R,

THE Account you give me in your last Letter, that a Double-Writing Instrument hath of late been at *London*, pretended to by several, as a Production of their own, and so divulged to divers, hath given me Occasion of putting into your Hands (what certainly I have more Right to dispose of, than any late Pretender) that Double-Writing-Instrument, of the Effect of which, about three Years ago, yourself Sir, as I remember, among other the *Ingeniost* weré Judges, at the same Time when accidentally it was commanded to the View of the then great, now greatest † Person in the Nation. I confess my Thoughts were then to suffer it to be made publick, and Friends spur'd me to it, apprehending it not as a meer Curiosity, but of excellent and very general Use. Moreover, to copy out in every Punctilio the exact Resemblance, or rather the very Identity of the two Copies, as if one should fancy such a Piece of Magick as should make the same Thing really two; or with drunken Eyes should see the same Thing double, is what might be thought almost impossible for the Hand of Man. But Business drew me suddenly from *London*, and from the Opportunity of publishing it; content that I had at least communicated it to the ingenious Few, I willingly left it: And indeed the Thing always appearing to me but of obvious (tho' useful) Invention, I was easily drawn off to neglect it all this while, by the intervening of Studies and Designs that I much more esteem'd; amongst which this took up so little a Place, that I am beholding to the Person who, by vindicating it to be his own, has put me again in Mind of it. I accuse none of Plagiarism, because having shewn it to few, I think it would be more Trouble to any knowing Person, to enquire it out of others, than to invent it anew; and therefore had it been thought on by any other, about that Time I shew'd it, I should have readily imagin'd, (because of the Obviousness of the Experiment) that it might as easily have had a double Father, as have produc'd a twin Copy: but I am apt to believe from good Information, that those who now boast of it, had it from one, who having fully seen the Author's, and examin'd it carefully (as it is easy to carry away, being of no complicate Composure) describ'd it justly to his Friend, and assisted him in the making of it; and the very glorying

† Oliver
Cromwell.

in

in a Thing of so facile Composure sufficiently discovers a Narrowness of Spirit in Things of Invention, and is therefore almost Argument enough, that he was not justly so much as a second Inventor; nor hath the Author reason to take it for an Injury, that one reported a deserving Person in other Abilities, would please to own a cast-off Toy of his, but rather owes him a Civility out of Gratitude for fathering it, and saving him that Labour of Education he intended, which will now be needless, the dispersing of divers Instruments among the Merchants, with Directions for the Use. But it may be, there are divers who knowing such a Thing to have been talked of some Years ago, as coming from another Hand, will be easily ready to turn all this with Advantage upon myself: indeed tho' I care not for having a Successor in Invention, yet it behoves me to vindicate myself from the Aspersions of having a Predecessor.

This Draught of a Letter bears no Date, yet, by the Contents, the Time may be nearly computed; it appears, the first Device and Experiment was made three Years before the *Protectorate*, scil. 1650. The Time of his justifying his Right, and appealing to his Judges was in 1653. When the *great Man* abovemention'd was invest'd with the Office of *Protector*, and so became the *greatest Person* in the Nation.

It is difficult to reconcile this Account with what is recorded of Sir *William Petty*, "That he in 1647, had a Patent granted him by the Parliament "for seventeen Years, to teach his Art of *Double Writing*." [*Rushworth's Hist. Coll. Part IV.*] [*Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors*, p. 218.]—It is evident, that in the *Years* before recited, he had no Intelligence of *Petty's Art and Patent*.

It is a common Saying; "*Good Wits jump*."

He contriv'd a *Needle* that would play in a *Coach*, as well useful to know the Coast and Way join'd with the *Waywiser*, as a pleasant Diversion to the Traveller, who might thus, as it were sail by Land. The *Machine* is fram'd after this Manner. In a Sphere of Glafs of two Inches Diameter, half full of Water, cause a heavy short broad Needle fix'd to a Chart to swim, being buoy'd up by the Chart, and both varnish'd; instead of a Cap and Pin, let the perforated Needle play about a small Wire, or Horse-Hair extended like a perpendicular Axis in the glafs Sphere, whose Nadir being made weighty with Lead, and an Horizon, as it were, cemented to it; let it play in Circles like the Compass; then let an hemispherical Concave, containing the Sphere in its Circles, be hung upon Springs after this Manner. Suppose a Basis upon which are erected perpendicularly three stiff Brass Springs, from the Ends of which Springs are Strings strain'd, forming an equilateral Triangle, the Middle of whose Sides pass through three small Loops on the Brim of the Concave, which therefore hanging on the Strings, represent a Circle inscrib'd in a Triangle: from the Middle of the Basis arises a Worm-Spring, fasten'd by a String to the Nadir of the Concave, drawing it down a little, and acting against the other three Springs. These Springs will take off at once much of both the downright and collateral Concussions; the Circles will take off Oscillations, the Agitations remaining will be spent in the Water, and still'd by the Chart; for thus we see a Trencher swimming in a Bucket keeps the Water from spilling in the Carriage; and the *Chinese* have their Compass swimming in Water, instead of Circles. Lastly, all the Bottom of the Basis is to be bristled round like a Brush, somewhat inclining, which will ease it like a hundred Springs: It should be placed in the Middle of the Floor of the Coach, where by opening a Window may be seen likewise the *Waywiser* on the *Pearch*.

The

The *Way-Wiser* for a Coach, contriv'd by Sir *Christopher Wren*, and given ^{Dr. Grew's} by Bishop *Wilkins* to the *Royal Society*, is very manageable. It hath five ^{Museum of the} *Indexes* pointing to so many different Measures, *sc.* *Perches*, *Furlongs*, *Miles*, ^{Royal Society,} *p. 260.* *Tens of Miles*, and *Hundreds of Miles*; and turn'd about with as many *Wheels*. Made to work in a *Coach*, thus; in the Middle of the *Axletree* is cut a little *Box* to receive the *Wiser*: from whence the *Axletree* is made hollow to the End. In this Hollow lies a *Rod*, loose from the *Axletree*, and fasten'd at one End to the *Nave* of the *Wheel*, and so turns round with it. And with a *Worm* it hath at the other End, at the same Time, it turns the *Perch* of the *Wheel-wiser*, and that all the rest. Yet by this Measure, one *Yard* will sometimes be lost in a hundred *Yards*.

He contriv'd a *Box-hive*, given to the *Royal Society* by Sir *Robert Moray*: ^{In the Museum} the Description whereof was first publish'd by Mr. *Hartlib* in the Year 1652. ^{of the Royal} Since then by Mr. *Moses Rusden*: design'd to keep them warmer, and more ^{Society, Dr.} *Grew*, *p. 371.* safe; but especially to prevent their swarming, and the better to propagate them into Colonies.

He exhibited great Variety of *sciographical*, *scenographical*, *dioptrical* and *catoptrical* Experiments, which when executed with good *Painting*, and *geometrical* Truth in the *Profile*, would deceive the Eye with surprizing Effects; ^{In the Museum} such, for Instance, was the *catoptrick Paint*, given to the *Royal Society* by ^{of the Royal} Bishop *Wilkins*, on one Side the *Paint* appears as if it were altogether rude and irregular, so as nothing can be made of it, but a *metalline Cylinder* being plac'd perpendicular upon a certain Point of the Table, the *Rays* are in such fort incident thereon, and thence reflected to the Eye, as to represent a Variety of curious Works in Landkip and Figures, &c.

Extract from the Collection of Philosophical Experiments of Dr.

Hook, and others, publish'd by the Rev. Mr. DERHAM, London,

1726. p. 1.

Of the Invention of the Barometer, in the Year 1659.

IN one of Dr. *Hooke's* Papers I * find this Remark, viz. the Instru-^{* Mr. Der-}ment for finding the different Pressure of the Air upon the Parts of the ^{ham.} Earth subjacent, was first observ'd by the honourable Mr. *Boyle*, who upon the Suggestion of Sir *Christopher Wren*, erecting a Tube of Glass so fill'd with Mercury, as is now usually done in the common Barometers, in order to find out, whether the Pressure of the Moon, according to the *Cartesian Hypothesis* did affect the Air; instead of finding the Fluctuation which might cause the Phenomena of the Tides, discover'd the Variation of its Pressure to proceed from different Causes, and at different Times, from what that *Hypothesis* would have predicted. That Property of the Air (for ought appears) was never discover'd till that Time, &c.

To this I shall add another Remark. I find in the Minutes of the *Royal Society*, Feb. 20, 1678-9. Upon a Discourse of some Experiments to be made with the Barometer on the Monument, it was queried, how this Experiment of the different Pressure of the Atmosphere came at first to be thought of? And it was related, that it was first propounded by Sir *Christopher Wren*, in order to examine *Monsieur Des Cartes's* Hypothesis, whether the passing by of the Body of the Moon did press upon the Air, and consequently also upon the Body of the Water: and that the first Trial thereof was made at Mr. *Boyle's* Chamber in *Oxford*.

The Time when these Observations were made was about the Year 1658 or 9. At which Time, Mr. *Boyle* having a Barometer fix'd up for the observing the Moon's Influence upon the Waters, happen'd to discover the Use of it

in relation to the Weather, and to assure himself, that it was the Gravitation of the Atmosphere which kept up the Quicksilver to such a Height as the Learned abroad, particularly *Torricelli*, had suspected before.

But although this Use of the Baroscope is owing to Sir *Christopher Wren* and Mr. *Boyle*; yet, to do every Man Justice, I shall give the History of this excellent Instrument, from the Extracts of a very ingenious Friend.

The first Inventor of it was *Torricelli* at *Florence*, in 1643. From whence Father *Mersenne* brought it into *France* the Year following, 1644. And Monsieur *Pascal* being inform'd of it by Monsieur *Petit* the Engineer, they both tried it in 1646, at *Rouen*, with the same Success as it had been tried in *Italy*. Some Time after which, an Experiment was made with a Tube of forty-six Foot, fill'd with Water, and also with Wine; which Experiment *Monf. Pascal* gave an Account of, in a Piece printed in 1647, in which Year he was inform'd of *Torricelli's* Solution of the Phenomenon of the Weight of the Air; and devis'd for the examining of it, the famous Experiment with two Tubes, one within the other; which he mentions in a Letter written in *November*, 1647, and lastly in 1648. The same *Monf. Pascal* made his Experiments on the Tops and Bottoms of Hills, Buildings, &c. Which last Experiments *Monf. Des Cartes* laid Claim to; affirming that he desir'd *Monf. Pascal* to make them two Years before, and predicted their Success, contrary to *Monf. Pascal's* Sentiments.

Monf. Azout also laid the same Claim, but it is most probable that *Monf. Pascal* had the best Title.

After the *Torricellian* Experiment had been much celebrated in divers Places, at last *Otto de Guericke* Consul of *Magdeburgh*, was inform'd of it by Father *Valerian* at *Ratisbone*, who claim'd it as his own Invention; but this was not till the Year 1654. After which *Guericke's* Experiment, (call'd the *Magdeburgh* Experiment) was much talk'd of.

From this short History of the *Barometer*, not only the Inventor and Improvers of it appear, but in some Measure also the excellent Uses of it: particularly the Gravitation of the incumbent Atmosphere, (one of the noblest philosophical Discoveries) the Changes of the Weather, &c.

W. DERHAM.

Extract from the Life of Dr. Hook, publish'd, by Mr. WALLER,
Lond. 1705. P. 7.

IN the Year 1655 or 6, were many curious Experiments, Observations, and Inquiries made at *Oxford*, and Instruments for those Purposes contriv'd, as particularly the *Barometer*, of which he [Mr. *Hook*] says the first Occasion of the Invention was a Suggestion of Sir *Christopher Wren*, in order to find whether the Hypothesis of *Monf. Des Cartes*, by giving the Reason of the Tides from the Pressure of the Moon upon the AIR in its Passage by the Meridian, were true or not. At this Time I † have heard Mr. *Hook* say, it was first observ'd, that the Height of the Mercury in the *Barometer* did not conform itself to the Moon's Motion, but to that of the different Gravitation of the Air, as has been since sufficiently verified. Yet

† Mr. Waller.

* *Traitez de l'Equilibre des liqueurs, &c.* a * *French* Treatise printed at *Paris*, 1664. Several Years after this Observation at *Oxford*, the Discovery of the Gravitation of the Air is attributed to *Monf. Pascal*, deduced from several Experiments, made about the Year 1650, at *Clermont* in *Auvergne* by *Monf. Perier*; at *Paris* by others: and at *Stockholm* by Messieurs *Des Cartes* and *Chanute*; which if it be true, as is there related, and the Inferences from that Experiment, such as are in the same

fame Tract mention'd, 'tis strange they should not have been apply'd to the Use of so beneficial an Instrument sooner, which I do not find they were, till after this Observation at Oxford.

Mr. Hook supposes that *Reita* was the first that made Use of convex Eye Glasses, taking in a larger Area than the concave ones used before, and that he invented the *Rete* or *Mensurator*, placed in the common Focus of the Glasses; which Sir Christopher Wren perfected; and invented the angular Instrument consisting of two Telescopes join'd at a moveable Joint, so as to take Angles by two Observers, to a Quadrant.

The third Thing Monf. Cassini [in his *Original and Progress of Astronomy*] unjustly lays Claim to, in the Behalf of the Royal Academy of Paris, is the finding a Standard for an universal Measure by the Length of a Pendulum vibrating a certain Time. This was first invented and tried by Sir Christopher Wren, some Years before the Beginning of the Society.

The fourth Thing Monf. Cassini instances in, as of Right to be ascrib'd to the Royal Academy of Paris, is the Improvement of Telescopes both for Length and Goodness; which was first performed here, by Sir Paul Neile, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr. Goddard, who instructed and employed Mr. Rieves in the manual Operation; and by that Means it was carried to the Perfection of making Object-Glasses of sixty and seventy Foot long, very good, before any Mention was made of such being made in France. Some such Attempts indeed, had been made in Italy by Divini, and Campani; but upon the comparing one of the best of them, brought hither by Monf. Monconys, I found that a Telescope I had then by me of Mr. Rieves's making, of the same Length with the Italian, was full as good, if not better; which Mr. Monconys acknowledged.

In Cœlestial Observations we have far exceeded all the Antients, even the Chaldeans, and Egyptians themselves; whose vast Plains, high Towers, clear Air, did not give them so great Advantages over us, as we have over them by our Glasses. By the Help of which, they have been much out-done by the famous Galileo, Hevelius, Zulichem, and our own Countrymen, Mr. Rook, and Dr. Wren, &c.

APPENDIX to PART I.

SECT. I.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hook, May 4, 1665, in Reference to the Comet, Anno 1664; and Dr. Wren's Hypothesis of Comets laid before the Royal Society.

NUMB. I.

To Dr. WREN at Oxford.

SIR,

I Hope you received the Globe and Observations which I sent you; you had had them much sooner, but in Truth I could not get the Copy of your Hypothesis, though the *Amanuensis* was ordered by the Society to have had it ready above a Week before. Those Observations of my own making, I have not yet had Time to adjust so well as I desired; for the Sun came upon

upon me before I was aware, and so I must stay till the Constellation of γ appear in the Morning, before I can be able to rectify the Places of the Telescopic Stars, by which I observed the *Comet* to pass; which I hope I may do about a Fortnight hence; about which Time also I expect to see both the *old* or *first Comet* with a Telescope; and the *second* or *last Comet* with my Eye: for, if the Motion of them be regular, as I see not the least Cause to doubt, I hope to be able to design their Places among the fixed Stars, without erring much more than I am able to see at once with a Telescope; and therefore I hope it will be no difficult Matter to find either of them, unless the *first* may be gone so far as to disappear by reason of Distance, which is indeed the greatest Part of my Fear: for, if it continue to move those Ways I have imagined it, whether we take the Supposition of the Motion of the Earth, and imagine the *Comet* to be moved in a Circle, one Side of which touches, or rather goes within the Orb of the Earth on one Side, and without the Orb of *Saturn*, or at least that of *Jupiter* on the other, whose Plane is inclined to that of the Ecliptick about 20 Deg. or whether we suppose the Earth to stand still, and the *Comet* to be moved in a great Circle whose convex Side is turned towards the Earth (which supposing no certain Parallax has been observed, may be supposed of any Bigness, keeping only the same Proportion between the nearest Distance of it from the Earth and the Radius or Diameter of that Circle) it must appear again very near the same Place about a Fortnight hence. And I am apt to think the Body of the *Comet* is of a Constitution that will last much longer than either a Month or a Year, nay than an Age; and if I can be so lucky to meet with it again, I hope to trace it to its second appearing. — But I weary you with my Conjectures; and I doubt not but that before this, you have perfected the *Theory of Comets*, so as to be able to predict much more certainly what we are to expect of these *Comets* for the future; whereof if at your Leisure you will please to afford me a Word or two, you will much oblige me, &c.

Posthumous
Works of Dr.
Hook, p. 104.
and 5.

In one of Mr. *Hook's* Discourses of *Comets*, containing a brief Explication of several Opinions of the Antients, and some of the Moderns, of the Nature of *Comets*; he takes Notice of a late Information from *France* of a Person, *D. Anthelm*, a *Carthusian* of *Dijon*, pretending to have a true Theory of *Comets*, and to be able to predict them; which, says he, I think, may be much more exactly done, than what *Anthelm* has, by the Way I have published in my *Cometa*, which was invented by Sir *Christopher Wren*; by which, from any four Observations truly made, one may certainly find the Line, Distance, Motion, Inclination to the Ecliptick, its Place among the fixed Stars, the Length of its Tail, Brightness, &c. so long as it shall appear to the naked Eye; for so long that Theory will hold pretty near, &c.

All the considerable Astronomers who have written of *Comets*, since *Galileo*, do conclude them not to be sublunary, but far removed above the Moon, and æthereal. Such were almost all those who writ of that great and very bright *Comet*, which appeared to the World in the Year 1618, and such are those who have writ of *Comets*, that have appeared since; and more particularly of those two great ones, which appeared in the End of 1664, and in the Beginning of the Year 1665, many of which are comprised in the *Theatrum Cometicum*, printed in 1667.

N U M B. II.

*To the ROYAL SOCIETY.**Mr. PRESIDENT,*

WE begin a new Year; and therefore may pause a little, and look back on what we have done, and consider what we may do. 'Tis a great Encouragement to us, that by the Influence of his sacred Majesty, the Prudence and Diligence of yourself, the ingenious Performances of the Society, we have hitherto kept up our Meetings full, and in good Repute at home and abroad, and not without sufficient Appearance of doing something considerable; so that we need not now fear lest the World from all our Experiments, should make this one Experiment, that there is little Use of these Enquiries: and I make no question, but the Design of so many excellent Persons meeting in this Society, (besides the present Satisfaction that accrues from the Converse and Communication of every one's Thoughts in the Disquisition of Nature) carries along with it, principally a Zeal of approving themselves Benefactors to Mankind, and of perfecting something, for which Posterity may be really obliged to us.

Of effecting this; there seems three Ways: By advancing, 1. Knowledge. 2. Profit. 3. Health; and Conveniencies of Life.

For the first of these, the Improvement of Theories, we need be least solicitous; it is a Work will insensibly grow upon us, if we be always doing something in Experiment; and every one is more prone to exercise Fancy in building paper Theories, than patient to first pile the unsure Foundation and hew solid Materials out of the History of Nature. This is rather our Task, and in many Things we must be content to plant Crab-stocks for Posterity to graft on.

The second, I make no question, will be excellently effected by two Things now in Hand; the carrying on the History of Trades, and the Improvement of the Art of Navigation; which being now committed to an excellent Hand; cannot but produce something very extraordinary. Besides, there can hardly be any Thing propos'd worth our Consideration, that will not itself, or some Corollary from it, be reduceable to this Head.

For the third, the Health of Mankind, the restoring Part is properly the Work already of one whole Faculty, in which no Age or Nation affords more learned and inquisitive Men than this of ours. Yet I wish we might incorporate with them so far, as to have a Fire going in the Laboratory for choicer Experiments in Chymistry, especially since many Parts of Philosophy are not to be pierced far into, without this Help; and little is to be done in the Business of Trades without it. Mechanical Philosophy only teaches us what probably may be done in Nature by the Motion and Figures of the little Particles of Things, but Chymistry helps to determine what is actually done by the Motions of those invisible Parts of Liquors, Spirits, and Fumes; and oftentimes gives Light enough to contradict mechanical Hypotheses, that otherwise seem well grounded. Thus in the Body of a Man, if we consider it only mechanically, we may indeed learn the Fabrick and Action of the organical Parts, but without Chymistry, we shall be at a Loss to know, what Blood, Spirits and Humours are, from the due Temper of which (as of the Spring in the Barrel Wheel) the Motions of all the Parts depend.

To carry on both together, I could wish we were frequent in Dissections of Animals, of any Sort whatsoever, and that Figures be drawn, where Nature appears anomalous, as she is most in Fishes and Insects; especially in the Parts that serve for Concoction. And with this we may take in the Experiments about Generation: The Spring should not be lost, for observing the Progress of hatching Eggs; and likewise the springing of Grain and Seeds; which in a ruder Proportion gives some Light to the Generation of Animals. Tame Rabbits may be kept purposely for Dissection, as well because they are frequently pregnant, as because of late, some Observations have been made from them, which seem to thwart those of Dr. *Harvey*, how truly, will be worth our Enquiry.

Besides these, there is another Part of Physiology, which concerns us as near as the Breath of our Nostrils, and I know not any Thing wherein we may more oblige Posterity, than that which I would now propose. It is not the Work of any one Person, and therefore fit for a Society, nor of a little Time, though of little Trouble, and therefore fit to be propos'd now at the Beginning of the Year, and to be carried on with other Things. The History of Seasons is this excellent Work I would recommend to you, desir'd by all modern Philosophers, though no Body hath had yet the Patience to pursue it.

It consists of two Parts; 1. A meteorological History. 2. A History of Things depending upon Alteration of the Air and Seasons.

The meteorological Parts will be completed by five Histories.

1. A punctual Diary of the Motion of the Air, the Winds; wherein should be noted, not only the Rumb but Force of the Wind, as the Seamen have these Distinctions, if I mistake not; from a Calm they begin with a soft Wind; a fresh Wind; a stiff Gale; a Storm; and sometimes a Hurricane. These may be noted down by a Cypher, and 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. And the Rumb by Letters.

2. A punctual Diary of the Qualities of the Air, as to Heat and Cold observ'd by a Thermometer; and likewise of the Moisture of the Air observ'd by some other Instrument.

3. The Refractions should be observ'd, and the Rising of dry Vapours by the Telescope, and the Tremulation of the Air.

4. A Diary of the State of the Air, as fair, cloudy, Rain, &c.

5. A Register of other accidental Meteors, as figur'd Snows, Parelii, Coronæ, unusual Colours and Shapes of Clouds, call'd Fights in the Air. Fiery Meteors in the Night, falling Stars, (in which I could give Direction for finding, if any Thing falls from them in their Extinction.)

Auroræ boreales.

The second Part will be compris'd in,—

1. The History of the Growth of those annual Things of Food, as Fruits and Grain. The Causes of Dearth and Plenty and Diseases. Especially the Annals of the Plough should be kept. How the Weather retarded or accelerated Seed Time, springing, flowering, coming, ripening and Harvest; with the Diseases and Enemies of that Year: as whether blighted, mildew'd, smutted, choked with this or that Weed, eaten with Rook-worms, or infected with a little blue Mite, covering the Ear while green, a Calamity which I have observ'd, but wants a Name.—Lastly, the Plenty, Scarcity, and Price of Corn. We are enough to learn this in every County of *England*, by enquiring or corresponding with those that are a little more curious in Country Affairs.

2. The

2. The State of Grass and Hay, and consequently of Cattle; the Plenty, Dearth, Diseases and Murraings of them.

3. Wines, which though foreign, bear a great Share in our Diet, and therefore a Note should be given of them; of their Goodness or Vices that Year. So for Coffee, Tobacco, and such like of general Use.

4. The Seasons of Fish and Fowl are retarded or accelerated by Weather: foreign Fowl are observ'd to come in great Multitudes, near the Time of their Departure, to some Coasts of *England*, and there to stay for a Wind, which when it happens for their Turn, in few Hours there is not one to be seen in the whole Country. The Seasons of Fish depend much upon the Seasons of the Water-flies and Insects their Food; in two Rivers parted by the same Meadow, I have known the Difference of ten Days or more. The Seasons of Insects, are of themselves very considerable. The Multitudes or Paucity of venomous Creatures, and of many other the like Things are very well worth registering; and all other Things found to be either Consequences, Signs, or Prefages of Weather and Seasons.

5. Above all, the Physicians of our Society should be desir'd to give us a good Account of the epidemical Diseases of the Year; Histories of any new Disease that shall happen; Changes of the old; Difference of Operations in Medicine according to the Weather and Seasons, both inwardly, and in Wounds: and to this should be added, a due Consideration of the weekly and annual Bills of Mortality in *London*.

Thus instead of the Vanity of prognosticating, I could wish we would have the Patience for some Years, of registering past Times, which is the certain Way of learning to prognosticate;—Experiment and Reason is the only Way of prophesying natural Events. And I shall not therefore need to press the Utility of this Design, since I am confident there is none here, but apprehends what excellent Speculations, what a Multitude of new ingenious Consequences will hence arise conducive to Profit, Health, Convenience, Pleasure, and Prolongation of Life. And I dare be confident, that no one Part in the whole Extent of Philosophy will afford us more delightful or more useful Speculations, or render us more considerable to all Posterity.

The only Thing I fear is, lest we should want Patience, and flag in the Design, since in few Years at the Beginning, it will hardly come to any visible Maturity. But as it is a long Work, so it is of no Difficulty, nor will take up more Time, than once a Year to have an Audit, wherein every one shall bring in his Account of that Part which, in this History was enjoin'd him.

The greatest Difficulty will be in keeping the Diary of the Winds and Air, because it seems to require constant Attendance; but this at first may be delegated to four or five Men, who near their Abodes have Weather-Cocks in view, and have diligently taken the Position of their Houses; these may sometimes compare Notes, what have escap'd the Observations of one will be taken by another. So likewise for the Thermometer.

Some Help may be given for the exacter Observance of the Wind, as thus: A Point being taken in a convenient Part of a Window, where a square Vane of a Weather-Cock appears, the nearer and higher above the Eye, the better; an Ellipsis may be drawn on the Glass, and the Rumbs within the Ellipsis so, that it may be a Projection upon the Plane of the Window, of an imaginary Card, placed horizontally upon the Steeple whose Center is the Axis of the Vane; therefore observing only with one Glance, how the Edge of the Vane lies amongst these Lines of the Window, you have the Wind exactly given you.

This

This Way hath been put in Execution with very good Effect, and some other useful Additions at *Oxford*.

But because it is convenient, that the Changes of Winds in the Night too, should not pass unobserved; such a Vane as is at *Whitehall*, shewing by an Index within a Room, may be very necessary for this Purpose.

But this is not yet enough, for many Changes may happen while the Observer is absent or asleep. I might seem to promise too much, should I say, an Engine may be fram'd, which if you visit your Chamber but one half Hour in the Day, shall tell you how many Changes of Wind have been in your Absence, though there were Twenty, and at what Hour every Change happen'd, and whether it were soft, stiff, or vehement. Neither shall the Instrument be subject to be out of Tune, or if it be, your own Hand may rectify it.

Neither shall the Thermometer need a constant Observance, for after the same Method may that be made to be its own Register. Some Errors likewise there are in the Use of the Thermometer, which should therefore be used with some Cautions.

For the pretended Ways of discovering the two other Qualities of Drought and Moisture in the Air, they are all uncertain that I ever heard of. Tryals have been made of Lute-strings, which by their various Tensure move an Index, but these Strings alter in their Parts, and in the same Temper of Air will not return to the same Degrees. The Beards of Oats are more uncertain.

It is indeed an Error to think there are any Degrees of Siccity, since all Siccity is but less or no Humidity: And therefore the Degrees of Humidity being nothing else but the Quantity of moist Vapour in the Air, it is best done by collecting the very Moisture of the Air after a peculiar Manner, which I shall be ready to produce.

Many other Things I might suggest of this Nature, which if the Design be once begun, I shall most willingly submit, upon Occasion, to the Judgment of the Society.

Extract from Dr. GREW's Musæum Regalis Societatis. P. 284.

CHRYS^TAL, at least some Sorts of it, is the softest, saith *Boethius*, of all Gems. He should have said of all perspicuous *Gems*: For the *Turcois* is much softer. The most usual Figure of *Chrysal*, is *sexangular*: Yet *Terzagi* mentions a Rock of square-pointed *Ones*. But it is observable, That he saith, the Bed on which they grew, seem'd to be *Gold-Ore*: If so, it might proceed from some governing Principle in the *Ore*. For I have heard it noted, as I remember, by Sir *Christopher Wren*, that *Grain-Gold* is often found naturally figur'd into *Cubes*.

Extract of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Brouncker.
[preparative to his Majesty's Entertainment at the *Royal Society*,
Oxon 1661.]

My Lord,

THE Act and Noise at *Oxford* being over, I retir'd to myself as speedily as I could, to obey your Lordship, and contribute something to the Collection of Experiments design'd by the *Society*, for his Majesty's Reception. I concluded on something I thought most suitable for such an Occasion; but the Stupidity of our Artists here, makes the Apparatus so tedious, that I foresee I shall not be able to bring it to any Thing within the Time propos'd: What in the mean

mean while to suggest to your Lordship I cannot guess; the Solemnity of the Occasion, and my Solicitude for the Honour of the *Society*, makes me think nothing proper, nothing remarkable enough. 'Tis not every Year will produce such a Master-experiment as the *Torricellian*, and so fruitful of new Experiments as that is, and therefore the *Society* have deservedly spent much Time upon that and its Offspring: And if you have any notable Experiment that may appear to open new Light into Principles of Philosophy, nothing would better beseech the Pretensions of the *Society*, though possibly such would be too jejune for this Purpose, in which there ought to be something of Pomp: On the other Side, to produce Knacks only, and Things to raise Wonder, such as *Kercher*, *Scottus*, and even Jugglers abound with, will scarce become the Gravity of the Occasion: It must therefore be something between both, luciferous in Philosophy, and yet whose Use and Advantage is obvious, and without a Lecture; and besides may surprize with some unexpected Effect, and be commendable for the Ingenuity of the Contrivance. Half a Dozen of Experiments thus qualified, will be abundantly enough for an Hour's Entertainment; and I cannot believe the *Society* can want them, if they look back into their own Store. For myself, I must profess freely, I have not any Thing by me suitable to the Idea I have of what ought to be perform'd before such an Assembly. Geometrical Problems, and new Lines, new Bodies, new Methods, how useful soever, will be but tasteless in a transient Show. New Theories, or Observations, or astronomical Instruments, either for Observation or Facilitation of the Calculus, are valuable to such Artists only who have particularly experimented the Defects that these Things pretend to supply. Sciographical Knacks, of which yet a hundred Varieties may be given, are so easy in the Invention, that now they are cheap. Scenographical, Catoptical, and Dioptrical Tricks, require excellent Painting, as well as Geometrical Truth in the Profile, or else they deceive not. Designs of Engines for Ease of Labour, or promoting any Thing in Agriculture, or the Trades, I have occasionally thought upon divers, but they are not intelligible without Letters and References, and often, not without something of Demonstration. Designs in Architecture, &c. the few chymical Experiments I have been acquainted with, will, I fear, be too tedious for an Entertainment. Experiments in Anatomy, tho' of the most Value for their Use, are sordid and noisom to any but those whose Desire of Knowledge, makes them digest it. Experiments for the Establishment of natural Philosophy are seldom pompous; 'tis upon Billiards, and Tennis-Balls; upon the purling of Sticks and Tops; upon a Viol of Water, or a Wedge of Glass, that the great *Des Cartes* hath built the most refined and accurate Theories that human Wit ever reach'd to; and certainly Nature in the best of her Works is apparent enough in obvious Things, were they but curiously observ'd; and the Key that opens Treasures, is often plain and rusty, but unless it be gilt, 'twill make no Show at Court.

If I have been conversant in philosophical Things, (as I know how idle I have been) it hath been principally in these Ways, which I have recounted to your Lordship, by which your Lordship perceives how useless I am for this Service; yet if your Lordship will still pursue me, I know not what Shift to make, but to retire back to something I have formerly produc'd.

I have pleas'd myself not a little with the Play of the Weather-wheel, (the only true Way to measure Expansions of the Air) and I imagine it must needs give others Satisfaction, if it were once firmly made, which, I suppose, may be done, if the circular Pipes (which cannot be truly blown in Glais) were made of Brass, by those who make Trumpets, and Sackbutts, (who wire-draw their Pipes thro' a Hole to equal them, and then filling them with melted Lead, turn them round into what Flexures they please) the Inside of the Pipe must

be varnish'd with China-varnish to preserve it from the Quicksilver; and the Glasses fixed to it with Varnish, which I suppose will be the best Cement in the World; for thus the *Chinese* fix Glafs and Mother of Pearl in their Works. It would be no unpleasing Spectacle to see a Man live without new Air, as long as you please. A Description of the Vessel for cooling and percolating the Air at once, I formerly show'd the *Society*, and left in Mr. *Boyle's* Hands; I suppose it worth putting in Practice; you will at least learn thus much from it, that something else in Air is requisite for Life, than that it should be cool only, and free from the fuliginous Vapours and Moisture it was infected with in Expiration; for all those will in Probability be deposited in its Circulation thro' the Instrument. If nitrous Fumes be found requisite, (as I suspect) Ways may possibly be found to supply that too, by placing some benign Chymical Spirits, that by fumeing may infect the Air within the Vessel.

If an artificial Eye were truly and dioptrically made (which I would have at least as big as a Tennis-Ball) it would represent the Picture as Nature makes it. The Cornea and Chrystalline must be Glafs, the other Humours, Water. I once survey'd a Horse's Eye as exactly as I could, measuring what the Spheres of the Chrystalline and Cornea were; and what the Proportions of the Distances of the Centers of every Sphere were upon the Axis: The Ways by which I did it are too long to rehearse, but the Projection in triple the Magnitude, Sir *Paul Neile* may possibly find; or if your Lordship think it worth while, I shall reiterate the Experiment.

A Needle that would play in a Coach, will be as well useful to know the Coast and Way join'd with the Way-wiser, as a pleasant Diversion to the Traveller; and would be an acceptable Present to his Majesty, who might thus as it were sail by Land. The Fabrick may be thus: In a Sphere of Glafs of two Inches Diameter, half full of Water, cause a short heavy broad Needle fixed to a Chart to swim, being buoy'd up by the Chart, and both varnish'd; instead of a Cap and Pin, let the perforated Needle play about a small Wire, or Horse-Hair, extended like a perpendicular Axis in the Glafs-Sphere, whose Nadir being made weighty with Lead, and an Horizon as it were cemented to it, let it play in Circles like the Compass: Then let a hemispherical Concave containing the Sphere in its Circles, be hung upon Springs after this Manner.

Suppose a Basis upon which are erected perpendicularly three stiff Brass-Springs, from the Ends of which Springs, are Strings strain'd, forming an equilateral Triangle, the Middle of whose Sides pass through three small Loops on the Brim of the Concave, which therefore hanging on the Strings represents a Circle inscrib'd in a Triangle. From the Middle of the Basis arises a Worm-spring, fasten'd by a String to the Nadir of the Concave, drawing it down a little, and acting against the other three Springs. These Springs, I suppose, will take off at once much of both the downright and collateral Concussions; the Circles will take off Oscillations, the Agitations remaining will be spent in the Water, and still'd by the Chart; for thus we see a Trencher swimming in a Bucket keeps the Water from spilling in the Carriage: and the *Chinese* have their Compass swimming in Water instead of Circles.

Lastly, I would have all the Bottom of the Basis bristled round like a Brush, somewhat inclin'd, which is a cheap Addition, and will ease it like a hundred Springs: It should be placed on the Middle of the Floor of the Coach, where by opening a Window you might see likewise the Way-wiser on the Peach.

My Lord, if my first Designs had been perfect, I had not troubled your Lordship with so much Tattle, but with something perform'd and done:

But

But I am fain, in this Letter, to do like some Chymist, who when Profection (his fugitive darling) hath left him threadbare, is forced to fall to vulgar Preparations to pay his Debts.—

My Lord, I am,

Yours, &c.

CHR. WREN.

PART I.

SECT. II.

Of Anatomy, &c.

DR. Wren assisted Dr. Willis, in his excellent Treatise of the *Anatomy* of the *Brain*, in the Manner which the learned *Author* has thus testified in his *Preface* to that *Work*, viz.

Præter suppetias ab hujus manu (Doctōris Lower) in dissecando peritissima allatas, celare non decet, quantas insuper acceperim a viris clarissimis Domino Tho. Millington, M. D. nec non a Domino Christophoro Wren, L. L. D. & Astronomiæ professore Saviliano; qui utrique dissectionibus nostris crebrò interesse, & circà partium usus rationes conferre solebant. Porro prior ille vir doctissimus, cui privatò observationes meas, & conjecturas, de die in diem proponebam, me animo incertum, & propriæ sententiæ minùs fidentem, suffragiis suis sæpè confirmabat. Cæterum alter vir insignissimus Doctor Wren, pro singulari quâ pollet humanitate plurimas cerebri & calvariaë figuras, quo exactiores essent operæ, eruditissimis suis manibus delineare non fuit gravatus.

Cerebri Anatomie, Lond. 1664.

Dr. Willis's Method of dissecting the Brain, (wherein he had the Assistance of the deservedly famous Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Millington, &c.) is new, and most natural, and so exact, that there is scarce any one Part in it, but what has receiv'd considerable Advancements.

Among divers new Experiments in Anatomy, which he exhibited at the Meetings at Oxford, were Schemes of several Fishes dissected, in which the Fabrick of the Parts appear'd very often irregular, and differing much both from Brutes, and one another. Several Things he observ'd very considerable in Fowls. Some Parts of Animals he more exactly trac'd by the Help of Glasses, as the Kidneys, the Plexus in the Brain, &c. The Nerves he found to have little Veins and Arteries in them. He then found the Lymphæducts to empty themselves into the Receptacle of Chyle, from all Parts both of the Bowels and Limbs, &c.

"He was the first Author of the noble anatomical Experiment of injecting Liquors into the Veins of Animals. An Experiment now vulgarly known; but long since exhibited to the Meetings at Oxford, and thence carried by some Germans, and publish'd abroad: by this Operation, divers Creatures were immediately purg'd, vomited, intoxicated, kill'd, or reviv'd according to the Quality of the Liquor injected. Hence arose many new Experiments, and chiefly that of transfusing Blood, which the Society has prosecuted in sundry Instances, that will probably end in extraordinary Success.

Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 317.

It

It should seem, by the Date, and a Paragraph in a Letter to a Person of Distinction in Ireland *, he made the first Experiment of *Infusion*, about the Year 1656. After the Recital of several new Experiments in Philosophy, and Anatomy, he thus proceeds, — “ The most considerable Experiment I have made of late, is this; I injected Wine and Ale into the Mass of Blood in a living Dog, by a Vein, in good Quantities, till I made him extremely drunk, but soon after he pissed it out: With two Ounces of Infusion of *Crocus Metallorum* thus injected, the Dog immediately fell to vomiting, and so vomited till he died. It will be too long to tell you the Effects of *Opium*, Scammony, and other Things which I have try’d this Way. I am in further Pursuit of the Experiment, which I take to be of great Concernment, and what will give great Light to the Theory and Practice of Physick.

An Account of the Rise and Attempts of a Way to convey Liquors immediately into the Mass of Blood.

Philosophical Transactions,
No. 7. p. 128.
1665.

Whereas there have lately appear’d in publick some Books, printed beyond the Seas, treating of the Way of *injecting Liquors into Veins*; in which Books the *Original* of that *Invention*, seems to be ascrib’d to others, besides him, to whom it really belongs; it will surely not be thought amiss if something be said, whereby the true *Inventor’s Right* may beyond Exception be asserted and preserv’d; to which End, there will need no more, than barely to represent the *Time* when, and the *Place* where, and among whom it was first started, and put to trial. To join all these Circumstances together, ’tis notorious, that at least six Years (a good while before it was heard off, that any one did pretend to have so much as thought of it) the learned and ingenious Doctor *Christopher Wren* did propose in the *University of Oxford*, (where he now is the worthy *Savilian Professor of Astronomy*, and where very many curious Persons are ready to attest this Relation) to that noble Benefactor to experimental Philosophy, Mr. *Robert Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*, and other deserving Persons, that he thought, he could easily contrive a Way, to convey any liquid Thing immediately into the Mass of Blood, *videl.* by making Ligatures on the Veins, and then opening them on the Side of the Ligature towards the Heart, and by putting into them slender Syringes, or Quills, fasten’d to Bladders (in the Manner of Clyster Pipes) containing the Matter to be injected; performing that Operation upon pretty big and lean Dogs, that the Vessels might be large enough, and easily accessible.

This Proposition being made, Mr. *Boyle* soon gave Order for an *Apparatus*, to put it to *Experiment*; wherein at several Times, upon several Dogs, *Opium*, and the Infusion of *Crocus Metallorum* were injected into that Part of the hind Legs of those Animals, whence the larger Vessels, that carry the Blood, are most easy to be taken hold of; whereof the Success was, that the *Opium* being soon circulated into the Brain, did within a short Time stupify, tho’ not kill the Dog; but a large Dose of the *Crocus Metallorum*, made another Dog vomit up Life and all: all which is more amply and circumstantially deliver’d by Mr. *Boyle*, in his excellent Book of the *Usefulness of experimental Philosophy*, Part 2. Postscript to Essay 2. Where ’tis also mention’d, that the Fame of this *Invention*, and of the succeeding Trials being spread, and particularly coming to the Knowledge of a foreign Ambassador, that was curious, and then resided in *London*, it was by him tried with some *Crocus Metallorum*, upon a Malefactor, that was an inferior Servant of his; with this Success, that the Fellow, as soon as ever the

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Injection began to be made, did, either really, or craftily, fall into a Swoon; whereby, being unwilling to prosecute so hazardous an Experiment, they desisted, without seeing any other Effect of it, save that it was told the Ambassador, that it wrought once downwards with him. Since which Time, it hath been frequently practis'd both in *Oxford* and *London*; as well before the *Royal Society*, as elsewhere. And particularly that learned Physician Dr. *Timothy Clark*, hath made it part of his Business, to pursue those Experiments with much Industry, great Accurateness, and considerable Observations thereon; which above two Years since were produc'd by him, and read before the *Royal Society*, who thereupon desir'd him, as one of their Members, to compleat what he had propos'd to himself upon that Subject, and then to publish the same; the Effect whereof 'tis hoped, will now shortly appear, and not prove unwelcome to the Curious.

Some whereof, though they may conceive, that Liquors thus injected into Veins without Preparation and Digestion, will make odd Commotions in the Blood, disturb Nature, and cause strange Symptoms in the Body; yet they have other Thoughts of Liquors, that are prepar'd of such Things as have pass'd the Digestion of the Stomach; for Example, of the Spirit of Urine, of Harts-horn, of Blood, &c. And they hope likewise, that besides the *medical* Uses, that may be made of this *Invention*, it may also serve for *anatomical* Purposes, by filling after this Way, the Vessels of an Animal as full as they can hold, and by exceedingly distending them, discover *new* Vessels, &c. But not now to enlarge upon the Uses, the Reader may securely take this Narrative, as the naked, real, Matter of Fact, whereby 'tis as clear, as Noon-day, both from the Time, and irrefragable Testimony of very many considerable Persons in that University, who can jointly attest it; as well as from that particular unquestionable one of Mr. *Boyle*, and his worthy Company, who were the first Eye-Witnesses of the Trials made, that to *Oxford*, and in it, to Dr. *Christopher Wren*, this *Invention* is due; and consequently that all others, who discourse or write of it, do either derive it from him, or are fallen upon the same Devise several Years after him.

Mr. BOYLE's Account of the above-mention'd Invention, and the Experiments thereon.

TO enable you (*Pyrophilus*) to gratify those inquisitive Persons that have heard some, and yet but an imperfect Report of a much nois'd Experiment, that was some Years ago devis'd at *Oxford*, and since try'd in other Places, before very illustrious Spectators; I am content to take the Occasion afforded me, by what was in the foregoing Essay lately mention'd concerning the Application of Poisons, to inform you, That a pretty while after the Writing of that Essay, I happen'd to have some Discourse about Matters of the like Nature, with those excellent Mathematicians, Dr. *J. Wilkins*, and Mr. *Christopher Wren*; at which the Latter of those Virtuosi told us, that he thought, he could easily contrive a Way to convey any liquid Poison immediately into the Mass of Blood. Whereupon our Knowledge of his extraordinary Sagacity, making us very desirous to try what he propos'd, I provided a large Dog, on which he made his Experiments in the Presence and with the Assistance of some eminent Physicians, and other learned Men: his Way (which is much better learn'd by Sight than Relation) was briefly this: First, to make a small and opportune Incision over that Part of the hind Leg, where the larger Vessels that carry the Blood, are most easy to be taken hold of: then to make a Ligature upon those Vessels, and to apply a cer-

Essays of nat. exper. Philosophy. Part 2. Postscript, Oxford, 1663.

tain small Plate of Brafs (of above half an Inch long, and about a quarter of an Inch broad, whose Sides were bending inwards) almost of the Shape and Bigness of the Nail of a Man's Thumb, but somewhat longer. This Plate had four little Holes in the Sides, near the Corners, that by Threads pass'd through them, it might be well fasten'd to the Vessel; and in the same little Plate, there was also left an Aperture, or somewhat large Slit, parallel to the Sides of it, and almost as long as the Plate, that the Vein might be there expos'd to the Lancet, and kept from starting aside. This Plate being well fastened on, he made a Slit along the Vein, from the Ligature towards the Heart, great enough to put in at it the slender Pipe of a Syringe; by which I had propos'd to have inject'd a warm Solution of *Opium* in Sack, that the Effect of our Experiment might be the more quick and manifest. And accordingly our dexterous Experimenter having surmounted the Difficulties, which the tortured Dog's violent strugglings interpos'd, convey'd a small Dose of the Solution or Tincture into the open'd Vessel, whereby getting into the Mass of Blood, (some Quantity of which 'tis difficult to avoid shedding in the Operation) it was quickly, by the circular Motion of that, carried to the Brain, and other Parts of the Body: So that we had scarce untied the Dog, (whose four Feet it had been requisite to fasten very strongly to the four Corners of the Table) before the *Opium* began to disclose its *Narcotick* Quality, and almost as soon as he was on his Feet, he began to nod with his Head, and falter and reel in his Pace, and presently after appear'd so stupified, that there were Wagers offer'd his Life could not be sav'd. But I, that was willing to reserve him for further Observation, caus'd him to be whip'd up and down a neighbouring Garden, whereby being kept awake, and in Motion, after some Time he began to come to himself again; and being led home, and carefully tended, he not only recover'd, but began to grow fat so manifestly, that 'twas admir'd: But I could not long observe how it far'd with him: For this Experiment and some other Trials made upon him, having made him famous, he was soon after stolen away from me. Succeeding Attempts inform'd us, that the Plate was not necessary, if the Fingers were skilfully employ'd to support the Vessel to be open'd, and that a slender Quill fasten'd to a Bladder containing the Matter to be inject'd, was somewhat more convenient than a Syringe; as also that this notwithstanding, unless the Dog were pretty big and lean, that the Vessels might be large enough, and easily accessible, the Experiment would not well succeed.

The *Inventor* of it afterwards practis'd it in the Presence of that most learned Nobleman, the Marquis of *Dorchester*, and found that a moderate Dose of the Infusion of *Crocus Metallorum* did not much move the Dog to whom it was given; but once, that he inject'd a large Dose, (about two Ounces or more) it wrought so soon and so violently upon a fresh one, that within a few Hours after he vomit'd up Life and all, upon the Straw whereon they had laid him. I afterwards wish'd, that not only some vehemently working Drugs, but their appropriated Antidotes, (or else powerful liquid Cordials) and also some altering Medicines might be in a plentiful Dose inject'd. And in Diureticks, a very ingenious Anatomist and Physician told me, he try'd it with very good Success. I likewise propos'd, that if it could be done, without either too much Danger or Cruelty, Trial might be made on some human Bodies, especially those of Malefactors. And some Months after, a foreign Ambassador, a very curious Person, at that Time residing in *London*, did me the Honour to visit me, and inform'd me, that he had caus'd Trial to be made, with Infusion of *Crocus Metallorum*, upon an inferior Domestic of his that deserv'd to have been hang'd; but that the Fellow, as soon as ever the Injection began to be made, did, (either really or craftily)

craftily) fall into a Swoon; whereby, being unwilling to prosecute so hazardous an Experiment, they desisted, without seeing any other Effect of it, save that it was told the Ambassador, that it wrought once downward with him, which yet might be occasion'd, perhaps, by Fear or Anguish. But the Trials of a very dexterous Physician of my Acquaintance, in human Bodies, will, perhaps, when I shall have receiv'd a more circumstantial Account of them, be not unwelcome to you. And in Dogs, you may possibly from our own Observations, receive a further Account of an Experiment, of which, I now chiefly designed but to relate to you the *Rise* and first *Attempts*.

The *French Journals* in the Year 1667, affirmed with Confidence, as a *Philosophical* Certainty, that the *French* gave the *English* the first Thought or Notion of *Transfusions*, this Experiment: And why? because (say they) we are Witnesses, that a *Benedictine* Friar, one *Robert de Gabets*, discours'd of it at *Monf. de Montmor's*, ten Years ago. Surely all ingenuous Men will acknowledge, that the *certain* Way of deciding such Controversies as these, is a publick Record, either written or printed, declaring the Time and Place of an *Invention* first proposed, the Contrivance of the Method to practise it, and the Instances of the Success in the Execution: All this appears in the Field for *England*.

Number 7, of the *Transactions* of the *Royal Society*, (printed *Anno* 1665, in *December*) acquaints the World, how many Years since *Dr. Christopher Wren* propos'd the Experiment of *Infusion* into Veins: And this was Hint enough for the *Royal Society*, some while after, to advance *Infusion* to *Transfusion*; for the Trial of which latter, they gave Order at their publick Meeting of *May* 17, 1665, as may be seen in their *Journals*, where it was registered by the Care of their Secretaries, obliged by Oath to Fidelity: The Trials proving then lame, for want of a fit *Apparatus*, and a well contriv'd Method of Operation, the learned Physician and expert Anatomist *Dr. Lower*, since found out such a Method, which is not only registered in the same Book, but also published in Print, Numb. 20, of the *Transactions*, before which Time it had been already practis'd by the said Doctor in *Oxford*, who was followed by several ingenious Men at *London*, who successfully practis'd it, by the publick Order of the *Royal Society*.

It seems strange, that so surprizing an *Invention* should have been conceived in *France*, as they will have it, ten Years ago, and lain there so long in the Womb, 'till the Way of midwiving it into the World was sent thither from *London*: To say nothing of the Disagreement, there seems to be about the *French Parent* of this *Fœtus*: *Monf. de Gurye* in his *Letter* fathering it upon the *Abbot Bourdelot*, but the Author of the *French Journals*, upon a *Benedictine* Friar.

Extract of part of a Letter written to *Mr. Oldenburg*, Secretary to the *Royal Society*, by the learned and experienced *Dr. Timothy Clark*, one of his Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary, concerning the Origin of the *Injection into Veins*, and the *Transfusion of Blood*.

— *C*æterum, cum tu ita velis, doctissime vir, & quod ita fieri oporteat credas, fideliter originem transfusionis sanguinis, ut ea apud nos saltem se habet, enarrabo. Misso testimonio illo, quod a viro fide digno, & Regalis Societatis consorte, penes te etiamnum reperitur, viz. rever. dominum Potter, theologum insignem, triginta abhinc annis, consideratâ circulatione Harveanâ, socio huic nostro, & aliis viris doctis, sæpius sanguinis transfusionem proposuisse; ego equidem, quæ mihi ipsi hac de re certo cognita sunt, solum referam. Circa finem Anni 1656. aut circiter, mathematicus ille insignissimus, D. D. Christop.

Wren

Wren primus infusionem variorum liquorum in massam sanguineam viventium animalium excogitavit, & Oxonii peregit. Idem mihi tunc temporis, sanguinis naturam pro virili indaganti, quæ ipse fecerat, etiam communicavit; ex quo tempore diligenter ad diversa huiusmodi experimenta facienda me accingebam: & inter alia, quæ tunc temporis agenda decrevi, aquas, cerevisias cujuscvis generis, lac, serum lactis, juscula, vina, sp. vini, & animalium diversorum sanguinem, injicienda mecum statui. Et præter fistulas alias, ad varias operationes adaptatas, quasdam talem in modum, factas habui, ut uno extremo in arteriam unius animalis immisso, altero in venam alterius, sanguis ab uno animali in alterum facilius transfundi posset: & ut docto cuivis, quod debitum est, reddam, Dr. Henshaw, etiam è societate regia, vel ante hoc, vel circa idem tempus (uti & egomet) incassum tamen, eadem metodo, sanguinis transfusionem tentavit. Hinc fuit, quod cum in Regali Societate, inter alia experimenta (quod ex archivis illius satis liquet) sanguinis transfusio proponeretur, alii viri docti mecum opinabantur, ex operatione tali nil fortasse sperandum; atque ipsemet difficultates recitavi, quæ mihi hanc operationem peragenti contingerant. Deinceps res denuo tentata, nobiscum non successit, donec doctissimus & exercitatissimus D. Dr. Lower, Oxonii, anno 1666. rem feliciter conficeret. Quo facto, tutemet sub ejusdem anni finem, totam rem cum operationis metodo, publicam fecisti. Anno sequenti, ex Galliâ etiam de hac operatione audivimus. Fateor, me totum gaudio perfusum fuisse, quum certus redderer, fiduciam Gallicam illud aggressam esse, quod timor vel ignavia fortasse nostra, vix tentare quidem ausa fuerat. Scis, doctissime vir, quanto cum applausu clariss. Denisio assurexi, qui non solum ingeniosissimè talem experimentorum defensionem suscepit, sed in hominibus etiam postea celebravit.

At tanti mihi non videtur, eruditum illum Gallum tam strenuè & animosè de primâ transfusionis sanguinis origine contendere; vel me etiam primam ejus inventionem nobis ipsis vendicare. Tutemet, ni fallor, D. Oldenburge, hunc Gallum in errorem duxisti. In philosophicis enim tuis transactionibus, mense Decembri, anno 1665. editis, ubi de origine infusionis variorum liquorum in venas, rationem reddidisti, inquis sex ab illo tempore retrò annis ad minimum, D. D. Christophorum Wren, infusionem illam primum omnium tentasse.

Nemo fortasse dubitabit, quin, si quis de hoc experimento promovendo serid cogitaret, & de variis cum sanguine miscendis attentè meditaretur, mixtio sanguinis diversorum animalium facillimè tali meditationi sit occursura. Cum igitur infusio, secundum calculum tuum, circa annum 1659 inventa fuerit, & propositio illa de sanguinis transfusione in ædibus D. Montmori facta dicatur anno 1658, vel a clarissimo abbate Bourdelot, vel a docto Benedictino, Roberto de Gabets (de primo enim propositore necdum convenit) facile quivis in illam duci potuit sententiam, quod Galliæ experimenti bujus mentio prima saltem debeat. Sed illa operatio, cujus in dictis illis transactionibus mentionem fecisti, infusio scil. vini emetici in massam sanguineam, per venam brachii servi cujusdam, in ædibus legati alicujus peregrini, Londini tunc temporis commorantis, peracta, facta fuit anno 1657, in ædibus Gallici oratoris D. de Bourdeaux, adstante D. Colladon, equite aurato, & hodiè reginæ matri medico ordinario. Quodque multa talia experimenta eodem anno à nobis repetita fuerint, mecum multi viri docti testari possunt, quorum aliqua in ædibus illustr. Marchionis Dorcestriæ peracta etiam fuerunt.

Notatu etiam dignum est, quod tota illa methodus facilis D. Loweri, transfusionis peragendæ, mense Decembri anno 1666. a te edita fuit, & non nisi mense Martii anni sequentis de tali operatione è Galliâ audivimus. Verissimè ergo, ni fallor, videtur, palmam bujus Inventionis, (si modo palmam mereatur) Anglis quam Gallis potius deberi.

Cetera;

Cætera, libenter scirem, quibus rationibus ductus, Romanus ille doctissimus Manfredi judicavit, hanc inventionem Germaniâ primò conceptam fuisse. Nobis enim adhuc nihil omnino occurrit, quod vel in minimam ejusmodi suspensionem ducere potuerit. Tribus vel quatuor abhinc annis, Major quidam, medicus Hambergensis, schedis quibusdam publice emissis persuadere orbi literato nifus est, se ante biennium de tali re cogitasse. Sed proculdubio malè hac de re edoctus fuit vir eruditus, & nimis festinanter suas propalavit cogitationes. Dicit enim, se audivisse, talem operationem, viz. exhibitionem medicamenti cathartice per infusionem in venam coram principe quodam Palatino in Germaniâ peractam fuisse; cum reverà hoc à me in aulâ nostrâ regiâ coram celsissimo principe Palatino, Ruperto, præstitum fuerit, unde postea facile Germanis potuit communicari. Rem fideliter, temporum secutus ordinem, enarravi. — Et huc audacter assero, nos in Angliâ inventionem hanc a nullo accepisse peregrino.

An Italian Philosopher, in a certain Tract, entitl'd, *Relatione dell' esperienza fatte in Inghilterra, Francia, & Italia intorno la transfusione del sangue*, printed in Rome, undertook to prove, that the *Transfusion* was of greater Antiquity, as having been known to *Libavius* above fifty Years since. For which, that Roman Author alledg'd a Place out of the said *Libavius*, (in *defensione syntagmatis arcanorum chymicorum*, &c. anno 1615.) where the *Transfusion* is describ'd in these Words: *Adsit juvenis robustus, sanus, sanguine spirituosus plenus; adsit exhaustus viribus, tenuis, macilentus, vix animam trahens. Magister artis habeat tabulos argenteos inter se congruentes, aperiat arteriam robusti, & tubulum inserat, muniatque; mox & ægroti arteriam findat, & tubulum femineum infigat. Jam duos tubulos sibi mutuo applicet, & ex sano sanguis arterialis, calens, & spirituosus saliet in ægrotum, unaque vitæ fontem afferet, omnemque languorem pellet.* The *Observer* here rightly takes Notice, that *Libavius* did not propose this Operation, but only to mock at it, and that he contriv'd it with great Danger, both to the *Recipient* and *Emittent*, by proposing to open *Arteries* in both: But,

Dr. *King* practis'd an easy and safe Way of *transfusing Blood* out of one Animal into another by the *Veins* only, without opening any *Artery* of either: the Success whereof in two Experiments he communicated to the *Royal Society*. To enumerate briefly some of the first Trials perform'd in *England*, and in foreign Parts, in pursuance of, and after the Publication of Dr. *Wren's* noble Invention of *Infusion*, and in consequence *Transfusion*; 'tis recorded, that in *November*, 1667, the Experiments of *Transfusion* of nine or ten Ounces of the *arterial Blood* of a young Sheep into a *human Vein* of the Arm, was successfully perform'd at *Arundel-House*, by the Doctors *Lower* and *King*, in the Presence of many considerable Persons; and the Relation communicated to the *Royal Society*.

Monf. *Denys*, Professor of the *Mathematicks* and *natural Philosophy* at *Paris*, related in a Letter to the Publisher of the *Transactions*, that they had transmitted the Blood of four *Weathers* into a *Horse* of twenty-six Years old, and that this *Horse* had thence receiv'd much Strength, and more than ordinary Stomach.

By the same Monf. *Denys's* Relation, in his printed Letter to Monsieur de *Montmor*; a young Man, after he had receiv'd the *arterial Blood* of a *Lamb*, was cured of an extraordinary *Lethargy*, consequent to a violent *Fever*, wherein he had been let Blood twenty Times. Among other successful *Transfusions* by the said *Author*, are those of *Lambs Blood* into *Dogs*, which after the Space of several Months from the Time of the Operation, did not only live, but were very well, and some of them grew fatter than they were before; and of *Kids Blood* into a little *Spaniel Bitch* of twelve Years of Age,

which,

which, a little while after the Operation grew vigorous and active, and even proud, in less than eight Days. To these he added a considerable Experiment, made upon a Person, who had been for three Weeks afflicted with the complicated Distempers of an hepatick Flux, a Lientery, and a bilious Diarrhæa, accompany'd with a very violent Fever, &c.

Ibid. p. 564. *Some remarkable Experiments of injecting medicated Liquors into Veins, were communicated in a Letter from Dantzick, by Dr. FABRICIUS, Physician to that City.*

FOrasmuch (said he) as we had a great Desire to experiment, what would be the Effects of the Chirurgery of *injecting* Liquors into *human* Veins, three fit Subjects presenting themselves in our Hospital, we thought good to make the Trial upon them. But seeing little Ground to hope for a manifest Operation from any *altering* Medicines, we esteem'd the Experiment would be more convenient, and conspicuous from *Laxatives*; which made us *inject* by a Syphon about two Drachms of such a kind of Physick into the *Median* Vein of the right Arm. The *Patients* were these, one was a lusty robust Soldier dangerously infected with the *Venereal Disease*, and suffering grievous Protuberatings of the Bones in his Arms: He, when the purgative Liquor was *infus'd* into him, complain'd of great Pains in his Elbows, and the little Valves of his Arm did swell so visibly, that it was necessary by a gentle Compression of ones Fingers to stroke up that Swelling towards the Patient's Shoulders. Some four Hours after, it began to work, not very troublesomely, and so it did the next Day; inasmuch that the Man had five good Stools after it: Without any other Remedies those Protuberances were gone, nor are there any Footsteps left of the abovemention'd *Disease*. The two other Trials were made upon the *other Sex*. A married Woman of thirty-five, and a serving Maid of twenty Years of Age, had been both of them from their Birth, very grievously afflicted with *epileptick* Fits, so that there were little Hopes left to cure them. They both underwent this Operation, and there was *injected* into their Veins a *laxative Rosin*, dissolv'd in an *anti-epileptical* Spirit. The *first* of these had gentle Stools, some Hours after the *Injection*, and the next Day, the Fits recurring now and then, but much milder, are since altogether vanish'd. As for the other, *viz.* the *Maid*, she went the same Day to Stool four Times, and several Times the next: but by going into the Air, and taking Cold, and not observing any Diet, cast herself away.

Philos. Transf.
Numb. 26.

Philos. Transf.
Numb. 42.

from the Italian Giornale de Letterati.

Philos. Transf.
Numb. 32.

1667-8.

Monf. Gayant at Paris shew'd the Effects of *Transfusion* of Blood, by putting that of a young Dog into the Veins of an old one, who, two Hours after, did leap and frisk; whereas he was almost blind with Age, and could hardly stir before. — A Spaniel thirteen Years old, was recover'd of *Deafness*, by transfusing into his Veins the Blood of a Lamb.

Dr. J. Denys above-mention'd, (in a Letter printed at Paris, and sent to the Publisher of the *Transactions* of the *Royal Society* by himself,) gave an Account with all the strange Circumstances of a *Man* cured of an inveterate and outrageous *Madness* or *Phrensy*, by the *Transfusion* of the Blood of a *Calf*, five or six Ounces from the *crural Artery*, in lieu of about ten Ounces drawn from the Patient, out of a Vein of the right Arm.

Philos. Transf.
Numb. 54.

1669.

After this, in the Year 1669, Dr. Denys was question'd before the *Lieutenant Criminal*, at Paris, for the Death of his Patient (a Man that had been stark mad for several Years) who had expired under his Hands, while he was *transfusing* Blood into him, according to the new Experiment. The Operation

ration had been twice perform'd with good Success; the Patient having had thereupon a good Interval of two Months after the first, and all Hopes of a longer, after the second; had it not been for the Debauches of Wine and Brandy, that he fell to, soon after the Operation. He was a *Britain* by Birth, and the Original of his Madneſs, Love. That which Dr. *Denys's* Advocate, (who was the Son of Monsieur the premier President de *Lamoignon*) very much gloried in, was, that (besides that the Experiment had been practis'd with good, at least with no ill Success, in *England, Germany, Italy, Holland, &c.* and defended in *Theſes*, in almost all the Universities of *France*) there were two Persons, a Man and Woman present in the Audience, that receiv'd a Benefit to Admiration from the Experiment, after they had been abandoned by all Physicians, and other Helps.

With the Accounts of *Transfusion of Blood*, one other memorable Instance, among many, may be further cited of the Success of some Experiments of *infusing Medicines into human Veins*: written from *Dantzick*, to the Honourable R^s *Boyle*. *Philos. Trans.*
Numb. 39.

Monf. *Smith*, Physician in ordinary to this City, having Liberty granted him to try an Experiment upon some Persons desperately infected with the Pox, then in the publick Hospital here; adventur'd the opening a Vein, and *infusing some Medicines into the Blood*; which was try'd upon two Persons, whereof the one recover'd, and the other died. Yet being since farther encourag'd by corresponding with some of the *Royal Society* in *England*, about a Month since, the said Physician, together with Monf. *Scheffeler*, another eminent Practitioner in this City, repeated the Experiment, by *infusing altering Medicines* into the Veins of the right Arms of three Persons; the one lame of the Gout; the other extremely Apoplectical; and the third, reduc'd to Extremity by that odd Distemper, the *Plica Polonica*. The Success of this, as Monf. *Hevelius* (who was the Person only admitted to be present at the Operation) informs me, was that the gouty Man found himself pretty well next Day, and shortly after went to work, it being Harvest-time, and has continu'd well ever since, leaving the Hospital yesterday, and professing himself cured. The *Apoplectical* hath not had one *Paroxysm*: and the several Sores which the *Plica Polonica* had occasion'd, are heal'd; and both these Persons have been able to work any Time these three Weeks. Dated *August 18, 1668*.

Was it not too ludicrous for the Subject, one might be apt to imagine, that the ancient *Mythologists* had some Notion of the Doctrine of *Transfusion*, and *Infusion*, and the wonderful *sanative*, and *restorative Effects* thereof; but not comprehending it could be possible to assign them to natural Causes; had recourse to the Powers of Enchantments, and magical Arts. — Thus *Medea* restor'd, (as 'tis said) *Æson*, when decrepid with Age, to his former Vigour of Life, by exhausting the old Blood, and infusing medicinal Juices, and new vital Blood into the empty'd Veins and Arteries. — The like Experiment she try'd on an old Ram, which became a sucking Lamb. — These Particulars, well adapted to *Fable*, are describ'd by the *Roman Poet*, with his usual Elegancy, and with this Conclusion —

“ *stricto Medea recludit*
“ *Ense senis jugulum; veteremque exire cruorem*
“ *Passa; replet succis: quos postquam combibit Æson*
“ *Aut ore acceptos, aut vulnere; barba, comæque*
“ *Canitie posita nigrum rapuere colorem:*

“ *Pulsa*

" *Pulsa fugit macies; abeunt pallorque, situsque;*
 " *Adjectoque cavæ suppleantur sanguine venæ;*
 " *Membraque luxuriant. Æsion miratur, & olim*
 " *Ante quater denos hunc se reminiscitur annos.*

[Ovid. Metam. L. VII. Fab. II.]

Ovid. Met.
 translated by
 several Hands,
 Lond. 1717.

— " When this *Medea* spy'd,
 " She cuts her Patient's Throat; th' exhausted Blood
 " Recruiting with her new enchanted Flood;
 " While at his Mouth, and thro' his op'ning Wound,
 " A double Inlet her *Infusion* found;
 " His feeble Frame resumes a youthful Air,
 " A glossy Brown his hoary Beard and Hair.
 " The meagre Paleness from his Aspect fled,
 " And in its Room sprang up a florid Red;
 " Thro' all his Limbs a youthful Vigour flies,
 " His empty'd Art'ries swell with fresh Supplies,
 " Gazing Spectators scarce believe their Eyes.
 " But *Æsion* is the most surpriz'd, to find
 " A happy Change in Body, and in Mind;
 " In Sense and Constitution the same Man,
 " As when his *Fortieth* active Year began.

Aries in agnum restitutus. Fab. IV.

" *Protinus innumeris effatus laniger annis*
 " *Attrahitur, flexo circum cava tempora cornu:*
 " *Cujus ut hæmonio marcentia guttura cultro*
 " *Fodit, & exiguo maculavit sanguine ferrum;*
 " *Membra simul pecudis, validosque Venefica succos*
 " *Mergit in ære cavo minuuntur corporis artus:*
 " *Cornuæque exuitur, nec non cum cornibus annos:*
 " *Et tener auditur medio balatus æno.*
 " *Nec mora; balatum mirantibus exsilit agnus:*
 " *Lascivique fugâ; læstantiaque ubera quærit.*

" A Wreath'd-horn'd Ram is brought, so far o'er-grown
 " With Years, his Age was to that Age unknown.
 " Of Sense too dull the piercing Point to feel,
 " And scarce sufficient Blood to stain the Steel.
 " His Carcass *She* into a Cauldron threw,
 " With Drugs whose vital Qualities *She* knew;
 " His Limbs grow less, he casts his Horns and Years,
 " And tender Bleatings strike their wondring Ears.
 " Then instantly leaps forth a frisking Lamb,
 " That seeks (too young to graze) a suckling Dam.

Dr. WREN's Operation of cutting out the Spleen of a Dog with Safety, and Method of Cure.

MR. Boyle in his *Essays of experimental natural Philosophy*, mentions the following Experiment of cutting out the Spleen of a Dog with Safety. The same Experiment was try'd by Dr. Wren, who has describ'd the whole Operation, and given the Method of Cure, which being deficient in Mr. Boyle's Relation, is here subjoin'd thereunto.

Nor

Nor is it a small Convenience to the Anatomist, that he may in the Bodies of *Part 2.*
 Brutes make divers instructive Experiments, that he dares not venture on, in *Essay 1.*
 those of Men; as for Instance, that late noble, and by many not yet credited *Page 10.*
 Experiment, of taking out the *Spleen* of a Dog without killing him: For, that *Oxford 1663.*
 this Experiment may be useful, we may elsewhere have Occasion to shew; and
 that it is possible to be safely made, (tho' many, I confess, have but unprosperously
 attempted it, and it hath been lately pronounced impossible in Print) ourselves
 can witness. And because I have not yet met with any Author, that professes
 himself not to relate this Experiment (of the Exemption of a Dog's *Spleen*)
 upon the Credit of others, but as an Eye-witness; I am content to assure you,
 that that dexterous Dissector, Dr. *Jolive*, did the last Year, at my Request,
 take out the *Spleen* of a young Setting-dog I brought him; and that it might
 not be pretended, the Experiment was unfaithfully, or favourably made; I
 did Part of it myself, and held the *Spleen* (which was the largest in Propor-
 tion to his Body I ever saw) in my Hand, whilst he cut asunder the Vessels,
 reaching to it, that I might be sure there was not the least Part of the *Spleen*
 left unextirpated; and yet this Puppy, in less than a Fortnight, grew not only
 well, but as sportive and as wanton as before, which I need not take Pains to
 make you believe, since you often saw him at your Mother's House, whence
 at length he was stol'n. And tho' I remember the famous Emperick *Pioro-*
vanti, in one of his *Italian* Books, mentions his having been prevail'd with by
 the Importunity of a Lady (whom he calls *Marulla Græca*) much afflicted with
 splenetick Distempers, to rid her of her *Spleen*; and adds, That she outlived
 the Loss of it many Years: Yet he that considers the Situation of that Part,
 and the Considerableness of the Vessels belonging to it, in human Bodies, will
 probably be apt to think, that tho' his Relation may be credited, his Ven-
 turousness ought not to be imitated.

The Operation and Method of Cure, by Dr. WREN.

PROvide a Dog, as big as a Spaniel, and having tied him in a fit Posture on
 the right Side, with a Cushion under him, that his Belly may turn a little
 up; first clip away the Hair, and mark with Ink the Place for Section, draw-
 ing a Line two Fingers breadth below the Short-ribs; cross the *Abdomen* at
 right Angles, to the *Musculus rectus*, beginning short of it a Finger's breadth,
 and so carry it up the Length of three Finger's breadth towards the Back; then
 thrust in a sharp Knife, like a Sow-gelder's Knife, till you feel you have just
 pierced thro' the Muscles and *Peritonæum*, having a Care of the Guts; thence
 rip up freely, carrying on the Point of the Knife to the End of the Line; then
 put in two Fingers, and while another presses down the *Abdomen*, draw out
 the *Spleen* just without the Wound, having a great Care of pulling it too far
 out, because of disordering the adhering Vessels within, the Stomach, the
 Caul, the Arteries, and Veins; then either tie the Veins and Arteries with un-
 twin'd Thread, but strong, and in three or four Places, Caul and all, and
 so cut them off close to the *Parenchyma* of the *Spleen*, and anointing the Ends
 of the Vessels and Wound of the Caul with Balsam, or Oil of *Hypericon*, put
 them in their Places, or else sear off the Vessels, and anoint them with the
 Juice of Sengreen and Plantain beaten with Whites of Eggs; or else, *cum*
Unguento Diacalcitheos dissolv'd with Vinegar and Oil of Roses, especially the
 Nerve; then sew up the Wound with the Suture call'd *Gastrophia*, leaving
 at the lower End room enough for Matter to come out, first anointing the
 Wound with Balsam, then \mathcal{R} *Olei Martini & Rosarum*, \mathcal{Z} ii. *Cera alb.* \mathcal{Z} i.
Farinae Hordei. \mathcal{Z} β . *Boli Armeni.* \mathcal{Q} *Terræ Sigillatæ, ana* \mathcal{Z} vi. make a large
 Plaister of this to cover the Wound, and all the Muscles about; swath his

Belly warm, and lay him upon his left Side in Straw; after six Hours let him Blood in the left hinder Leg, two or three Ounces, more or less, according to the Bigness of the Dog: The next Day if there seem to lye any clotted Blood in the *Abdomen*; out of a Glister-pipe (one holding the Dog in his Arm, or hanging over the Table, so that the Wound may be downward) inject half a Pint of Decoction of Barley with Honey of Roses and red Sugar, till you have wash'd out the clotted Blood, then tent the remaining Hole

* This was a Composition of his own Invention of excellent Use.

with the * yellow Salve, and wrap him up in the former Plaister as before till the Wound begins to suppurate.

He compos'd a Treatise of the *Motion of the Muscles*, explaining the whole Anatomy by Models form'd in Pasteboards. These were presented to that eminent Physician, and his excellent Friend, Sir Charles Scarborough; but lost at the Fire of London: there is extant only the first Draught of a Letter from Oxford to Sir Charles, concerning the Bone of the *Arm*, wherein is a Hint of the Pasteboards.

Sprat's Hist.
of the Royal
Society,
p. 317

" This is a short Account of the principal Discoveries which Dr. Wren presented or suggested to the *Royal Society*, I know very well that some of them he did only start and design, and that they have been since carried on to Perfection by the Industry of other Hands; I purpose not to rob them of their Share in the Honour; yet it is but reasonable, that the original Invention should be ascrib'd to the true Author, rather than the Finishers. Nor do I fear, that this will be thought too much which I have said concerning him; for, there is a peculiar Reverence due to so much Excellence, cover'd with so much Modesty; and it is not Flattery but Honesty, to give him his just Praise, who is so far from usurping the Fame of other Men, that he endeavours with all Care to conceal his own.

† Mr. Addison.

It was well observ'd by a fine † Genius of our Country, " That when, without any Incentive of Vanity, a Person of great Abilities is zealous for the Good of Mankind; and as solicitous for the Concealment, as the Performance of illustrious Actions; we may be sure that he has something more than ordinary in his Composition, and has a Heart fill'd with Goodness and Magnanimity.

Characters of
Writers
John Pointer,
Lond. 1718.

The very elegant Historian (Dr. Sprat) gives a faithful Account of the Beginning, Growth, and Settlement of that illustrious Company, the *Royal Society*, together with some of its real Inventions and Experiments, by Dr. Wren and others; and concludes with a compleat, and noble Apology for so brave an Institution: the whole being enlighten'd with such Eloquence, as is above all Description.

" But if we enquire who it was that mov'd the first Springs of this famous Enterprize, we shall find both Historian (*viz.* Sprat) and Poet (Cowley) referring that Honour to the Lord Bacon, whose admirable Works, that especially, which is worthily entituled *Of the Advancement of Learning*, establish'd the first Marriage Articles between the rational and experimental Philosophy, from which Alliance, has sprung all the fair Offspring of modern Discoveries.—If the Origin and Variety of Forms, has been so well traced, and pursu'd through all its intricate Mazes, by the excellent Mr. Boyle, and other Experimenters, as Naturalists, and by Mr. Lock as a Metaphysician, we see who it was that gave them the Clue. And if Astronomy, grafted upon the Principles of Nature, and cultivated by the Mathematicks, has grown up into a Science, and become infallible; 'tis no less certain (with all due Respect to the Memory of the great Men of

" other

“ other Nations) that the Glory of Philosophy among the Moderns began
 “ with the Lord Bacon, continu'd improving principally by the above-men-
 “ tion'd Mr. Boyle; Drs. Seth Ward, Wilkins, Williams, Wren, Wallis, Mr.
 “ Rook; Hook; and Dr. Halley; and ends in Sir Isaac Newton.

The great Virtuoso John Evelyn, Esq; in his elegant Discourse of Medals, collecting the Names of the most renowned, famous, and illustrious Persons, in all Professions of our own, and other Nations, worthy the Honour of Medals *, terminates his Catalogue of Mathematicians, with this An- * P. 261.
 madversion —

“ To whom add those Viri ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΕΣΤΑΤΟΙ, (highly meriting, and infe-
 “ riors to none we have celebrated) Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Wallis, New-
 “ ton, Flamsteed, Hook, Halley, &c. Fellows of the Royal Society, whom
 “ none but the ΑΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΗΤΟΙ and Ignorant, such as have nothing to com-
 “ mend them, will envy the Honour of a Medal, even whilst they are living,
 “ and their Works speak for them.

PART I.

SECT. III.

*A CATALOGUE of some of the philosophical Tracts, Manu-
 scripts and printed, of Sir CHR. WREN; such as, at pre-
 sent, have occur'd to the Collector.*

I.

*H*orologiorum Sciotericorum in plano, geometricè solum, sine calculo trigonome- Ann. Æt. 16.
 trico, delineandorum, modus facilimus: per quem meridiana substylaris
 & stylus ipse non investigantur modò, sed etiam in cujusvis generis plano, situ
 proprio inscribuntur, omniaque perspicuè demonstrantur. Ex Anglico idiomate
 Gulielmi Oughtred, Clavis mathematicæ.

II.

Sciotericon catholicum. The Art of Dialling, perform'd on all Planes, and Ann. Æt. 15.
 in all Latitudes, with much Facility, by a peculiar Instrument. Serving alſo
 for many other Uses in the organical Part of Mathematicks.

III.

Trigonometriæ sphaericæ institutio Neperiana ad praxin accommodata. Ann. Æt. 16.

IV.

Epistolæ miscellanæ, de propositionibus in opticis, staticis & mechanicis. Ann. Æt. 17.

V.

Prælectiones Greshamenses in astronomiam Kepleri.

VI.

Prælectiones astronomicae. Oxoniæ 1662.

VII.

Lecturæ de problematibus sphaericis.

VIII.

VIII.

De natura & motibus cometarum.
Of the Comet in the Year 1664. *N. B.* Hypothefis and Theory of
Comets; produc'd to the *Royal Society.* 1665.

IX.

Phases Saturni accuratè delineatæ & illustratæ ab Anno 1649. ad An-
num 1656.

X.

Discourse of the Appearance of *Saturn.*

XI.

Tabulæ epactarum Lunæ Saturninæ conjunctionibus ejus cum 6 infimis in-
veniendis interservientes.

XII.

Description of an Instrument for the observing Distances of fix'd Stars,
and the Planets, and Appulses to the Moon; by two Telescopes join'd like
a Sector, so as to give the true Angle of their Distances.

XIII.

A Method to make Telescopes with little Trouble and Expence, of great
Length, to be us'd for any Altitude.
A Corollary relating to Telescopes.

XIV.

Of the Longitude.

XV.

To observe the Variations of the magnetical Needle.

XVI.

De re nauticâ veterum.

XVII.

To find the Velocity of a Ship in sailing.

XVIII.

Of the Improvement of Gallies.

XIX.

Of an Instrument perpetually noting the Soundings in Shallows.

XX.

To recover Wrecks.

XXI.

A convenient Way of using Artillery on Ship-board.

XXII.

To build in deep Water.

XXIII.

To build a Mole into the Sea, without *Puzzolan* Dust, or Cisterns.

XXIV.

Of the Improvement of River-navigation, by the joining of the Rivers.

XXV.

XXV.

Diatriba algebraica, quâ annus periodi Julianæ è datis cyclis indagari & erui docetur.—[Edita in 5tâ editione Helvici chronologiæ, post prolegomena. Oxoniæ 1651.]

XXVI.

Ratiocinia anni Judaici.

XXVII.

De paschate.

XXVIII.

Lecturæ anglicæ & latinæ, de luce & refractione.

XXIX.

Theory concerning the general Laws of Motion; imparted to the Royal Society, December 17, 1668. Tho' entertain'd by the Author divers Years before, and verif'd by many Experiments made by himself, and that other excellent Mathematician, Mr. Rook, before the said Society, as was attested by many worthy Members of that illustrious Body.

*Philosophical
Transactions,
Numb. 43.*

Lex naturæ de collisione corporum.

N. B. All learned Men concerned in some historical Passages relating to this Treatise, and to those communicated to the Royal Society by Dr. John Wallis, and Mr. Christian Hugen, on the same Subject; it was thought most proper to publish them in the Language of the Learned, viz.

Cum novissimis mensibus nonnulli è Societate Regia in publico ejusdem consessu enixius urgerent, ut gravissimum illud de Regulis Motus argumentum, non semel inter ipsos antebac agitatam, sed, pluribus aliis intercurrentibus rebus, nunquam, uti par erat, discussum expensumve, tandem aliquando examini rigido subiectum conficeretur; visum equidem fuit illustrissimo isto cætui decernere, ut quotquot è sociis suis indagandæ Motus indoli præ cæteris incubuissent, rogarentur ut sua in rem illam meditata, & inventa depromere, simul & ea, quæ ab illis viris præcellentibus, Galilæo puta, Cartesio, Honorato Fabri, Joachimo Jungio, Petro Borrelli, aliisque, de argumento isto fuerant excogitata, congerere & procurare vellent; eo scilicet fine, ut consultis hoc pacto collatisque omnium sententiis, illa dehinc theoria, quæ cum observationibus & experimentis, debitâ curâ & fide crebrè peractis, quam maximè congrueret, civitate philosophicâ suo jure donaretur.

*Per Henricum
Oldenburg,
Soc. Reg. Secr.*

Edito hoc celeusmate, incitati protinus e dictâ Societate fuerunt, imprimis Christianus Hugenius, Johannes Wallisius, Christophorus Wrennus, ut suas de Motu hypotheses & regulas, quibus condendis aliquandiu insudassent, maturare & expedire satagerent. Factum hinc, ut selectus ille virorum præstantissimorum trias, post paucarum septimanarum spatium, theorias suas, eleganter compendifactas, tantum non certatim transmitterent, Regiæque Societatis super iis sententiam exquirerent. Primus omnium D. Wallisius, sua de Motibus æstimandis principia, literis die 15 Novemb. 1668, datis, ejusdemque mensis die 29. traditis & prælectis, communicavit. Mox eum excepit D. Christophorus Wren, qui naturæ legem de collisione corporum, proximo mense Decembri, ejusque die 17. eidem Societati publicè exhiberi curavit; quæ in mandatis mox dedit, (præhabito tamen utriusque hujus authoris consensu) ut ad commodiorem horum scriptorum communicationem, discussionemque diffusio rem, res tota typis mandaretur.

Hæc dum apud nos geruntur, ecce adfert nobis tabellarius die 4 Januarii insequentis (St. Ang.) D. Hugonii literas, ejusdem mensis die 5. (at St. nov.) exaratas, ejusque scripti, De motu corporum ex mutuo impulsu, priores regulas quatuor, unâ cum demonstrationibus, continentes, habebam ego in promptu theoriæ Wrennianæ apographum, idque actutum eodem planè die, sic favente tabellione publico, D. Hugenio, hostimenti vice, remittebam, dilata interim literarum Hugenianarum, (quibus tale quid includi, ob molem, & antegressum auctoris promissum suspicabar) resignatione, donec ferret occasio nobilissimum & sapientissimum Regiæ Societatis præsidem, D. Vice comitem Brouncker, compellendi. Quo facto, amborum regulis in modo dictâ Societate collatis, mirus consensus in utroque consensus effulsit; id quod insignem in nobis libentiam pariebat, utrumque hoc scriptum prælo nostro committendi. Nihil hic nobis deerat a parte Hugonii, quam ejus consensus, absque quo fas nequaquam judicabamus, ipsius inventum, maxime cum illud haud integrum eo tempore nobis dedisset, in lucem emittere. Curæ interim nobis erat, scriptum ipsius publicis Regiæ Societatis monumentis inserendi simul & auctori die 11 Januar. Solennes pro cordatâ illâ communicatione gratias reponendi; additâ debinc die scil. 4 Februarii) sollicitâ commonefactione, ut suam banc theoriam vel Parisiis, (quod proclive erat factu in Eruditorum, ut vocant, Diario) vel hic Londini in adversariis philosophicis, imprimendam curaret, vel saltem permitteret. Quibus expeditis literis, paulo post secundas accepimus ab Hugenio, scripti Wrenniani de hoc argumento rectè traditi mentionem facientes, nil tamen quicquam de suimet scripti editione, vel Parisiis vel Londini parandâ, commemorantes.

Unde liquere omnino autumem, ipsum sibi defuisse Hugonium in illâ publicatione maturandâ; quin imo occasionem dedisse procrastinando, ut laudatus D. Wren, pro ingenii sui sagacitate geminam omnino theoriam eruens, in gloriæ, huic speculationi debitæ, partem jure veniret; cum extra omne sit dubium, neutrum borum theoriæ illius quicquam, priusquam scripta eorum comparerent, rescivisse ab altero, sed utrumque, propriâ ingenii fecunditate, pulchellam banc sobolem enixum fuisse.

Solvit equidem Hugenius, ante aliquot jam annos, Londini cum ageret, illos de Motu casus qui ipsi tunc proponebantur; luculento sanè argumento, eum jam tum exploratas habuisse regulas, quarum id evidentiâ præstaret. At non affirmabit ipse, cuiquam se Anglorum suæ theoriæ quicquam aperuisse; quin fateri tenetur, se ab eorum nonnullis ad communicationem ejus sollicitatum, nec tamen unquam; nisi nuperrimè, ad id faciendum pertractum fuisse.

His itaque veritati & justitiæ litatis, ipsas jam Hugonii regulas donamus &c.

Tabula refractionis radiorum in medio vitreo (suppositâ maximâ refractione vitri, 489.) secundum hypothesein exquisitissimam philosophi Angli calculata.

Letters, of Astronomy, from Sir Paul Neile, to Mr. Wren, in the Years 1655, 6, 7. and 9.

XXX.

To make an uncertain reciprocal Motion tend to the continual Progress of an uniform progressive Motion.

XXXI.

De cycloidibus, eorumque segmentis, nec non de sphaericidibus cycloidalibus, & segmentorum cycloidalium solidis rotundis.

Literæ ad D. Pascal, Parisiis. De doctrinâ cycloidum.

Literæ à D. Pascal. De eodem argumento, datæ Parisiis 1658.

Literæ ad D. Carcavy, Parisiis 1658. Quibus continetur solutio problematis

matis missi ex Galliâ ad doctorem Seth Ward. De cycloide, ejusque solidis, centrisque gravitatis.

A Letter to Mr. *Wren* from Mr. *Hobs*, dated at *Chatsworth*, 1659, concerning the Propositions in the Book of Monf. *Dettonville*, alias *Pascal*; about the Cycloid.

De problemate Kepleriano per cycloidem solvendo.

XXXII.

*Solutio problematis missi ex Galliâ ad matheſeos professores, & alios in Angliâ mathematicos: à * Jean de Monfert. (printed)*

* *A ſeditious Name.*

XXXIII.

The Deſcription of an Instrument (in the Muſæum of the Royal Society) with the Figure, for drawing the Out-lines of any Object in Perſpective.

Philof. Tranſ. Numb. 45.

XXXIV.

Generatio corporis cylindroidis hyperbolici, elaborandis lentibus hyperbolicis accommodati.

Philof. Tranſ. Numb. 48.

Deſcriptio machinæ unâ cum icone brevi, cujus beneficio lentes elaborantur hyperbolici.

Philof. Tranſ. Numb. 53.

XXXV.

Of the true Shape of the Superficies of the terrestrial Globe.

XXXVI.

Of the riſing of the Sap in Trees.

XXXVII.

Deſcription of a Hot-houſe to produce the Plants of the Torrid Zone.

XXXVIII.

Of a Lamp to continue to any Length of Time.

XXXIX.

To heat any Quantity of Water without Fire under it, in Wood, or any Sort of Veſſel that may be damag'd by Fire.

XL.

Experiments of the Nature of Silk; Tenacity of Oyl; of the Parts of Leather, &c.

XLI.

Of many uſeful Things in our Country, and to the Improvement of Trade, which have been neglected to be brought from foreign Parts.

XLII.

Of the *Os Brachii*, in a Letter to Sir *Charles Scarborough*.

XLIII.

Anatomia anguille fluviatilis, longæ pluſquam 40 digitos, circuitu, (circa umbilicum) ſex, cum figuris.

XLIV.

Of the Instruments of Reſpiration, &c.

Life of Sir
Chr. Wren,
p. 107, 108,
and 109.

A Catalogue, with Vouchers of several of the Works of Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN; in the Method they are recited by Mr. WARD, (in his Account of the Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college.) exclusive of some Variations and Additions enumerated in the preceding Catalogue and Accounts.

1. *H*Orologiographia geometrica.

This was a Latin Version of an *English* Treatise. Written by Mr. Oughtred, while Mr. Wren was a Gentleman commoner at Wadham-college, in Oxford, and afterwards publish'd by Mr. Oughtred, at the End of his *Clavis Mathematica*, [Vid. Præf. G. O. ad Clav. Mathemat.]

2. *Traëtatulus ad periodum Julianam spectans, Chronologiæ summè utilis.*

This short Tract, which contains a Method to find any particular Year requir'd, upon giving the Cycles, is insert'd in the *Prolegomena* of Helvicus's *Theatrum historicum & chronologium*, Ed. Oxon. 1651. And continu'd in the later Editions. The Author's Name is not mention'd; but that it was written by Mr. Wren, is manifest from a Note indorsed on the Title-page of the Book, in the Hand of his Father, the Dean, now in the Possession of Christopher Wren, Esq; The Words are these: *Denique filio meo modestius renitenti incentivum addibui, ut tractatulum illum algebraicum; Julianæ periodo (e cyclis in historia datis) expiscandæ accommodatissimum, sudante jam hoc prælo Oxoniensi, præfigi sineret.* By the Time, in which this Tract was first publish'd it appears, that Mr. Wren could not be more than nineteen Years of Age, when he wrote it.

3. *Oratio inauguralis habita Londini, in Collegio Greshamensi, per Christophorum Wren, A. M. Astronomiæ professorem electum, Anno 1657, Ætatis suæ 25.*

This Oration is now first publish'd in the *Appendix*, N. VIII. from a Copy communicated by Christopher Wren, Esq; to Dr. Mead, by whom I was favour'd with it.

4. *De recta tangente cycloidem primariam.*

ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ *curvæ lineæ cycloidis primariæ secundum methodum antiquorum demonstratus.*

De dimentione cycloidum contractarum & protractarum.

De problemate Kepleriano per cycloidem solvendo.

These four Tracts being communicated by him to Dr. Wallis, the beginning of July 1658, were afterward publish'd by the Doctor, as an Appendix to his *tractatus de cycloide*. [vid. J. W. opera mathemat. vol. I. p. 533.]

5. *Solutio problematis mathematici, Folio, one Sheet, printed.*

This Problem, which came from France in the Year 1658, was thus introduc'd: *Speciatissimos viros matheſeos professores, & alios præclaros in Anglia mathematicos, ut hoc problema ſolvere dignentur* * Jean de Montfert maxime desiderat.

* A fictitious Name for Monſ. Paſcal.

And it was, as follows: *Extremis ellipſeos diametris, diſtantiæ centri ab aliquo puncto in axi tranſverſo, ubi lineæ eundem ſecet ſub angulo dato, in numeris*

ris datis: segmenta ejusdem lineæ, (si opus est) productæ, & intra transversum axem & ellipsin terminatæ, in numeris invenire.

After the Solution of this Problem, Mr. Wren in the same Paper subjoins the following (propos'd formerly by Kepler) which he had himself solved geometrically. [*vid. Wallis ubi supra, Page 540.*] *Aream datam semicirculi dati, vel ellipsos datæ, ex quocunque puncto diametri cujuscunque, etiam si libet productæ, in data ratione secare.* And he adds: *Rogo igitur præstantissimos in Gallia mathematicos, ut problema Keplerianum solvere dignentur, numerice quidem, si fieri possit, saltem geometricæ.*

6. A Method for the Construction of solar Eclipses.

This was discover'd by him in the Year 1660, and afterwards publish'd by Mr. Flamsteed, in his *Doctrine of the Sphere*; and has now for many Years been generally follow'd, as the most concise and plain. See Sir Jonas Moor's *System of the Mathematicks*, London 1681, Quarto.

7. *Cerebri & Calvaria figuræ eruditissimè [propriis manibus] delineatæ.*

These Figures were drawn at the Desire of Dr. Willis, for the Use of his excellent Treatise, intitled *Cerebri Anatome*, publish'd in 1664; of which the learned Author has given Account in his Preface. [*Præter suppetias, &c.*]

8. An architectonical Account of the cathedral Church of *Salisbury*; with Schemes for the Repairs.

The original Manuscript of this, in the Author's own Hand, and dated 1668, is yet in the Registry of the Dean and Chapter there. And it has been since publish'd in a Book intitled, *The History and Antiquities of the cathedral Church of Salisbury, and the Abbey-church of Bath*, London 1723, Octavo. Where it is called, "An excellent Piece wrote by an eminent Gentleman, who was invited thither by Dr. [Bishop] Ward, in 1668. [for his Opinion and Instructions for the Repairs,]" "Where he then made the Survey.

Besides these, the following Papers, communicated by him to the *Royal-Society*, are all of them, except the last, printed in their *Transactions*.

1. A Way to convey Liquors immediately into the Mass of Blood, No. VII. p. 128. December 1665.

2. *Lex naturæ de collisione corporum*, No. XLIII. p. 867, December 1668.

This is a Theory of what the Author had before proved by Experiments.

3. A Description of an Instrument for drawing the out Lines of any Object in Perspective, No. XLV. p. 898, March 1669.

4. *Generatio corporis cylindroidis hyperbolici, laborandis lentibus hyperbolicis accommodati*, No. XLVIII. p. 961. June 1669.

5. A Description of an Engine design'd for grinding hyperbolic Glasses, No. LIII. p. 1059, November 1669.

6. A Letter concerning the finding a straight Line equal to that of a Cycloid, in 1658, No. XCVIII. p. 6156, November 1673.

7. An

7. An Hypothesis and geometrical Problem about the Comets, in 1664, and 1665.

This was publish'd by Mr. Hook in his *Cometa* in 1670. page 40.

These Papers which follow, communicated by him to the *Royal Society*, later than the History, and never publish'd, are entered in their Registers, and Letter-books.

1. A Description and Figure of a new Level for taking the Horizon every Way in a Circle, Register III. p. 184. Produced before the *Royal Society*, December 12. and March 7, 1666.

This is describ'd by Mr. Hook in his *Animadversions on Hevelius's machina cœlestis*, p. 65.

2. An Account of the uncommon Shape of Hail, that fell on the 26th of March 1667; about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, Regist. III. p. 184. Communicated to the *Royal Society*, November 28, 1667.

3. A Letter to Mr. Oldenburgh, about a Design of building a College for the *Royal Society*. Dated from Oxford, June 7, 1668.

4. A Cypher or Anagram, for concealing secret Inventions. Regist. IV. p. 49. Communicated to the *Society*, on the 4th of February, 1668.

This was transmitted to Mr. Huygens, upon his having sent one not explain'd.

5. A Description and Scheme of an Instrument for drawing up great Weights from deep Places; Register IV. p. 99. Read May 5, 1670.

To these may be added, the three following Manuscripts, yet remaining in other Hands.

1. *Christophori Wren, Londini, in Collegio Greshamensi astronomia professoris, de corpore Saturni, ejusque phasibus hypothesis.*

This Lecture in the Author's own Hand, is now in Possession of William Jones, Esq;

2. An historical and architectonical Account of the collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, and of the Repairs.

This was written by Sir Christopher, at the Desire of Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and principal Commissioner for the Repairs of that Church, about the Year 1714. The Heads of it, with a Letter to the Bishop, are enter'd in the Journal of the Antiquary Society; but the Discourse itself is in the Hands of Christopher Wren, Esq;

3. Extracts of some loose original Papers, and Minutes, written at sundry Times, relating to the Longitude.

By these Papers it appears, that Sir Christopher had his Thoughts very early upon that Subject, and always kept it in his View afterwards. They are dispos'd in the Order of an Introduction, with a Discourse following it. The Introduction, which, excepting the last Paragraph, seems to have been written about the Year 1660, contains various Ways made use of by the Antients, and in later Times, for finding the Longitude. Some Parts of the

Dis-

Discourse, that follow it, were written in the Year 1612.—Others so late as 1720; and the whole consists of divers Methods proposed by Sir *Christopher* for that End, with Draughts of several Instruments proper for the Purpose, (engraved into Copper-plates) These Papers are also in the Hands of the same Gentleman, with the Discourse last mentioned.

This Catalogue in Mr. Professor *Ward's* Work, compared and adjusted with the Catalogues recounted before, may be deemed the most perfect that at present occur.

Sir *Christopher* has been heard sometimes to reflect sharply on the Disingenuity of Mr. *Oldenburg*, who had neglected not only to enter divers Inventions and Experiments of his in the Registers of the *Society*, but conveyed the same into foreign Parts, *France* and *Germany*; where they were after published under other Names, as their own.

Hence Dr. *Sprat* in his History of the *Royal Society*, took Occasion, in *Sec. XL.* the meer Consideration of Justice, to publish a separate Account of his Endeavours in promoting the Design of the *Royal Society*, because in turning over the Registers, he perceived, that many excellent Things, whose first Invention ought to be ascribed to him, were casually (rather designedly) omitted.

The Problem before recited Number XXXII, was sent from *France* by way of Challenge to the *English* Mathematicians, and a pecuniary Reward promised to the Person who should give a Solution: The Solution was given beyond Exception, and the Premium demanded, which yet at last, by some Chicanery, was dishonourably withheld.

His communicative Temper in lending out Papers, never recovered; his peculiar Modesty, and Disregard of publick Applause, and of those Methods by which Men of the World usually proclaim and support the Merits of their own Performances, prevented the Appearance in publick, under his own Name, of many useful Tracts, and occasioned his not carrying on divers Discoveries to Perfection.

N. B. Mr. *Henry Oldenburgh*, mentioned before, (P. 118.) upon the Foundation of the *Royal Society*, was chosen Fellow and Secretary thereof. He hath collected and published *Philosophical Transactions*; commencing from March 6, 1664, and carried on to N^o. 136. Dated the 25th of June, 1677.

APPENDIX to PART I.

SECT. III.

Of Additional Records.

NUMB. I.

Dr. Flamsteed's Reflections on Mons. Cassini's Remarks on his Letter to Dr. Wallis, relating to the Earth's Motion, &c. referred to the Judgment of Sir Christopher Wren, in the Year 1702.

Honoured Sir,

The Observatory, Nov. 19, 1702.

I Send you included a long Letter whereby you will find, that Mons. *Cassini* has performed nothing of what he proposed to shew concerning the Effects of the *Earth's Motion*, or the Parallax of the Orb at the fixed Stars. As to what he adds and of the Poles of the World and Ecliptick, after you have perused

perused the latter part of the Letter, it will appear to you, he might have done better to have left it out, since the Parallaxes of the fixed Stars are determined without moving these Poles at all; and making them to move misrepresents the Parallaxes: so that on the whole, you will conclude that he understood nothing of the Business. — This I mind you of, because I have not mentioned it in the Letter, which I have wrote after my usual Way with all the Plainness and Sincerity imaginable, and so as not to give Monf. *Cassini*, or any other any Offence, or Cause to complain of uncivil Usage. It is something longer than I designed at first it should be; being a new Subject, and uncommon, I thought it was better to err on this Hand, than to make it obscure by my Brevity.

JOHN FLAMSTEAD.

S I R,

I Send you here some Reflections on Monf. *Cassini*'s Remarks on my Letter to Dr. *Wallis*, together with an Account of the Effects of the Earth's Motion in changing the Longitudes, Latitudes, Right Ascensions and Declinations of the fixed Stars. 'Tis a new Subject, and never that I know of handled before.

For though Mr. *Cassini* proposes to himself to examine what will be the Result of the Hypothesis of the Earth's Motion, with respect of the fixed Stars and the apparent Poles of the Earth and the Ecliptick, in order to prove that the greatest Remove of the Pole-star from the Pole, is made about the Beginning of the foreign April, and its nearest Approach of October; yet he has done it in such a Manner as will make it appear to you, that though there be some Truth in the Conclusion, yet it does not result from his Premises (as I asserted) or any deep Consideration of the Effects of the Earth's Motions, or geometrical Argumentation.

His first Figure represents mine well enough, and his Report of the Contents of my Letter is fair and candid; but the Ground of his Error is laid in his second, where with me making IODR to represent the Earth's Orbit, he raises Perpendiculars from every Point of it 'till they intersect the Plane EQ, (supposed placed on the Surface of the Sphere parallel to the Plane of the Ecliptick) whereby they describe on it the Orbit EML which will therefore be an exact Representative of the Orbit DOIR; now this, all that allow the Motion of the Earth make an Ellipsis, therefore that must be an Ellipsis too, and the Point M in this will represent the Sun, or the Point S in the original Orbit DOIR; though in his 3d Fig. he makes and calls it a Circle wherein a moveable Pole of the Ecliptick is carried annually about a fixed and divides it into twelve Signs marked with their proper Characters: Again,

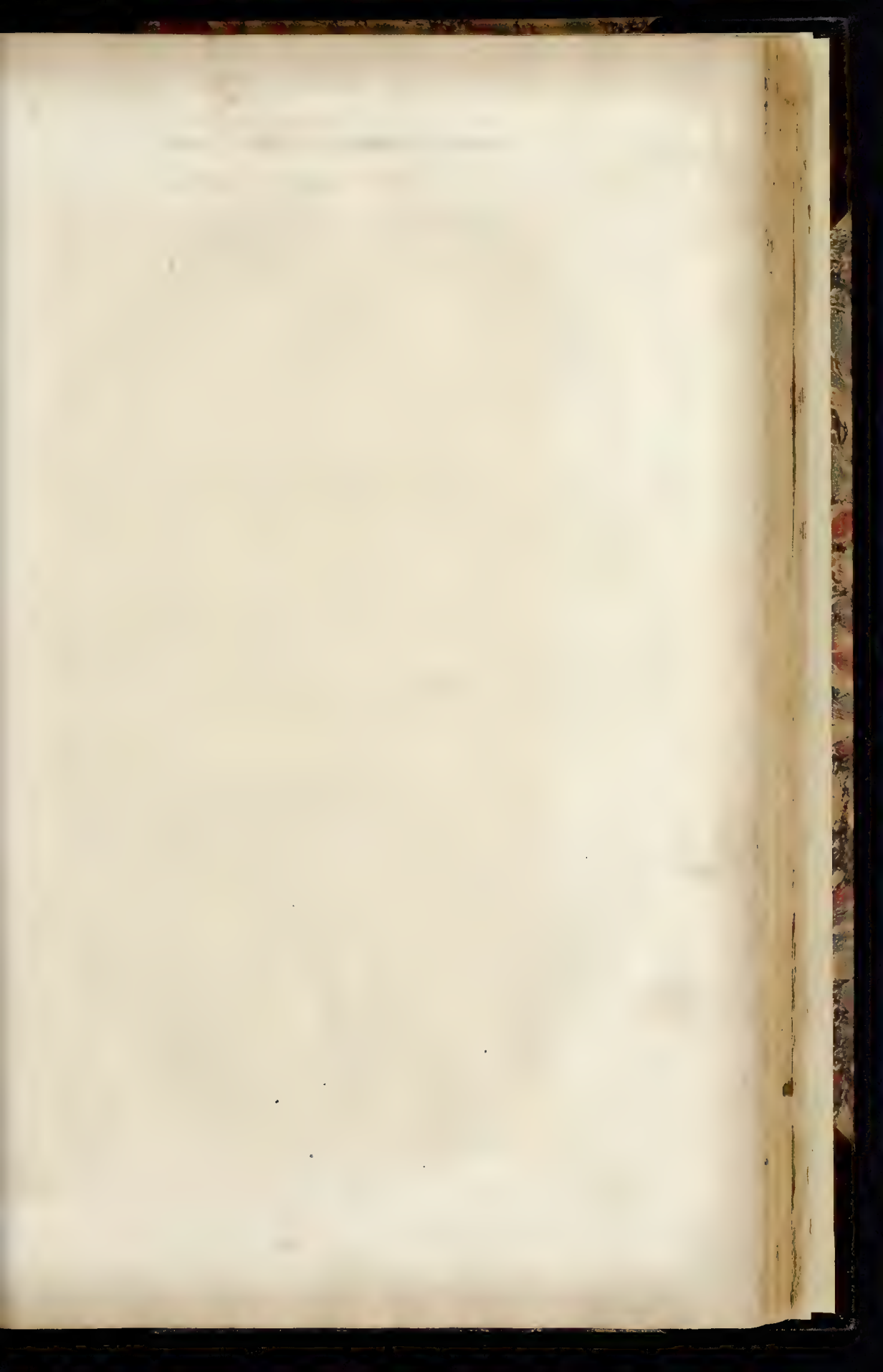
Drawing Lines parallel to the Earth's Axis to every Point of the original Orbit DOIR, till they intersect the aforesaid Plane EQ, he projects another Curve NPQ, which also shall be an Ellipsis (but more oblique than the former) and a distinct Representative of the Earth's Orbit the Sun's Place in it being at P, in the Line SP, drawn from the Sun S in the original Parallel to the Axis.

Yet in his 3d Fig. he makes and calls it a Circle in which a moveable Pole of the World revolves annually about a fixed one, and this also he distinguishes with the twelve Signs, as he had done the other.

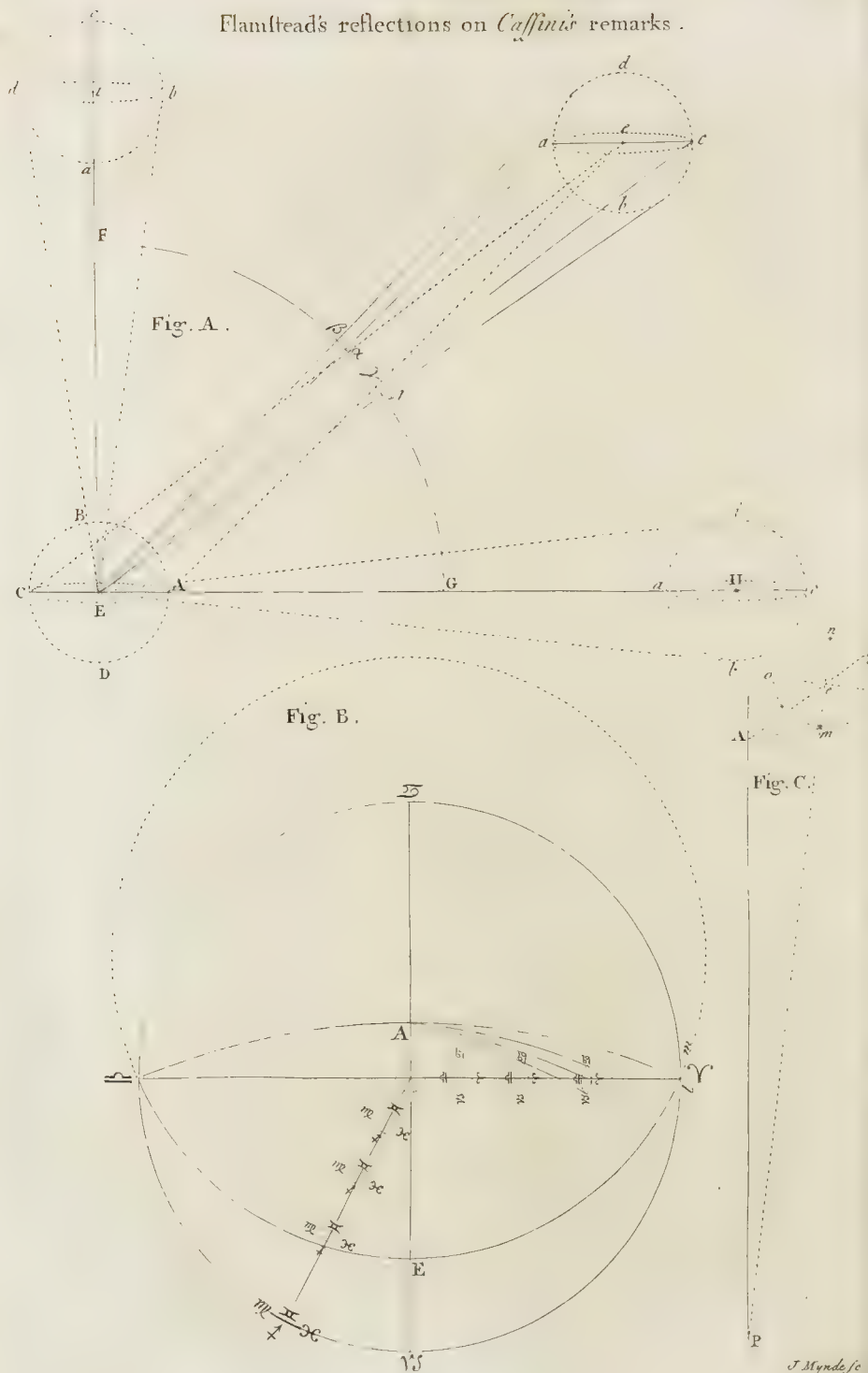
Near this last representative Orbit he lays of a Star at V, which he says shall be sometimes nearer, at other, farther off from the Pole of the World. He shews no Reason why this Star's Place may not be laid off with the same respect to the other distinct representative Orbit EML and to the original IODR: Let it be done for the first at V for the Original at Y, it appears now that as the Earth makes her annual Revolution, she sometimes comes nearest

to

" Il sera à
" propos d'ex-
" aminer ce
" qui résulte
" de l'Hypo-
" these du
" mouvement
" de la terre,
" par rapport
" aux étoiles
" fixes, &
" aux poles
" apparens de
" la terre et de
" l'Ecliptique.
Cassini's 2d
Fig.



Flamsteed's reflections on *Cassini's* remarks.



Remarks of Mons.^r Cassini

Mons.^r Cassini's

Fig. 1.

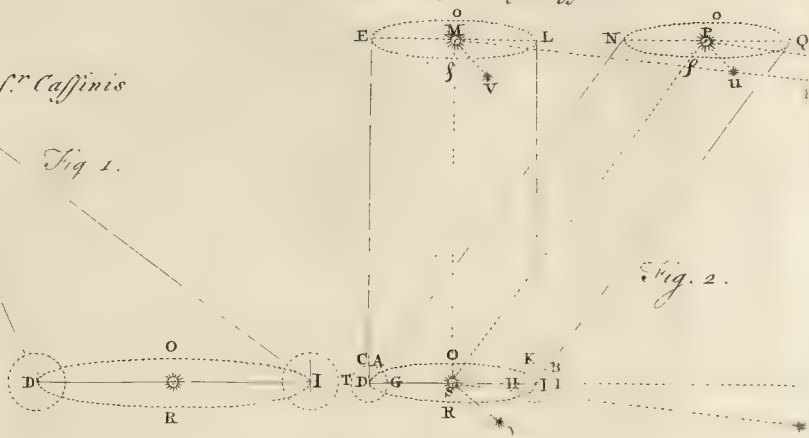
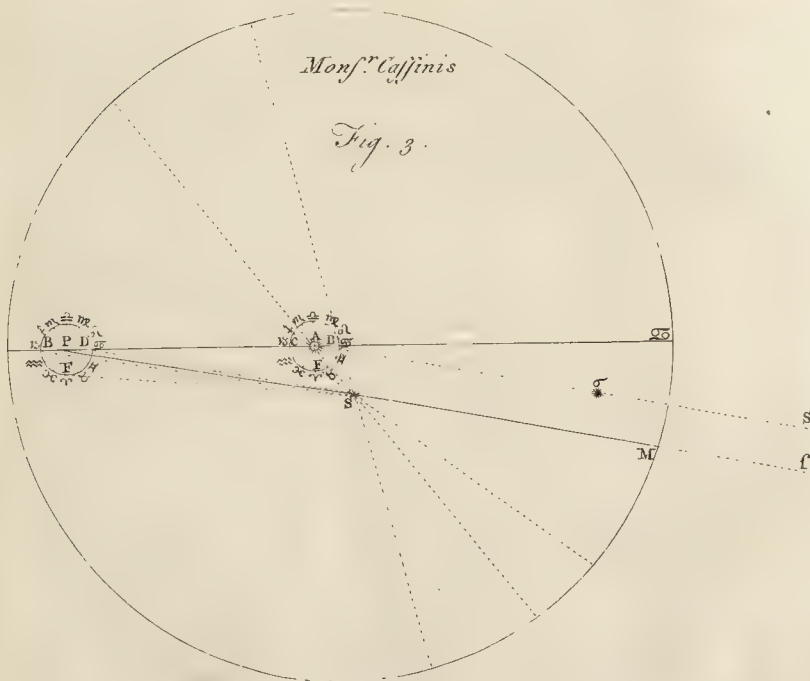


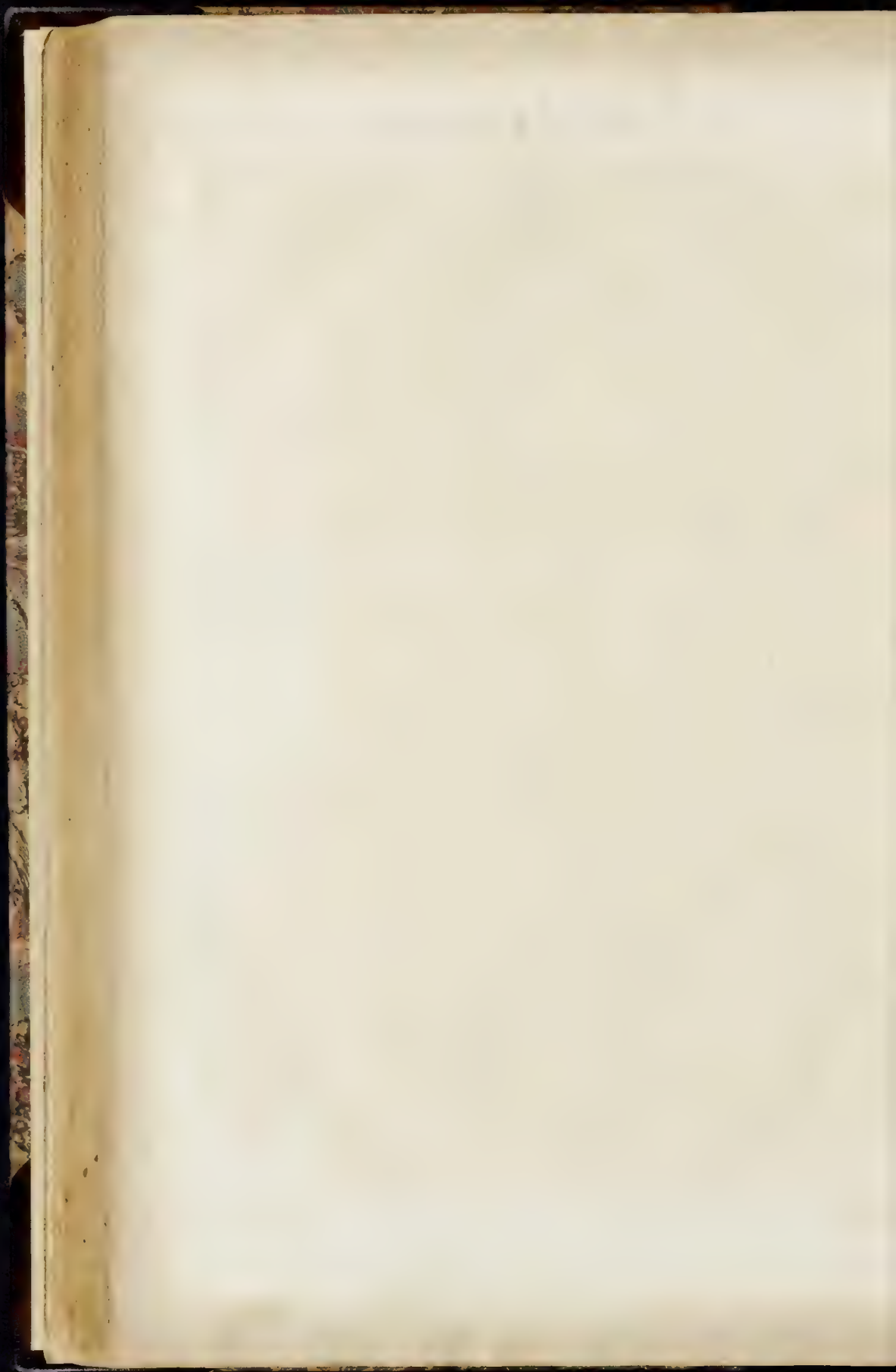
Fig. 2.

Mons.^r Cassini's

Fig. 3.



J. Mynde sc



to it, and removes farther from it at others, by all the several Orbits; which imports nothing to his Purpose.

From these Preliminaries he proceeds and transfers the second representative Orbits of his 2d Fig. into his 3d, and making their Suns to be fix'd Poles of the Ecliptick at P, and of the World at A; he lays off the Pole Star A in the Surface of his Sphere, by its Longitude from the next Colure and Complement of its Latitude, and thereby finds its Place at S in his 3d Fig.

But it appears by what was remark'd before, that both his Circles describ'd about the two fix'd Poles are distinct Representatives of the Earth's Orbit (let him call 'em what he pleases) and their Centers represent the Sun's Places in them; he may and ought therefore to lay off the Star with the same Respect to the Pole A, that it has to the Pole P, and then its Place in the Surface of his Sphere will be at σ .

And now as in his 2d Fig. we had three Orbits of the Earth, as many Suns and three Places of one fix'd Star; so in this third we have two Suns, two fix'd Poles and two moveable of the World and Ecliptick: with two Places of the fix'd Star, which is a pretty Absurdity.

Let those who so fiercely assert Mr. *Cassini's* Conclusion, throw up which Pair of his Poles they please, it will be evident that his Conclusion vanishes, and that (as I affirm'd) it does not follow from these Premises.

I foresee an Evasion that Mr. *Cassini* may make, which I shall remember and answer in its proper Place: At present I shall only mind him, that those who understand how all the diurnal Appearances are made in the Hypothesis of the Earth's Motion, know also how to represent 'em by Lines describ'd in its Surface, or a fix'd *Rete* including it so close, that the Earth may only have Room to revolve within it; as I have shewn in my Doctrine of the Sphere (a Book printed above twenty Years ago, and which I am well assur'd, they are not ignorant of, at the *French* Observatory) and that by Lines design'd upon it, I shall endeavour to do what he has propos'd (how far he has perform'd judge you) that is to explicate the Effect of the Earth's Motion, (or the Parallaxes of the annual Orb) in changing the Longitudes, Latitudes, right Ascensions, Distances from the Pole of the fix'd Stars.

Conceive the Eye plac'd at an infinite Distance in the Plane of the Earth's Orbit ABCD, it will be represented by the Line AC, its Diameter, and let Fig. A. the Sun's Place be at the Center at E: Again,

Conceive a Star plac'd in the North Latitude at e , Lines eA , eC drawn from the Star at e to the Extremities of the Diameter A and C, will form the Angle AEC, the greatest Parallax of the Orb at the Star; produce CA to H, then is the Angle eAH the greatest apparent Latitude of the Star and the $\angle eCH$ the least.

Through e the Place of the Star, draw the Line ac parallel to the Ecliptick EH, and about e let the Orbit of the Earth be describ'd equal and similar to the original Orbit, but contrary plac'd; and from the Extremities of its Diameter ac to E, draw the Lines AE, CE, 'tis evident to any tolerable Geometrician that the $\angle aEC$ is equal to the $\angle CcA$ the greatest Parallax of the Orb.

And that instead of supposing the Star fix'd in e , and the Earth moving round in the Orbit ABCD; the Earth may be suppos'd fix'd at E, and the Star carry'd round in the representative Orbit $ab cd$, whose Plane is parallel to the Plane of the Ecliptick.

Whereby the Parallaxes and the Star's apparent Place will be shewn the same in all Respects, as if the original Orbit had been employ'd.

Let therefore E represent the Center of the Earth now fix'd, and FG a Quadrant of a Circle of Longitude on it, the Line Ea drawn from the Center

ter of the Earth E to the nearest Point of the representative Orbit a , cuts the Periphery of the Earth in e , measuring the Arch of the Earth $G\alpha =$ to the $\angle aEH = eAH$ its greatest apparent Latitude: and in like Manner the Line Ec piercing the Periphery FG in γ , makes $\gamma G = \angle cEH = eCH$ the least Latitude of the Star.

If further, Lines be drawn from the Center of the Earth E , touching the representative Orbit in d and b , these will cut the Earth's Periphery in p and δ , and will give the greatest Diameter of the Curve; describ'd in the Superficies of the Earth, by Lines proceeding from its Center to the infinite Points of the representative Orbit.

The shortest was found in the preceding Paragraph to be $a\gamma$ which Curve (because all the Points in the Orbit $a b c d$ are conceiv'd to be in a Plane parallel to the Ecliptick, and Lines drawn from E to every one of them describ'd a Cone,) shall be an Ellipsis, whose Diameters are given.

1. Hence it follows that the longest or transverse Diameter of every Ellipsis or Curve, expressing the Parallax of the Orb, shall lie parallel to the Planes of the Ecliptick.

2. The conjugate or shortest at Right-angles to it, and the longer to the shorter, shall be as the Radius to the Co-sine of the Star's Latitude.

3. The farther any Star is from the Earth or Sun, the lesser these Ellipses or parallaſtick Curves shall be: and farther,

4. If a Star have no Latitude, then lying in the Plane of the Ecliptick, and the Earth moving always in the same Plane, its Latitude cannot be alter'd by the Parallax, but its Parallax of Longitude will cast it sometimes in Antecedence, sometimes in Consequence of its middle Place.

5. If a Star be conceiv'd also in the Pole of the Ecliptick at i , the Parallax of Longitude shall cast it always into the same Longitude with the Sun, and its Latitude shall be always the Complement of half the intire Parallax of the Orb; so that the Star with the Sun shall traverse all the Signs in the Space of one Year.

6. That from the Time of the first Quartile with the Sun, after its Emerſion from his Rays, to the second Quartile, (whilst the Earth moves from D by A to B , or the representative Point of the Star from d by a to b) the Star (suppos'd at H) appears to move always retrograde; from thence by the Conjunction to the first Quartile Star (whilst the Earth moves from B by C to D or the Star in its Representative from b by c to d) again continually direct; the Parallaxes of Longitude ceasing, and not changing its true or middle Place, at the Conjunction and Opposition to the Sun, and being greatest in Antecedence at the first Quartile, in Consequence at the second.

These are the Affections of the Parallaſtick Curves or Ellipses, and the Properties of the Parallaxes of the Orb at the fix'd Stars, deduc'd from this Figure; we shall find more in the next Figure B.

Wherein let $\varpi \approx \sphericalangle \wp$ represent the Ecliptic, P its Pole, A the Pole of the Earth, $\sphericalangle E \varpi \sphericalangle$ the Aequator; conceive a Star plac'd in the first Point of ϖ , without Latitude, the Ellipsis that expresses its Parallax shall have no Latitude, and therefore will appear a straight Line, let it be represented by the short straight Line $l \varpi m$ coinciding with the Ecliptick: At the Conjunction with the \odot its primitive or middle Place is unaltered; from thence after its Emerſion from the Sun it moves in Consequence towards m , at which Point he arrives when he is in Quartile of it; and now 'tis evident by the Figure, that tho' its Latitude be not chang'd, yet by the Parallax of Longitude it has gotten North Declination from the Equator equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ the intire Parallax of Longitude $l m C$; when afterwards the Sun comes into \wp , and the Point on which the Star appears to l ; it has there as much South Declination

tion as it had North at the 1st Quadrature in *m*, its Latitude remaining unchanged.

But if the Star have 20, 40, or 60 Degrees North Latitude, the Parallaxes may be express'd by the three small Ellipses plac'd one above another, in the Line π P; and Lines drawn from the Pole of the Ecliptick P, to the Place of the Sun design'd; and to be found in them, will shew which Way the Parallax carries the Star, in Consequence, or in Antecedence; and in what Proportion its Distance from the said Pole is augmented or diminish'd by it: But, for the Parallax of right Ascension and Distance from the Pole of the Globe; that narrow Ellipsis plac'd next the Ecliptick, represents the parallaſtick Curve of a Star that has 20 Degrees North Latitude. Let Arches of Hour-circles be struck from the Pole of the World A, to the nearest and remotest Points of this Ellipsis; they shew that the Star shall have its greatest Declination, or least Distance from the Pole, a little after its first Quartile with the Sun, he being in ∞ ; and its greatest Distance from the Pole, or least Declination, a little after the second Quadrature, he being in π .

The ingenious Reader will consider, that tho' I count the Sun's Longitude along these Curves, yet the Places design'd by them, shew only those Points in them, whereon the Star appears by Reason of the Parallax of the Orb; and the Distances of these Points from either of the said Poles in the Arch of a great Circle, represent the Distance as the Parallax makes it appear, augmented or diminish'd, with respect to either of them.

As the Latitude of the Star's Increase, the Parallaxes of Longitude, Latitude, right Ascension, and Declination, do all increase, as may be easily apprehended, by the sole Inspection and Consideration of this Figure; but with too many Varieties to be recounted, except by such as have a great deal of Leisure, and are desirous to let the World see their excellent Abilities, in retailing Things at length; I leave them to the sagacious Reader to collect from the Figure, and proceed to shew how the Appearances of the Pole-star shall be alter'd by the Parallax of the Orb, if sensible at it.

The present Longitude of the Pole-star is π , 24 Deg. $\frac{1}{2}$, its Latitude 66 Deg. North. Let PA in Fig. C, represent an Arch of the solstitial Colure, equal to 23 Deg. $\frac{1}{2}$, the Distance of the Pole of the World and Ecliptick, P e Fig. C. the Line of the Pole-star's Longitude, and its Distance from the Pole of the Ecliptick: About e let the parallaſtick Ellipsis *onqm* be describ'd in such sort, that its longer Diameter may lie parallel to the Ecliptick, and may be in Proportion to the shortest, as the Rad. is to the Line of its Latitude. 'Tis evident, by bare Inspection of the Fig. that its greatest Distance from the Pole of the Ecliptick shall then happen when the Star shall appear on *n*: And the Sun is in the same Longitude with it in the beginning of our June; it's least in December, when their Longitudes are opposite, or (to include both in our Expression) they shall both happen when the Sun, Earth, and Star, are all in the same Plane perpendicular to the Plane of the Ecliptick.

But the nearest Approach of the Pole-star to the Pole of the Globe, and its greatest Remove from it, will be distant from these Points about *q* and *o*, as appears by the Figure, perhaps not much different from the Times on which Mr. Cassini places them; but to determine exactly the Place of these Points on the Curve, the Resolution of this Problem will be required; *A Point being given, and an Ellipsis describ'd in the Superficies of the Sphere, to strike two Arches of great Circles through the said Point to the Ellipsis, so as one of them shall be the shortest, the other the longest that can be betwixt them.* There is then an Oversight committed in my Letter to Dr. Wallis, where I place the greatest Remove of the Pole-star from the Pole in June, the nearest Approach in December. Mr. Halley acknowledges aloud, that Dr. Wallis, Dr. Gregory, and himself, saw it

it not: 'tis no very great Fault to have committed an Oversight, where they did not find it in four Years Time. We are oblig'd to Mr. *Cassini* for the Discovery of it; yet it appears, that he understood not the Effect of the Parallaxes of the Earth's Orb, in changing and varying the Distances of the fix'd Stars from the Pole of the Globe, since he endeavours to represent them by the Help of two Circles, placed about the Poles of the Ecliptick and Globe, when the Hypothesis neither requires nor admits of any such Thing, but only one Ellipsis, and that in numerous Cases a very narrow one *frustra fit*.

Mr. *Cassini* may say, that as I remove the Orbit of the Earth from about the Sun, and draw it about the Star to represent the Parallaxes, so he may in like Manner remove my Ellipses from about the Star, and draw a Circle or two about the two Poles to effect the same Thing; but he may remember that the parallaſtick Curves, are Ellipses, and not Circles; and that not Circles, but Ellipses, only serve to represent these Effects of Parallaxes in the Hypothesis of the Earth's Motion; and further, that it has been shew'd him, that his Circles are really Ellipses and Representatives of the Earth's Orbit, with Suns in them, and therefore no proper Exponents of the Parallaxes.

However, I am oblig'd to him for having given me an Occasion to clear up this Subject, that has not hitherto (as I know of) been handled by any Body; and now since it is evident, that the Parallaxes of such Stars as are nearest to us, and lie in the Neighbourhood to the equinoctial Colure, will (if sensible) be perceiv'd by the Change of the meridional Distances from the Pole, observ'd at six Months Distance, when they were in Quartile to the Sun, as appears by what I have remark'd: I shall return to my Stock of Night Observations, to seek out such as are most proper for discovering the Error of the Instrument; afterward those that are most convenient for shewing the Parallaxes of the Orb: And I shall copy the very first Notes of both, faithfully and exactly as they were transcrib'd from the Instrument, and compare them, to see what Parallax they allow, that the skilful Reader may both correct, examine, and compare them himself, if he thinks he can do it more accurately, than I shall: Something is done towards this already; nothing is to be expected from the *French*, because their Instruments are commonly not above $\frac{1}{4}$ the Radius of mine; or if they be equal to mine, or bigger, as I think one of them is, they are not fix'd as they ought to be for this Purpose; which makes me wish I had a larger than my present, and a better Wall to fix it on, than that is to which I have fitted the large and costly one I have made at my own great Charge: However, if the good Providence of Heaven, that has blest'd all my Labours hitherto, give me Health till after the Holidays, I hope I may by that Time give you a full Account of what it has afforded.

S I R,

Your faithful humble Servant,

JOHN FLAMSTEAD, M.R.

Honoured Sir,

The Observatory, Nov. 19, 1702.

I Send you included a long Letter, whereby you will find that Monsieur *Cassini* has performed nothing of what he propos'd to shew concerning the Effects of the Earth's Motion on the Parallax of the Orb at the fixed Stars. As to what he adds, and of the Poles of the World and Ecliptick, after you have perus'd the latter Part of the Letter, it will appear to you, he might have done better to leave it out, since the Parallaxes of the fixed Stars are determined without moving these Poles at all, and making them to move misrepresents the Parallaxes; so that on the whole you will conclude that he understood

understood nothing of the Business, and perhaps they as little, that affect him. This I mind you of, because I have not mentioned it in the Letter, which I have wrote after my usual Way, with all the Plainness and Sincerity imaginable, and so, as not to give Monf. *Cassini*, nor any other any Offence, or Cause to complain of uncivil Usage. 'Tis something longer than I designed at first it should be; being a new Subject and uncommon, I thought it was better to err on this Hand, than to make it obscure by my Brevity.

But I am sorry, I must tell you this will not make me and Mr. *Halley* Friends: I have some Papers in my Hands that prove him guilty of disingenuous Practices, and know more of him than the Generality of the World does. He knows I cannot cover Dishonesty, or bear with any thing but what is just, honest and true; and that I know he regards nothing of these in his Practices: We must therefore keep at a Distance. I pray God make him sensible of his Faults; and as I told him at *Brown's*, *whenever he becomes a sincere and honest Man, he is sure to have me his Friend.*

I shall be at your End of the Town some Time next Week, when I will wait on you to clear up any Thing that may appear obscure in my long Letter, and pay you the sincere Respects of

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN FLAMSTEAD, M.R.

I desire you to let your Son acquaint my Lord *Pembroke* that you have the included Letter from me; and present him with humble Respects and Services. I have acquainted Mr. *Aston* that I have sent you the included.

N U M B. II.

From the same *Hand* to Sir *Christopher Wren*.

An Account of the Heights of the Welch Hills, &c.

Honoured Sir,

July 1, 1696.

TO satisfy you that I was not mistaken in the Account of the Heights of the *Welch Hills* I gave you, I have examined some Letters I received from Mr. *Caswell*, in the Year 1682, who was employed by Mr. *Adams* in his Survey of *Wales*, wherein he gives me the Measures of them taken with good Instruments, made by my Directions.

The *Wreckin* in *Shropshire*, he says, by levelling by a long Pole he found 396 Yards above the Level of the *Severn*. But by a Base and Altitudes taken by a Quadrant with Telescope-sights, 30 Yards more; $396 + 30 + 40 = 466$ Yards.

The *Severn* in that Place to which he measured is 40 Yards higher than the *Sea*, and falls 3 Yards 3 Inches in five Miles.

Stiperstone Clee Hill, in *Shropshire*, he concludes 600 Yards high.

Penmenmaur in *Caernarvonshire*, 515 Yards.

Caddorydris in *Merionethshire*, 970.

Snowdown in *Caernarvonshire* (more than *Caddorydris* 270 Yards,) = 1240.

Snowdown distant from *Caddorydris* $27 \frac{88}{100}$ Miles. He gives me the Height of the γ on the Top of *Snowdown* $25 \frac{6}{10}$ Inches, but notes not the Time: on *Caddorydris* (July 26, 1682.) $26 \frac{4}{10}$ Inches.

THE LIFE OF

Permit me to rectify a Mistake of yours concerning the Date of my Observations: All that I have made with the large mural Arch, (and which I use in rectifying the Places of the fixed Stars) are got since *Michaelmas* 1689, when that Instrument was scarce compleat; so that I have not yet spent seven Years in my exactest Observations. I began to rectify the Places of the fixed Stars for these Observations, but at *Michaelmas* last, when I found I had a sufficient Stock for that Purpose, and since then I have rectify'd the eight Signs of the Ecliptick you saw, and some few more you saw not. Excuse the Trouble of this from

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN FLAMSTEAD.

NUMB. III.

Extraët of a Letter from Mr. Sprat, (afterwards Bishop of Rochester) to Mr. Wren, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham-College, Lond. in 1658, at which Time the College was garrison'd by the Rebels, and the Professors driven out.

DEAR SIR,

— THIS Day I went to visit *Gresham-college*, but found the Place in such a nasty Condition, so desil'd, and the Smells so infernal, that if you should now come to make Use of your Tube, it would be like *Dives* looking out of Hell into Heaven. Dr. *Goddard* of all your Collegues, keeps Possession, which he could never be able to do, had he not before prepar'd his Nose for Camp Perfumes, by his Voyage into *Scotland*, and had he not such excellent Restoratives in his Cellar. The Soldiers by their Violence which they put on the Musés Seats, have made themselves odious to all the ingenious World; and if we pass by their having undone the Nation, this Crime we shall never be able to forgive them: And as for what concerns you, they have now prov'd, that their Pretensions to Religion were all feign'd, since by hindering your Lectures, they have committed so manifest a Mischief against Heaven. Yet your many Friends here hope you will hereafter recompense this unhappy Leaseure which is afforded you, by making those admirable Discourses which you had intended for that Place more publick; and that you will imitate *Cicero*, who being hinder'd from pronouncing his Oration, *pro Milone*, by the Guards of *Pompey's* Soldiers that incompass'd his Chair, set it forth afterwards more perfect than all the Rest.

Ex Autogra-
pho.

To Mr. Christopher Wren, at All-Souls-College, in Oxford.

DEAR COUSIN,

Y E sterday being the First of the Term, I resolv'd to make an Experiment, whether Dr. *Horton* entertain'd the new Auditory of *Gresham* with any Lecture, for I took it for granted, that if his Divinity could be spar'd, your Mathematicks would not be expected. But at the Gate I was stop'd by a Man with a Gun, who told me there was no Admission upon that Account, the College being reform'd into a Garrison. Then changing my Pretension, I scarce got Permission to go in to Dr. *Goddard*, who gave me Assurance enough, that none of your Collegues intend to appear this Term, unless the Soldiers be remov'd, of which there is no Probability. Upon these Premises, it is the Conclusion of all your Friends, that you may save that

that Journey hither, unless some other Occasions call you: and for these, I expect you will make me your Agent, if they be such as I am capable of dispatching. But it will not perhaps be amiss to take from hence the Occasion of a short and civil Letter to the Committee, signifying, that you hope you have not deceiv'd their Expectation, in choosing you, and that you are ready to attend your Duty, but for this publick Interruption and Exclusion from your Chamber, or what else you will, that looks towards this. I know no more of domestick News, than what every Body talks of: Yesterday I was in *Westminster Hall*, and saw only *Keudigate* and *Windham* in the two Courts, and *Wild* and *Parker* in the Exchequer, in the Chancery none at all, for *Bradshaw* keeps the Seal, as if it were to be carried before him in the other World, whither he is going. *Glyn* and *Fountain* pleaded at the Bar. They talk much of the Mediation of the two Crowns, and proceed so far as to name *Marshal de Clerambault*, for the Embassador, who is to come hither from *France*. My Service to all Friends,

Dear Cousin,

Your most humble Servant,

Oct. 25. 1658.

* M. W.

* Matthew
Wren, eldest
Son of Mat-
thew, Bishop
of Ely.

From the abovementioned Mr. Sprat, to Mr. Wren, on his Translation of Horace's Epistle to Lollius.

My DEAR FRIEND,

I Receiv'd two of your Letters together, for both which I very heartily thank you; but you must give me Leave to dissent from your Sense in one of them, wherein you maintain, that *Horace* cannot be well translated; for, by that elegant Epistle *ad Lollium*, which you sent me, you have confuted yourself: You have admirably well hit his Genius; your Verse is numerous; your Philosophy very instructive for Life; your Liberty in translating, enough to make it seem to be an *English* Original, and yet not so much, but that the Mind of the Author is still religiously observ'd: so that if you have not adorn'd the Fat-droll, (as you most pleasantly call him) with Feathers, yet you have with Jewels, which is a more stately, though not so flanting a Bravery. Most other Attempts on him, (nay even those of *Ben Johnson* himself) appear to me to have been hitherto very unfortunate, and his Translators have seem'd not so much to have remember'd that he was Friend to *Augustus*, as that he was *libertino Patre natus*: so rudely and so clownishly have they handled him.

You perfectly well agree with my Opinion, in approving this Poet above others; for, ever since I have had the good Fortune to read him otherwise than as a School-boy, I have always respected him as one of the most accomplish'd Men of that incomparable Age. He was almost the first Writer that brought Poetry from the Fables of their ridiculous Religion, and from flattering Womens Beauties, to speak of human Affairs, and to shew Mankind to themselves. The Decency of his Order and Invention is admirable; all Things so justly, and measuredly said, that even the hypercritical *Matt. Clifford* himself cannot find one Word in him whereon to use his Sponge: so natural he is, that every Fancy seems to flow into his Pen, without any Contention of Brain, and yet he was the slowest and severest of his Time; the Wit which he shews, is just enough for the Subjects which he undertakes; and no more. This I esteem one of the surest and noblest of Perfections,

that

that belongs to an excellent Pen; and I like very well what *Jack Berkenhead* has somewhere said—*That a great Wit's great Work is to refuse*. Moderation of Fancy is a Thing most commendable, and most difficult; it being hard for Men of hot and violent Minds, (such as most commonly great Writers have) to stop themselves in full Speed, and to understand when they have done enough.

He meets, I confess, with some *Tuccas*, that blame him for his many downright and proverbial Sentences, and for the Roughness of his Style. But, as for the first, it must be said, that if his plain Morals are not Wit in this Age, yet they were then, and that too so great, that we have nothing else left us of all the eldest and most applauded *Grecians*, but some few such Sayings, of which we meet many hundreds in *Horace*. And if we consider his Style too, we shall find it was very smooth, compar'd to those who writ before him; for, the best Judge of Poetry in the World gives this Judgment of the best of the ancients Romans, *Lucilius*, that he was *durus componere Versus*.^{*} Nor can his Way of writing be call'd crabbed, or harsh, but rather a masculine Plainness, and ductile Course of Verse. If there be any Unevenness, or Ruggedness in it, it is such as that of his own *Rome* was, to which it was not an Injury but Advantage, that it was built on Hills. Nor are all Things presently to be prais'd that are smooth, for then it may be *Quarles* might come in Competition with *Cowley*; and if to be oyl'd were to be harmonious, I know not why a Coach-wheel, or a Jack, does not make good Musick.

They who blame him for the Equality and Familiarity of his Style, are not worth confuting; let such be still ignorant, who admire nothing but what is lofty and swelling; such who prefer

“ The fair Abbess of the Skies,
“ With all her Nunnery of Eyes;

or, (to make another Instance of the same Author, not yet publish'd)

“ Go, call me * *Stepkins* for the Sun,
“ And hang green Sarcenet 'fore the Moon,
“ For, since my *Celia's* Eyes appear'd,
“ Those illustrious Lights are blear'd.

Before

“ Fountains and Trees our wearied Pride do please,
“ Even in the midst of gilded Palaces;
“ And in our Towns, that Prospect gives Delight,
“ Which opens round the Country to our Sight.

And thus much, my dear Friend, for your Poet.

To Mr. WREN, from the same Hand.—Recital of a mutual Discourse on the Subject of the Wit of Conversation. 1663.

I Owe you, my dear Friend, an ill Turn, your late Plot against me was most barbarous, your Design was as bloody as *Venner's*; you endeavour'd to raise a new Rebellion in my Heart, just after a long civil War; for this I have vow'd a severe Revenge, and have laid a thousand Policies to catch you; I have looked over all my Treasures of Malice, and have at last found a good old Engine, which never fail'd me in Time of Need, and that is the writing a long Letter: With this I have made many fatal Experiments, and have on all Occasions satisfy'd my Wrath on those that have displeas'd me; so that for

fear

* An eminent
Oculist of that
Time.

fear of it, some have wholly forsaken my Acquaintance, and rejected my Passion; some have fled the Kingdom; and some (for what I know) have gone into another World. It is with this murd'rous Instrument that I now come to assault you; and I trust its Operation will confirm the Opinion of you Philosophers, that any Thing tho' never so innocent may be a Poison, if taken in too great a Quantity. It shall, I promise you, be as long as the Paper will give me Leave, and to the Length of it I will also add, that it shall be written on a *Subject*, on which I have heard *you yourself speak many admirable Things*; that so you may undergo the Torment to read *your own Thoughts* disfigur'd by my Expressions; which, I hope, will be as great a Grief to you, as it was to that King (whose Name I have forgot) when the *Scythians* sent home his own Ambassadors to him with their Ears, and Noses, and Lips cut off.—Now then, my dearest Friend, you may recollect we went lately from *Axeyard* to walk in *St. James's-park*, and tho' we met not the *incomparable Person*, whose Company we sought, yet he was enough present to our Thoughts, to bring us to discourse of that in which he so much excels, the Wit of Conversation. *Some Part of what you then said, you shall now hear over again*; for tho' I have a most treacherous Memory in other Matters, yet my Love to *Kit Wren* makes it always faithful in preserving whatever he commits to it.—The Wit therefore of Discourse is as different among the several Parts of Mankind, as the Temper of their Air, and Constitution of their Bodies; and so it is to be divided into general, and particular. The general is that which consists of Terms, and Similitudes, and Humours, which are receiv'd by many Nations. This either prevails by Conquest, and so the *Roman* Language and Wit have obtain'd over all the Countries where they sow'd Civility by their Victories: Or else, by the Situation, Authority, and commanding Genius of one People above another. Thus the *Grecians* became Teachers of the Arts of Talking to the *Ancients*; and the *French* of late to the *Moderns*; whose Tongue and Customs have gone farther in *Europe*, than their present King, how terrible soever he appears, is likely to carry their Armies.—Of this general Wit there are manifest Differences to be observ'd. That of the *Chinese* consists in the Skill of writing several Characters. That of the *Egyptians* in giving Things themselves, instead of Words, for Similitudes; in painting a Snake with its Tail in its Mouth, to signify the Year; a Lion for Courage; the Sun, Moon, and Stars, for a thousand Concepts. A strange Kind of laborious expressing their Minds, which if the Orators of our Time should use in their Luxuriancy of Metaphors, they would stand in Need of the Ark, to carry about with them any one of their Orations. The *Eastern Wit* in all Ages has been principally made up of lofty and swelling Comparisons, as we may see at this Day in the Titles of the *Sophy*, and *Grand Seigneur*, which no doubt are some of their noblest Fancies; and yet to our Understanding, they require the Assistance of *Mahomet's Dove* to make Sense of them. That of the *Moors* was the same of the *Spanish* at this Time. The *Italian, French, English, Dutch*, (if they have any) is something alike, according to their common Original the *Latin*. Of the *Muscovitish*, or *Tartarian*, I can give but little Account: But I assure you, even the *Irish* had a Wit of their own, tho' you will hardly believe it, till some of our Friends went thither; nay, to say more to their Advantage, they had this peculiar to themselves, that almost all their whole Nation was at the same Time both Poets and Saints.—The particular Wit is that which arises from the frequent Meetings of private Assemblies: And this too is capable of infinite Divisions; for, there is hardly the least Company in the World which rendezvous together, but has its common Sayings, Figures, Characters, and Observations, which are great Raillery in their proper Compass, but tasteless to Strangers. This is evident in

several Shires of *England*. When I was in the *North*, there was a Buffoon that was a dreadful Droll among the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen, and yet scarce spoke a Grain of Salt to our *Southern* Tastes. This likewise appears in several Professions of Men. The Lawyers will laugh at those Jestings in the *Temple*, which it may be will not move us at *Charing-cross*. And it is likely that *Tom Killigrew* himself would not seem good Company to a Table of *Benchers*. The Wit beyond *Fleet-bridge* has another Colour from that on this Side. The very Watermen on the *Bank-side* have their Quipps, and their Repartees, which are not intelligible but upon the *Thames*. But to say no more; this is to be seen in every private Family: I had almost gone so far as to say, that there is scarce a Husband and Wife in the World, but have a particular Way of Wit among themselves; but this I will not affirm, because this evil Age believes, that few married Persons are wont to delight so much in one another's Company, as to be merry and witty alone. Now then having discovered this mighty *Proteus*, which puts on so many various Shapes in several Places, and Occasions, let us try to define it. — The Wit of Discourse is (to speak magnificently) the greatest Art about the smallest Things: For to confess a Secret, as *Sir W. Davenant's* Way differs very little from *Frank Bowman's*, and yet the one is the gayest and the other the most insipid; so the true pleasant Talk, and the vainest Tattle, are not very much distinguished: The Subjects of both of them are a thousand little Trifles, and the Difference lies only in the Management. Nor does this Meanness of Matter prejudice the Art, for then it would follow, that your * *divine Works* in the *King's Closet* are the worse, because they are the Descriptions of a Louse, a Flea, and a Nit. This Wit therefore is made up of many inexpressible Excellencies. It must have a general Evenness of Humour; it must perfectly observe all the Rules of Decency, to know when enough is said; to forbear biting Things not to be touched; to abstain from abusing honest and virtuous Matters.

* From a
little Animals,
and minute
Bodies, drawn
by the Help of
Microscopical
Glasses.

It must apply itself to the Condition, and Inclination of the Company; it must rather follow than lead; it must not always strain to speak extraordinary Things; for that is a constant walking on the Ropes, in which though a Man does often well, yet he may have one Fall, that may chance to break his Neck: It must allow every one their Turn of speaking; for it is natural to all, better to love their Company who give them Occasions of speaking well, than those that do it themselves. It must mingle Stories with Arguments, pleasant Things with solemn; it must vary the Subject often, and not pump itself dry at once. This, if you will believe *Mr. Cowley*, is a wise Quality: for in a Copy of Verses which you have not yet seen, he says

“ So the Imperial Eagle does not stay
“ Till the whole Carcase he devour
“ That's fallen into his Power,
“ As if his generous Hunger understood,
“ That it can never want Plenty of Food;
“ He only sucks the tasteful Blood,
“ And to fresh Game flies cheerfully away,
“ To Kites and meaner Birds he leaves the mangled Prey.

This generous Eagle-wit therefore uses the best and easiest Words, is not the first that takes up new ones, nor the last that lays down old ones. But above all, its chiefest Dominion is in forming new Significations, and Images of Things and Persons. And this may be so suddenly practised, that I have known in one Afternoon, new Stamps, and Proverbs, and Fashions of Speech raised, which were never thought of before, and yet gave Occasion to most delight-

delightful Imaginations. You see now, my dear Friend, of what Extent and Difficulty this Art is. — The Truth is, it is seldom to be found among Men of large and full and high Thoughts; because such Minds overlook the little Passages, and fly presently to general Axioms, which it may be are more useful, yet they do not affect our Thoughts with such an immediate and familiar Delight. But to speak Truth, the Perfection of this glorious Faculty, without which, Life were no Life, belongs not so much to Men, as to the softer Sex: for they have usually their Heads less disturbed with busy Thoughts, their Minds are quicker and readier for new Impressions, they talk more of circumstantial Things, they sit longer together, and (which you used to say is of great Concernment in our northern and phlegmatick Climate) they keep their Feet warmer and drier, and go less into the moist and open Air. But that Women are the best Speakers, I could give you two undeniable Instances, in your *Laura*, (as I think you call her) and her who was once my *Celia*; the one speaks with a great Freedom and Spirit, and Abundance of excellent Words; the other talks less, but with as much Sweetness and Nature; from the one nothing can be taken away; to the other nothing ought to be added. But I dare not go farther in this Description on Remembrance of an old Story: That while a Painter was drawing a most beautiful Lady, he fell desperately in Love with her, and it had cost him his Life, had not *Alexander* bestowed her on him! The first Part of this Tale, I am sure would be my Fortune, if I should longer employ my Thoughts on such a lovely Object; and I am as certain, that I should perish long enough, before I should find an *Alexander* to pity me. To go on then in my first Purpose. Wit consists in a right ordering of Things and Words for Delight. But — Stay — Now I look about me, What Need have I to go any farther? you are without Question already sufficiently tired, and so my End is obtained; and then it will be useless to speak more on this Subject, seeing the Age wherein we live runs already so mad after the Affairs of Wit. All the World are at present Poets: the poetical Bees are all at Work: Comedies, Tragedies, Verses, Satyrs, Burlesques, Songs buzz every where about our Ears; and (to ease my Hand a little by changing my Pace)

“ Wits we have now as many (if not more)
 “ As we had Sects, or Preachers, heretofore;
 “ And Heaven in Mercy grant this crying Sin
 “ Don't the same Judgments once more usher in.
 “ We have our Northern Wits, Wits of the East,
 “ Wits of the South, and Witlings of the West;
 “ South and by West, South-East, East and by North,
 “ From ev'ry Point like Winds they bluster forth.
 “ We have our Wits that write only to sway
 “ At *York*, or *Hull*, or ten Miles thence each Way.
 “ Each Corporation, Sea-Port, Borough Town,
 “ Has those that will this glorious Title own.
 “ Like *Egypt's* Frogs they swarm, and like them too
 “ Into the Chambers of our Kings they go.

What is to be done with this furious Generation of Wits and Writers?
 To advise them to leave off is in vain. —

“ — Too strong the Infection is
 “ To be destroy'd by such quick Remedies:
 “ No no, it is a sweet and flatt'ring Kind
 “ Of Poison, and deceives the clearest Mind:
 “ *Cowley* himself (*Cowley* whom I adore)
 “ Often resolv'd, nay, and I think he swore,

“ That

" That he no more those barren Lands would plow,
 " Where flow'ry Weeds instead of Corn do grow.
 " Perchance (as Jesuit's Powder does) each Vow
 " Kept the Fit off from him three Weeks, or so,
 " But yet at last his Vows were all in vain,
 " This Writing Ague still returns again.

Well then, if they are incurable let them write on. But while others are exalting such dangerous Trophies of their Wit, I will be content to give but one Instance of my own; but it is such that no Critick can lay hold on; and it is that I infinitely love one of Sir *Harry Savil's* Professors: You may easily guess which I mean, or whether it be to Dr. *W.* or yourself, that I am

A most affectionate Servant,

THO. SPRAT.

From the same Hand, from Oxford, to Dr. Wren in London, 1663.

My dear Sir,

I must confess I have some little Peek against you — therefore am not much displeased, that I have this Occasion of telling you some ill News. The Vice-chancellor did yesterday send for me, to inquire where the *Astronomy Professor* was, and the Reason of his Absence, so long after the Beginning of the Term—I used all the Arguments I could for your Defence. I told him, that *Charles the Second* was King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*; that he was by the late *Act of Parliament* declar'd absolute Monarch in these his Dominions; and that it was this mighty Prince who had confin'd you to *London*. I endeavour'd to persuade him that the drawing of Lines in Sir *Harry Savill's* School was not altogether of so great a Concernment for the Benefit of *Christendom*, as the rebuilding of * *St. Paul's*, or the fortifying (a) of *Tangier*: (for I understood those were the great Works, in which that extraordinary Genius of yours was judg'd necessary to be employ'd) All this I urged, but after some Discourse, he told me, that he was not to consider you now as † *Dr. Bayly*, (for so he ow'd you all Kindness) but as *Vice-chancellor*, and under that Capacity he most terribly told me, that he took it very ill, you had not all this while given him any Account what hinder'd you from the Discharge of your Office. This he bid me tell you, and I do it not very unwillingly, because I see that our Friendships are so closely ty'd together, that the same Thing which was so great a Prejudice to me, (my losing your Company all this while here) does also something redound to your Disadvantage. And so, my dear Sir, now my Spite and Spleen is satisfied, I must needs return to my old Temper again, and faithfully assure you, that I am with the most violent Zeal and Passion,

Your most affectionate and devoted Servant,

THO. SPRAT.

(a) A Commission to survey and direct the Works of the Mole, Harbour and Fortifications of the Citadel and Town of *Tangier* in *Africa*, was at this Time propos'd for him, (being then esteem'd one of the best Geometricians in *Europe*) with an ample Salary, and Promise of other royal Favours, particularly a Dispensation for not attending the Business of his Professorship, during his Continuance in his Majesty's Service abroad; and a Reversionary Grant of the Office of Surveyor-General of the royal Works, on the Decease of Sir *John Denham*: all which was signified to him by Letter from Mr. *Matthew Wren*, Secretary to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. This Employment he had no Inclination to accept, (being not then consistent with his Health,) but humbly pray'd his Majesty to allow of his Excuse, and to command his Duty in *England*.

N U M B.

* viz. The old ruinous Fabric, before the late Fire.

† Dr. Rich. Bayly, President of St. John's, and Dean of Sarum.

NUMB. IV.

IN the Year 1665, Mr. *Wren* took a Journey to *Paris*, where, at that Time all Arts flourish'd in a higher Degree than had ever been known before in *France*; and where was a general Congress of the most celebrated Masters in every Profession, encourag'd by Royal Munificence, and the Influence of the great Cardinal *Mazarine*.

How he spent his Time, in that Place, will in Part appear from a short Account he gave by Letter to a particular Friend; wherein he returns Thanks for his Recommendation of him to the Earl of *St. Albans*, who in the Journey, and ever since, had us'd him with all Kindness and Indulgence imaginable, and made good his Character of him, as of one of the best Men in the World. He then proceeds to the following Particulars; I have, says he, busied myself in surveying the most esteem'd Fabricks of *Paris*, and the Country round; the *Louvre* for a while was my daily Object, where no less than a thousand Hands are constantly employ'd in the Works; some in laying mighty Foundations, some in raising the Stories, Columns, Entablements, &c. with vast Stones, by great and useful Engines; others in Carving, Inlaying of Marbles, Plastering, Painting, Gilding, &c. Which altogether make a School of Architecture, the best probably, at this Day in *Europe*. The College of *The four Nations* is usually admir'd, but the Artist hath purposely set it ill-favour'dly, that he might shew his Wit in struggling with an inconvenient Situation.—An Academy of Painters, Sculptors, Architects, and the chief Artificers of the *Louvre*, meet every first and last *Saturday* of the Month. *Monf. Colbert*, Surintendant, comes to the Works of the *Louvre*, every *Wednesday*, and, if Business hinders not, *Thursday*. The Workmen are paid every *Sunday* duly. *Monf. Abbè Charles* introduc'd me to the Acquaintance of *Bernini*, who shew'd me his Designs of the *Louvre*, and of the King's Statue.—*Abbè Bruno* keeps the curious Rarities of the Duke of *Orleans's* Library, well fill'd with excellent Intaglio's, Medals, Books of Plants, and Fowls in Miniature. *Abbè Burdelo* keeps an Academy at his House for Philosophy every *Monday* Afternoon.—But I must not think to describe *Paris*, and the numerous Observables there, in the Compass of a short Letter.—The King's Houses I could not miss; *Fontainebleau* has a stately Wilderness and Vastness suitable to the Desert it stands in. The antique Mass of the Castle of *St. Germain's*, and the Hanging-gardens are delightfully surprising, (I mean to any Man of Judgment) for the Pleasures below vanish away in the Breath that is spent in ascending. The Palace, or if you please, the Cabinet of *Versailles* call'd me twice to view it; the Mixtures of Brick, Stone, blue Tile and Gold make it look like a rich Livery: Not an Inch within but is crouded with little Curiosities of Ornaments: the Women, as they make here the Language and Fashions, and meddle with Politicks and Philosophy, so they sway also in Architecture; Works of Filgrand, and little Knacks are in great Vogue; but Building certainly ought to have the Attribute of eternal, and therefore the only Thing incapable of new Fashions. The masculine Furniture of *Palais Mazarine* pleas'd me much better, where is a great and noble Collection of antique Statues and Busts, (many of Porphyry) good Basso-relievos; excellent Pictures of the great Masters, fine Arras, true Mosaicks, besides *Pierres de Raport* in Compartments and Pavements; Vases of Porcelain painted by *Raphael*, and infinite other Rarities; the best of which now furnish the glorious Appartment of the *Queen Mother* at the *Louvre*, which I saw many Times.—After the incomparable Villas of *Vaux* and *Maisons*, I shall but name *Ruel*, *Courances*,
Chilly,

Chilly, Eſſoane, St. Maur, St. Mande, Iſſy, Meudon, Rincy, Chantilly, Verneul, Lioncour, all which, and I might add many others, I have ſurvey'd; and that I might not loſe the Impreſſions of them, I ſhall bring you almoſt all *France* in Paper, which I found by ſome or other ready deſign'd to my Hand, in which I have ſpent both Labour and ſome Money. *Bernini's* Deſign of the *Lowre* I would have given my Skin for, but the old reſerv'd *Italian* gave me but a few Minutes View; it was five little Deſigns in Paper, for which he hath receiv'd as many thouſand Piſtoles; I had only Time to copy it in my Fancy and Memory; I ſhall be able by Diſcourſe, and a Crayon, to give you a tolerable Account of it. I have purchas'd a great deal of *Taille-douce*, that I might give our *Country-men* Examples of Ornaments and Groteſks, in which the *Italians* themſelves confeſs the *French* to excel. I hope I ſhall give you a very good Account of all the beſt Artiſts of *France*; my Buſineſs now is to pry into Trades and Arts, I put myſelf into all Shapes to humour them; 'tis a Comedy to me, and tho' ſometimes expenceful, I am loth yet to leave it. Of the moſt noted Artiſans within my Knowledge or Acquaintance I ſend you only this general Detail, and ſhall inlarge on their reſpective Characters and Works at another Time.

ARCHITECTS.

Sig. Cavalier *Bernini*, Monf. *Mansart*, Monf. *Vaux*, Monf. *Gobert*, Monf. *Le Pautre*.

Meſſieurs *Anguiere* and *Sarazin*; Sculptors and Statuaries.

Monf. *Perrot*; famous for Baſſo-relievos.

Van Oſtal, Mr. *Arnoldin*; Plaſterers, perform the admirable Works at the *Lowre*.

Monf. *Orphelin*, Monf. *de Tour*; Gravers of Medals and Coins.

PAINTERS in HISTORY.

Meſſ. *Le Brun*, *Bourdon*, *Pouſſin*, *Ruwine*, *Champeine*, *Vilcein*, *Loyre*, *Coyſel*, *Picard*.

Miniard, in Hiſtory and Portraits.

Monf. *Beaubrun*; in Portraits for Women.

Meſſ. *Baptiſt*, *Robert*, for Flowers.

Mr. *Matthews*, an *Engliſh* Painter, at the *Rue-Gobelins*; works for the Arras-weavers; where Monf. *Bruno* is the Deſigner, and an excellent Artiſt.—There I ſaw Goldſmiths working in Plate admirably well.

Abbè *Burdelo* works in Enamel.

Monf. *de la Quintinye*, has moſt excellent Skill in Agriculture, Planting, and Gardening.

My Lord *Berkley* returns to *England* at *Chriſtmaſs*, when I propoſe to take the Opportunity of his Company, and by that Time, to perfect what I have on the Anvil; Obſervations on the preſent State of *Architecture*, *Arts*, and *Manufactures* in *France*.

Idea of the
Perfection of
Painting.

N. B. "Painting and Sculpture, (ſaid the judicious *Sieur de Cambray*) are the politeſt and nobleſt of antient Arts, true, ingenuous, and claiming the Reſemblance of Life, the Emulation of all Beauties, the faireſt Records of all Appearances whether celeftial or ſublunary, whether angelical, divine or humane. And what Art can be more helpful, or more pleaſing to a philoſophical Traveller, an Architec[t], and every ingenious Mechanician? All which muſt be lame without it.



T H E
L I F E
O F
Sir *CHRISTOPHER WREN*, Knt.

P A R T II.
Of the Works of Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN,
in ARCHITECTURE.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.



AFTER the most dreadful Conflagration of *London*, in the fatal Year 1666. Dr. *Christopher Wren* was appointed Surveyor-general and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole City; the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*; all the parochial Churches (in Number Fifty-one, enacted by Parliament, in lieu of those that were burnt and demolished) with other publick Structures; and for the Disposition of the Streets: A Charge so great and extensive, incumbent on a single Person, disposed him to take to his Assistance Mr. *Robert Hook*, Professor of *Geometry* in *Gresham College*, to whom he assigned chiefly the Business of measuring, adjusting, and setting out the Ground of the private Street-houses to the several Proprietors; reserving all the publick Works to his own peculiar Care and Direction.

On the 6th of *March*, 1667-8. He receiv'd his Majesty's Warrant under the Privy-seal, (in Confirmation of a Deputation from Sir *John Denham*, Knight of the Bath) to execute the Office of Surveyor-general of the Royal-works: Upon whose Decease in the same Month, his Majesty was pleas'd to grant

grant him *Letters Patents*, under the *Great-seal* to succeed in that Employment (*a*). Dr. *Wren* had the Honour of *Knighthood* confer'd on him, in the Year 1674.

In 1684, Sir *Christopher Wren* was constituted by *Patents* under the *Great-seal*, the principal Officer, by the Stile of *Comptroller* of the Works in the Castle of *Windſor*; and of all Mannors, Lodges, &c. in the *Forreſt* thereof; in the Room of *Hugh May*, Eſq; deceas'd.

In 1698, he was appointed *Surveyor-general*, and a *Commiſſioner* of the Works and Repairs of the ancient *Abbey-church* of *St. Peter*, in *Weſtminſter*; (upon the paſſing of an *Act of Parliament*, charging a Branch of the Duty on Coals, for that Purpoſe) and furthermore, was occasionally nominated a *Commiſſioner* in divers other *publick Commiſſions*.

A View (however ſhort and imperfect) of the *Surveyor's* Proceedings, in Relation to the Buildings of *London*; the royal, and other *publick Works* purſuant to the ſeveral above-mention'd *Appointments*, may be taken from the following Sections, put together out of ſome ſcatter'd Papers, and publick Accounts, ſuch as the Collector hath hitherto met with.

viz. Anno
1728.

PART II.

SECT. I.

Of London in ancient Times, and the Boundary of the Roman Colony, diſcern'd by the Surveyor, after the great Fire.

TO have a right Idea of *London* of old, it will be neceſſary to conſider the State of the *Britains*, at the Time the *Romans* made their firſt Deſcent on the *Iſland*; and ſurely we cannot reaſonably think them ſo barbarous, at leaſt in that Age, (and the Accounts before that, are too fabulous) as is commonly believ'd. Their Manner of Fighting was in Chariots, like the ancient Heroes of *Greece*, in the *Trojan War*, and occasionally on Foot, with ſuch good Order and Diſcipline, as much embarraſs'd the *Roman Legions*, and put a Stop to the Progreſs of the invincible *Cæſar*; who could do nothing great, nor conquer any Part, but, ſays *Tacitus*, only ſhew'd the Country to the *Romans*; and, according to *Lucan*, was oblig'd ſhamefully to retreat.

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

The *Britains* went to Sea in Veſſels cover'd with Hides, for they wanted Pitch: They traded chiefly with the *Gauls*, and certainly the principal *Emporium*, or Town of Trade to which the *Gallic Ships* reſorted, muſt be *London*; tho' ſituated far up the Country, yet moſt commodiouſly acceſſible by a noble River, among the thickeſt Inhabitants; taking its Name (according

Athen. Oxon. (a) By the Way; this Sir *John Denham*, the only Son of Sir *John Denham* Knight, ſometime
vol. 2. p. 301. one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; was a celebrated Poet, and an eminent Royaliſt. King
Charles I. granted to him the Reverſion of the Office of *Surveyor-general* of the Works, after
the Deceafe of the great Architect *Inigo Jones*; which Office he entered upon at the Reſto-
ration of King *Charles II.* Anno 1660. (for the ſaid *Inigo Jones* deceas'd 21 July, Ann. 1651.
aged about 79 Years.) At the Coronation of King *Charles II.* he was made a Knight of
the *Bath*. He died at his Office in *Scotland-yard* near *White-hall*, at the Time above-men-
tioned, and was buried in *Weſtminſter-abbey*, near the Graves of *Jeffery Chaucer*, and *Abra-
Cowley*.

to some Derivations from the old *British* Term) of *Ship-hill*; or otherwise, a *Harbour of Ships*.

Here the *Romans* fix'd a civil, or trading Colony, in the Reign of *Claudius*, which greatly increas'd under *Nero*, by the Concourse of Merchants, and Convenience of Commerce, and was inhabited by *Christians* and *Heathens* together.

The Extent of the *Roman Colony*, or *Præfecture*, particularly Northward, the *Surveyor* had Occasion to discover by this Accident. The parochial Church of *St. Mary le Bow*, in *Cheapside*, requir'd to be rebuilt after the great Fire: the Building had been mean and low, with one Corner taken out for a Tower, but upon restoring that, the new Church could be render'd square. Upon opening the Ground, a Foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended Fabrick, which, (on further Inspection, after digging down sufficiently, and removing what Earth or Rubbish lay in the Way) appear'd to be the Walls, with the Windows also, and the Pavement of a Temple, or Church, of *Roman* Workmanship, intirely bury'd under the Level of the present Street. Hereupon, he determin'd to erect his new Church over the old; and in order to the necessary Regularity and Square of the new Design, restor'd the Corner; but then another Place was to be found for the Steeple: The Church stood about 40 Feet backwards from the high Street, and by purchasing the Ground of one private House not yet rebuilt, he was enabled to bring the Steeple forward so as to range with the Street-houses of *Cheapside*. Here, to his Surprise, he sunk about 18 Feet deep through made-ground, and then imagin'd he was come to the natural Soil, and hard Gravel, but upon full Examination, it appear'd to be a *Roman* Causeway of rough Stone, close and well rammed, with *Roman* Brick and Rubbish at the Bottom, for a Foundation, and all firmly cemented. This *Causeway* was four Feet thick [the Thickness of the *via Appia*, according as *Monf. Montfaucon* measur'd, it was about three *Parisian* Feet, or three Feet two Inches and a half *English*.] Underneath this *Causeway* lay the natural Clay, over which that Part of the City stands, and which descends at least forty Feet lower. He concluded then to lay the Foundation of the Tower upon the very *Roman Causeway*, as most proper to bear what he had design'd, a weighty and lofty Structure.

He was of Opinion for divers Reasons, that this *High-way* ran along the North Boundary of the Colony. The Breadth then North and South, was from the *Causeway* now *Cheapside*, to the River *Thames*; the Extent East and West, from *Tower-hill* to *Ludgate*, and the principal middle Street, or *Prætorian Way*, was *Watling-street*.

The Colony was wall'd next the *Thames*, and had a Gate there called *Dow-gate*, but anciently *Dour-gate*, which signified the *Water-gate*.

On the North Side, beyond the *Causeway*, was a great Fen, or Morass, in those Times; which the *Surveyor* discover'd more particularly when he had Occasion to build a new East-front to the parochial Church of *St. Laurence* near *Guildhall*; for the Foundation of which, after sinking seven Feet, he was obliged to pile twelve Feet deeper; and if there was no *Causeway* over the Bog, there could be no Reason for a Gate that Way.

At length, about the Year 1414, all this moorish Ground was drain'd by the Industry and Charge of *Francerius*, a Lord-mayor, and still retains the Name of *Moor-fields*, and the Gate, *Moor-gate*. *London-stone*, as is generally suppos'd, was a Pillar, in the Manner of the *Milliarium Aureum*, at *Rome*, from whence the Account of their Miles began; but the Surveyor was of Opinion, by Reason of the large Foundation, it was rather some more considerable Monument in the *Forum*; for in the adjoining Ground on the South

Side, (upon digging for Cellars, after the great Fire) were discovered some tessellated Pavements, and other extensive Remains of Roman Workmanship, and Buildings. *

On the West-side was situated the *Prætorian Camp*, which was also wall'd-in to *Ludgate*, in the *Vallum* of which, was dug up near the *Gate*, after the *Fire*, a Stone, with an Inscription, and the Figure of a Roman Soldier, which the *Surveyor* presented to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who sent it to *Oxford*, and it is reposit'd among the *Arundellian Marbles*. This is a sepulchral Monument dedicated to the Memory of *Vivius Marcianus*, a Soldier of the second Legion, stil'd *Augusta*, by his Wife *Januaria Matrina*. The Inscription is in this Manner :

Camden's
Britannia, 2d
Edit. by Bp.
Gibson,
vol. 1. p. 375.

D. M.
VIVIO MARC
-ANO M L. LEG. II.
AVG. IANVARIA
MARINA CONIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
-IT ME MORAM.

N. B. The Extract of this Inscription published in the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Numb. 147. is erroneous.

See Part 2.
Sect. 7.

The Soldiers used to be buried in *Vallo*, as the Citizens, *extrâ Portas in Pomærio*; there 'tis most probable the Extent of the Camp reached to *Ludgate*, to the declining of the Hill, that Way. The *Surveyor* gave but little Credit to the common Story, that a Temple had been here to *Diana*, (which some have believed, upon the Report of the digging up, formerly, and of later Years, Horns of Stags, Ox-heads, Tusks of Boars, &c.) meeting with no such Indications in all his Searches; but that the North-side of this Ground had been very anciently a great Burying-place, was manifest; for upon the digging the Foundations of the present Fabrick of *St. Paul's*, he found under the Graves of the latter Ages, in a Row below them, the Burial Places of the *Saxon* Times: the *Saxons*, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their Graves with Chalk-stones, though some more eminent were entombed in Coffins of whole Stones. Below these were *British* Graves, where were found Ivory and wooden Pins, of a hard Wood seemingly Box, in Abundance, of about 6 Inches long; it seems the Bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen Shrouds, which being consumed, the Pins remained entire. In the same Row and deeper, were *Roman Urns* intermixed: This was eighteen Feet deep or more, and belonged to the *Colony* when *Romans* and *Britains* lived and died together.

The most remarkable *Roman Urns*, Lamps, Lacrymatories, and Fragments of Sacrificing-vessels, &c. were found deep in the Ground, towards the North-east Corner of *St. Paul's Church*, near *Cheapside*; these were generally well wrought, and embossed with various Figures and Devices, of the Colour of the modern red *Portugal Ware*, some brighter like Coral, and of a Hardness equal to *China Ware*, and as well glaz'd. Among divers Pieces

* Probably this might in some degree, have imitated the *Milliarium Aureum* at *Constantinople*, which was not in the Form of a Pillar as at *Rome*, but an eminent Building; for under its Roof, (according to *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*) stood the Statues of *Constantine* and *Helena*; *Trajan*; an equestrian Statue of *Hadrian*; a Statue of *Fortune*; and many other Figures and Decorations.

which

which happened to have been preserved, are, a Fragment of a Vessel, in Shape of a Bason, whereon *Charon* is represented with his Oar in his Hand receiving a naked Ghost; a *Patera sacrificalis* with an Inscription PATER. CLO. a remarkable small Urn of a fine hard Earth, and leaden Colour, containing about half a Pint; many Pieces of Urns with the Names of the Pot-
 ters embossed on the Bottoms, such as, for Instance, ALBUCL. * M. VIC-
 TORINUS. PATER. † F. MOSSL. M. ‡ OF. NIGRI. AO. MAPILII.
 M. &c. a sepulchral earthen Lamp, figured with two Branches of Palms, supposed *Christian*; and two *Lacrymatories* of Glafs.

* *Manilus.*
 † *Ficet.*
 ‡ *Officina.*

Among the many Antiquities the *Surveyor* had the Fortune to discover in other Parts of the Town, after the *Fire*, the most curious was a large *Roman Urn*, or *Osiuary of Glafs*, with a Handle, containing a Gallon and half, but with a very short Neck, and wide Mouth, of whiter Metal, encompassed Girth-
 wife, with five parallel Circles. This was found in *Spital-fields*, which he presented to the *Royal-society*, and is preserved in their *Museum*.

S E C T. II.

Proposals for rebuilding the City of London, after the great Fire.

THE Manner of building in the City of *London*, practised in all former Ages, was commonly with Timber, a Material easily procured, and at little Expence, when the Country was overburthened with Woods. This often subjected the Town to great and destructive Fires, sometimes to the Ruin of the whole, as happened, for Instance, in the Year 1083, and Reign of *William the Conqueror*, the Street-houses being then of Timber covered with Thatch. Notwithstanding these Incidents, this Mode continued until the two fatal Years 1665 and 6; but then the successive Calamities of *Plague* and *Fire*, gave all People Occasion seriously to reflect on the Causes of the Increase of both to that excessive Height; viz. *Closeness of Buildings*, and *combustible Materials*, and hence the Wishes for the necessary Amendment of both, by widening the Streets, and building with Stone and Brick, became universal.

Some intelligent Persons went farther, and thought it highly requisite, the City in the Restoration should rise with that Beauty, by the Straightness and Regularity of Buildings, and Convenience for Commerce, by the well disposing of Streets and publick Places, and the Opening of Wharfs, &c. which the excellent Situation, Wealth and Grandeur of the *Metropolis of England* did justly deserve; in respect also of the Rank she bore with all other trading Cities of the World, of which tho' she was before one of the richest in Estate and Dowry, yet unquestionably the least beautiful. *Informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

In order therefore to a proper Reformation, Dr. *Wren* (pursuant to the royal Commands) immediately after the *Fire*, took an exact Survey of the whole Area and Confines of the *Burning*, having traced over, with great Trouble and Hazard, the great Plain of Ashes and Ruins; and designed a Plan or Model of a new City, in which the Deformity and Inconveniences of the old Town were remedied, by the enlarging the Streets and Lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater Conveniences, all acute Angles; by seating all the parochial Churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most publick Places into large *Piazza's*, the Centers of eight Ways; by uniting the Halls
 of

of the twelve chief Companies, into one regular Square annexed to *Guild-hall*; by making a commodious *Key* on the whole *Bank* of the *River*, from *Blackfriars* to the *Tower*.

Moreover, in contriving the general *Plan*, the following Particulars were chiefly consider'd and propos'd.

The Streets to be of three Magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the City, and one or two Cross-streets to be at least 90 Feet wide; others 60 Feet; and Lanes about 30 Feet, excluding all narrow dark Alleys without Thorough-fares, and Courts.

The Exchange to stand free in the Middle of a Piazza, and be, as it were, the Nave or Center of the Town, from whence the 60 Feet Streets as so many Rays, should proceed to all principal Parts of the City: the Building to be contriv'd after the Form of the *Roman Forum*, with double Porticos.

Many Streets also to radiate upon the Bridge. The Streets of the first and second Magnitude to be carried on as straight as possible, and to center into four or five Piazzas.

The *Key* or open Wharf on the Bank of the *Thames*, to be spacious and convenient, without any Interruptions; with some large *Docks* for Barges deep loaden.

The *Canal* to be cut up *Bridewell*, 120 Feet wide, with Saffes at *Holborn Bridge*, and at the Mouth to cleanse it of all Filth; and Stores for Coal on each Side.

The Churches to be design'd according to the best Forms for Capacity and Hearing, adorn'd with useful Porticos, and lofty ornamental Towers and Steeples, in the greater Parishes. All Church-yards, Gardens, and unnecessary Vacuities; and all Trades that use great Fires, or yield noisome Smells, to be placed out of the Town.

The *Model* or *Plan* form'd on these Principles, delineated by Dr. *Wren*, was laid before the King and the honourable *House of Commons*; and is thus explain'd.

From that Part of *Fleet-street* which remain'd unburnt, about St. *Dunstan's Church*, a straight Street of 90 Feet wide, crosses the Valley, passing by the South Side of *Ludgate Prison*, and thence in a direct Line ends gracefully in a Piazza at *Tower-hill*; but before it descends into the Valley where now the great Sewer (*Fleet-ditch*) runs, about the once Middle of *Fleet-street*, it opens into a round Piazza, the Center of eight Ways, where at one Station are these Views.—First, straight forward quite through the City: Second, obliquely towards the Right Hand, to the Beginning of the *Key*, that runs from *Bridewell Dock* to the *Tower*. Third, obliquely on the left to *Smithfield*. Fourth, straight on the Right, to the *Thames*. Fifth, straight on the left, to *Hatton-street*, and *Clarksnewell*. Sixth, straight backwards, towards *Temple-barr*. Seventh, obliquely on the right, to the Walks of the *Temple*. Eighth, obliquely on the left, to *Curfitor's Alley*.

Passing forward we cross the Valley, once sullied with an offensive Sewer, now to be beautified with a useful Canal, passable by as many Bridges as Streets that cross it.—Leaving *Ludgate Prison* on the left Side of the Street, (instead of which Gate, was design'd a triumphal Arch to the Founder of the new City, King *Charles the Second*.) This great Street presently divides into another as large, which carries the Eye and Passage to the South-front of the *Exchange*, (which we leave as yet for a second Journey) and before these two Streets spreading at acute Angles, can be clear of one another, they form a triangular Piazza, the Basis of which is fill'd by the cathedral Church of St. *Paul*.

But leaving *St. Paul's* on the left, we proceed as our first Way led us towards the *Tower*, the Way being all along adorn'd with parochial Churches.

We return again to *Ludgate*, and leaving *St. Paul's* on the right Hand, pass the other great Branch to the *Royal-exchange*, seated in the Place where it was before, but free from Buildings, in the Middle of a Piazza included between two great Streets; the one from *Ludgate* leading to the South-front, and another from *Holborn*, over the Canal to *Newgate*, and thence straight to the North-front of the *Exchange*.

The Practicability of this whole Scheme, without Loss to any Man, or Infringement of any Property, was at that Time demonstrated, and all material Objections fully weigh'd, and answered: the only, and, as it happened, insurmountable Difficulty remaining, was the obstinate Averseness of great Part of the Citizens to alter their old Properties, and to recede from building their Houses again on the old Ground and Foundations; as also, the Distrust in many, and Unwillingness to give up their Properties, tho' for a Time only, into the Hands of publick Trustees, or Commissioners, till they might be dispens'd to them again, with more Advantage to themselves, than otherwise was possible to be effected; for, such a Method was propos'd, that by an equal Distribution of Ground into Buildings, leaving out Church-yards, Gardens, &c. (which were to be removed out of the Town) there would have been sufficient Room both for the Augmentation of the Streets; Disposition of the Churches, Halls, and all publick Buildings; and to have given every Proprietor full Satisfaction; and although few Proprietors should happen to have been seated again, directly upon the very same Ground they had possess'd before the *Fire*, yet no Man would have been thrust any considerable Distance from it, but been placed at least as conveniently, and sometime more so, to their own Trades than before.

By these Means, the Opportunity, in a great Degree, was lost, of making the new City the most magnificent, as well as commodious for Health and Trade of any upon Earth; and the *Surveyor* being thus confin'd and cramp'd in his Designs, it requir'd no small Labour and Skill, to model the City in the Manner it has since appear'd.

In the *Acts of Parliament*, 19 and 22 *Car. II.* for the rebuilding the City of *London*; among other Rules and Directions consistent with the *Surveyor's* Opinion and Advice, it is enacted: "That there shall be left a *Key*, or *open Wharf*, from *London-bridge* to the *Temple*, forty Foot broad; and "in order thereunto, all Buildings, Sheds, &c. within forty Feet Northward "of the *Thames*, shall within eight Months ensuing be taken down, and "remov'd; and the Buildings to front the said *Key*, shall be of the second or third Rate of Buildings, observing Uniformity as in other "Streets, &c.

A Clause so well calculated for the Ornament, and Advantage of the City, requir'd to have been punctually observ'd and executed by the Citizens, according to the full Extent and Virtue of the Law.

The Observations of a late Critick, (allowing for some Mistakes in his Description of Sir Christopher Wren's Scheme for rebuilding the City) are judicious and right.

"Towards the End of King *James I's* Reign, and in the Beginning of "his Son's, Taste in Architecture made a bold Step from *Italy* to *England* "at once, and scarce staid a Moment to visit *France* by the Way. From "the most profound Ignorance in Architecture, the most consummate Night "of Knowledge, *Inigo Jones* started up, a Prodigy of Art, and vied even "with his Master *Palladio* himself. From so glorious an Out-set, there was

Critical Review of the Buildings of London, p. 2. Lond. 1734.

"not any Excellency that we might not have hoped to obtain; *Britain* had a reasonable Prospect to rival *Italy*, and foil every Nation in *Europe* beside. But in the midst of these sanguine Expectations, the fatal Civil-war commenc'd, and all the Arts and Sciences were immediately laid aside, as no Way concern'd in the Quarrel. What follow'd was all Darknesh and Obscurity, and 'tis even a Wonder they left us a Monument of the Beauty, 'twas so agreeable to their Natures to destroy.

"*Wren* was the next Genius that arose, to awake the Spirit of Science, and kindle in his Country a Love for that Science which had been so long neglected: during his Time a most melancholly Opportunity offer'd for Art to exert itself, in the most extraordinary Manner; but the Calamities of the present Circumstance were so great and numerous, that the Pleas of Elegancy and Beauty could not be heard; and Necessity and Convenience took Place of Harmony and Magnificence.

"What I mean is this; *The Fire of London*, furnish'd the most perfect Occasion that can ever happen in any City, to rebuild it with Pomp and Regularity: this, *Wren* foresaw, and, as we are told, offer'd a Scheme for that Purpose, which would have made it the Wonder of the World. He propos'd to have laid out one large Street from *Aldgate* to *Temple-bar*, in the Middle of which was to have been a large Square, capable of containing the new Church of *St. Paul's*, with a proper Distance for the View all round it; whereby that huge Building would not have been cooped up, as it is at present, in such a Manner, as no where to be seen to Advantage at all; but would have had a long and ample Vista at each End, to have reconcil'd it to a proper Point of View, and gave it one great Benefit, which, in all probability, it must now want for ever. He further propos'd to rebuild all the Parish Churches in such a Manner as to be seen at the End of every Vista of Houses, and dispersed in such Distances from each other, as to appear neither too thick, nor thin in Prospect; but give a proper heightening to the whole Bulk of the City, as it fill'd the Landscape. Lastly, he propos'd to build all the Houses uniform, and supported on a Piazza, like that of *Covent-Garden*: And, by the Water-side, from the *Bridge* to the *Temple*, he had plan'd a long and broad Wharf, or Key, where he design'd to have rang'd all the Halls that belong to the several Companies of the City, with proper Ware-houses for Merchants between, to vary the Edifices, and make it at once one of the most beautiful, and most useful Ranges of Structure in the World.—But the *Hurry of Rebuilding*, and the *Disputes about Property*, prevented this glorious Scheme from taking Place."

There is scarce any Instance in History and Antiquity, of a Conflagration comparable in its Celerity and Extent, to the fatal Fire of the City of *London*. What seems to come nearest, and to be almost a parallel Case, was the Burning of *Lyons* in *Gaul*, thus describ'd by *Seneca*.

"Lugdunensis colonia exusta est. Hoc tam inopinatum malum, & penè inauditum, non miror si sine metu fuit, cum esset sine exemplo. Multas enim civitates incendium vexavit, nullam absulit. Nam etiam ubi hostili manu in testa ignis immissus est, multis locis deficit; & quamvis subinde excitetur, raro tamen sic cuncta depascitur, ut nihil ferro relinquat. Terrarum quoque vix unquam tam gravis & perniciosus fuit motus, ut tota oppida everteret. Nunquam denique tam infestum ulli exarsit incendium, ut nihil alteri superesset incendio. Tot pulcherrima opera, quæ singula illustrare singulas urbes possent, una nox stravit, & in tanta pace, quantum de bello quidem timeri
"poteſt,

" *potest, accidit. Quis hoc credat? Ubique armis quiescentibus, cum toto orbe terrarum diffusa securitas sit, Lugdunum quod ostendebatur in Galliâ quaeritur.*
 " *Omibus fortuna quos publicè afflixit, quod passuri erant, timere permittit. Nulla res magna, non aliquod habuit ruinæ suæ spatium. In hac * una nox interfuit inter urbem maximam & nullam.* [Epist. XCII.]

* N. B. Londinum, nobilissimam urbem, cui nulla gens habuit parem, flamma triduo in cineres redegit.

S E C T. III.

Of the ancient cathedral Churches of St. Paul; from the first Age of Christianity, to the last great Fire of London, in 1666. And of the Surveyor's Design for repairing the old ruinous Structure, made (by Order of his Majesty, and the Commissioners) upon an accurate Survey, about four Months before the Conflagration.

THE christian Faith, without doubt, was very early received in Britain; and without having recourse to the monkish Tale of Joseph of Stillingsfleet, Arimathea, and other legendary Fictions; there is authentick Testimony of a Christian Church planted here by the Apostles themselves, and, in particular, very probably by St. Paul.

† It is very certain this Apostle, from his first Imprisonment at Rome, to his Return to Jerusalem, had spent eight Years in preaching in divers Places, but more especially in the Western Countries. We know he design'd for Spain, and it is not improbable, but his Earnestness to convert the Britains might have carried him to this Island.

This Opinion may be strengthened by the Evidence of Vanutius Fortunatus, who says the same Thing, speaking of the Travels of St. Paul, in his Poem on the Life of St. Martin.

*Transit & oceanum, vel quâ facit insula portum,
 Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.*

Every Christian Church derived from the Apostles, had a Succession of Bishops from them too, and the Condition of the British Church was so early establish'd, that some maintain there were Bishops of the Britains at the Council of Nice, assembled in 325: and 'tis certain, that twenty-two Years after, Restitutus Bishop of London was one of the three British Bishops present at the Council of Arles.

Some British Prelates were likewise at the Council of Ariminum, assembled in 359, and these were of such Dignity, that they refused the Emperor's Allowance, thinking it beneath them not to bear their own Expences.

† Du Pin.
 The first Cathedral of this episcopal See of London, (built in the Area, where had been the Roman Prætorian Camp; the Situation of all the succeeding Fabricks to this Time) was demolished under the great and general Persecution by Dioclesian: But although in Pursuance of the Strictness of his Edicts, the Christian Churches in all the Provinces of the Roman Government were ordered to be pull'd down, yet possibly the Præfects might not take the Pains, when they had made them unfit for Use, to tear up the Foundations also. The Time of the Persecution was short, for under Constantine, the Church flourish'd again; the Churches in Rome, and other Parts of the Empire were soon rebuilt, and most likely ours among the first, after the Pattern of the Roman Basilica of St. Peter, and St. Paul, in the Vatican; and, as the Surveyor conceiv'd, upon the old Foundations left by the Persecutors; for, the Christians were zealous, and in haste to be settled again.

The

The Church thus re-edified under *Constantine*, was afterwards destroy'd by the *Pagan Saxons*; and restor'd again, upon the old Foundations, when they embrac'd *Christianity*, in the seventh Century, by *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London*, under *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the first *Saxon* King of the *Christian* Faith.

This Church, together with the whole City was destroy'd by a casual Fire, in the Year 1083. *Mauritius* then Bishop of *London*, obtain'd of the King, the old Stone of a spacious Castle in the Neighbourhood, call'd the *Palatine Tower*, demolish'd by the same Fire; (this *Fort* stood at the Entrance of the *Fleet-river*, as if to defend the little Haven, then capable of Ships) and began the Building, upon the old Foundations, a fourth Time of that *Pile*; which after Additions, at several Times, to the East and West, continu'd till the last general Conflagration of the City, in 1666.

The Fabrick thus began by *Mauritius*, had originally, as the *Surveyor* believ'd, a semicircular *Presbyterium* or Chancel, after the usual *Mode* of the *Primitive Churches*, and came near the Form of a *Cross*, short to the East; as he concluded for this Reason; a *Quire* in after Times was added to give a greater Length Eastward than at first; this Building was apparently of a more modern *Gothick*-style, not with *Round* (as in the old Church) but *sharp-headed Arches*; to make Way for which, the semicircular *Presbyterium* had been taken down. Upon demolishing the Ruins, after the last Fire, and searching the Foundations of this *Quire*, the *Surveyor* discover'd nine Wells in a Row; which, no doubt, had anciently belong'd to a Street of Houses, that lay aslope from the High-street, (then *Waiting-street*) to the *Roman Causeway*, (now *Cheapside*) and this Street, which was taken away to make room for the new *Quire*, came so near the old *Presbyterium*, that the Church could not extend farther that Way at first. He discover'd also, there had been a considerable Addition, and a new Front to the West, but in what Age is not ascertain'd.

The Reason the *Surveyor* was of Opinion, that though several Times the Fabrick had been ruin'd, yet that the Foundations might remain, as originally they were laid, was upon his observing, that they consisted of nothing but *Kentish*-rubble-stone, artfully work'd, and consolidated with exceeding hard Mortar, in the *Roman* Manner, much excelling what he found in the Superstructure; the Outside of which was built chiefly with the Free-stone of the old *Palatine Tower*, and Free-stone suppos'd from the Quarries of *Yorkshire*, and in every Part was apparently less skilfully perform'd, and with worse Mortar.

Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 6. Tho' there be now no History or Record notifying directly the first Building of the first new *Quire*, yet 'tis probable it might have been executed by *Richard* who was Bishop of *London* in the first Year of the Reign of King *Richard the First*, and had been Treasurer to King *Henry the Second*; who is said to have expended a vast Sum of Money on the Buildings of his Church, &c.

Godwin de Præsul. p. 237. But the said *Quire* being, afterwards, not thought beautiful enough, and a Resolution taken for an Improvement, they began with the *Steeple*, which was finish'd in the Year 1221, (5 *Hen. III.*) and then going on with the *Quire*, perfected it in 1240, (24 *Hen. III.*) in the Form it continued to the last great Fire, 1666.

Under the *Quire* was a noble Vault, wherein were three Ranks of large and massy Pillars, which being made a Parish-church, was dedicated to *St. Faith*.

Upon the happy *Restoration* of King *Charles II.* it was determin'd to proceed in the Repairs of the old cathedral Church, which had been interrupted by the great *Rebellion*; and *Dr. Wren* was order'd to prepare proper Designs

signs for that Purpose: his Predecessor Mr. *Inigo Jones* had (pursuant to a Royal-commission in 1631, 7 Car. I.) put the *Quire*, of a more modern *Gothick* Style, as before specified, than the rest of the Fabrick, into very good Repair; he had proceeded to case great Part of the Outside with *Portland-stone*; had rebuilt the North and South-fronts; and also the West-front, with the Addition of a very graceful *Portico* of the *Corinthian* Order, built of large *Portland-stone*. The great Tower remained to be new cased Inside and Outside; and the whole Inside from the *Quire* to the West-door to be new cased, and reformed in some Measure.

The Vaulting wanted much to be amended, in order to which it was all well center'd, and upheld with Standards of some hundreds of tall Mafts.

In this State was the Fabrick when the great Rebellion began; "but in 1643. all the Materials, &c. assign'd for the Repairs were seized, the Scaffolds pull'd down; and the Body of the Church converted to a Horse-quarter for Soldiers; the beautiful Pillars of *Inigo Jones's Portico* were shamefully hew'd and defaced for support of the Timber-work of Shops, for Seamstresses, and other Trades; for which sordid Uses, that stately *Colonnade* was wholly taken up, and defil'd. Upon taking away the inner Scaffolds, which supported the arched Vaults, in order to their late intended Repair, the whole Roof of the South-cross tumbled down; and the rest in several Places of the Church, did often fall; so that the Structure continued a woful Spectacle of Ruin, till the happy Restoration.

Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 146. &c.

"In 1662, the Dean and Chapter had taken Care to fit up for divine Service, the East-part of the Church beyond the old *Quire*, enlarging it the length of one Arch, into the *Quire*, until the Repairs of the remaining Part of the old Fabrick should be perfected.

"For the expediting of which general Repair, a royal Commission pass'd in 1663. After this, the Time was spent, in taking down Houses and Nuisances that had been rais'd by the late Usurpers, at the West-end, and Sides of the Church; in clearing the Rubbish; searching the Decays; repairing the *Portico*; in Provision of Stone, Timber, and all necessary Preparations; until the Beginning of the Year, 1666. By which Time Dr. *Wren* had finish'd and adjusted his Designs for the whole Reparation, and laid the same before the King, and the Commissioners.

Continuation of Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 149.

The first Business Dr. *Wren* had enter'd upon, previous to the forming Designs for the general Repairs, was to take an exact Plan, Orthography, and Section, upon an accurate Survey of the whole Structure, even to Inches; in the Prosecution of which, he was astonish'd to find how negligent the first Builders had been; they seem'd *Normans*, and to have used the *Norman Foot*; but they valu'd not Exactness: some Inter-columns were one Inch and a half too large, others as much, or more, too little. Nor were they true in their Levels. It consist'd in great Part of old Materials, which the Founder, *Mauritius* Bishop of *London*, had procur'd of King *William the First*, out of the Ruins of the *Palatine Tower*; these were small *Yorkshire Free-stone*, *Kentish-afler*, and *Kentish-rag* from *Maidstone*. They made great Pillars without any graceful Manner; and thick Walls without Judgment. They had not as yet fallen into the *Gothick* pointed-arch, as was follow'd in the *Quire* of a later Date, but kept to the circular Arch; so much they retain'd of the *Roman* Manner, but nothing else: Cornices they could not have, for want of larger Stones: in short, it was a vast, but heavy Building.—Adjoining to the South-cross was a Chapter-house of a more elegant *Gothick* Manner, with a Cloyster of two Stories high.

The lofty *Spire* which anciently rose from the great middle Stone-tower, the *Surveyor* observed, was not originally intended of Stone, for there were no diagonal Arches to reduce it into an Octagon, 'twas therefore finish'd of Timber cover'd with Lead: this was twice fir'd by Lightning, and the last Time, in 1561, totally consum'd.

Antiquaries differ in their Accounts of its Altitude. By *Stow's* Measures, the Stone-tower, and Spire, were equally 260 Feet each in height, the whole 520 Feet. Mr. *Camden's* Dimensions rise to 534 Feet. *Dugdale* (seemingly by good Authority, who took his Relation from a Brass-table heretofore hung on a Pillar on the north Part of the Quire) makes the Height of the Tower 260 Feet, and of the Spire 274 Feet, and yet the whole, *viz.* both of Tower and Spire did not exceed 520 Feet, as is testified by the Table, (whereof there is a MS Copy also in the publick Library in *Cambridge*) which is 14 Feet short of the Height of the two Dimensions of the Tower and Spire added together; " This, (says the Right Rev. and Learned Editor of *Camden's Britannia*) must indeed have been true, had the Spire risen " from the *Summit* of the Battlements: whereas, I suppose, it rose, (as the " Spires of most Steeples do) much below them; the Battlements here " rising 14 Feet above the Base of the Spire, must occasion the Difference.

All the stone Tower was standing when the *Surveyor* measur'd it before the *Fire*, and, agreeable with the other Accounts, was in Height 260 Feet; the *Base* of the Spire he found was 40 Feet, therefore according to the usual Proportion of Spires in *Gotwick* Fabricks, which was 4 Diameters, or 5 at most, it could rise no higher than 200 Feet, and make the whole Altitude not to exceed 460 Feet to the *Ball* of Copper gilt and *Cross*: upon which after the first Fire by Lightning was added a *Weathercock* representing an *Eagle*, of Copper gilt likewise.

The Proportions of these copper Ornaments are thus recorded; the *Ball* was in Circumference 9 Feet one Inch. The Height of the *Cross*, from the *Ball*, 15 Feet 6 Inches, and its Traverser 5 Feet 10 Inches. The *Eagle* from the Bill to the Tail, 4 Feet, the Breadth over the Wings, 3 Feet and a half.

In order to a further View of this ancient cathedral Church, some Particulars relating to the Architecture, the original Defects, and at length ruinous Parts thereof; the Design for the Repairs, and for erecting a new *Cupola* in the Place of the great Tower; will most properly and distinctly appear from an Extract of the Proposals of Dr. *Wren*, to the Right Honourable the Commissioners for the Reparation, upon an accurate Survey taken in 1666; which, together with the several respective Drawings, were laid before the King and Commissioners, some Months before the great Fire of *London*.

May 1.

Ex Autogra-
pho.

" Amongst the many Propositions, that may be made to your Lordships, " concerning the Repair of *St. Paul's*, some may possibly aim at too great a " Magnificence, which neither the Disposition, nor Extent of this Age will " probably bring to a Period. Others again may fall so low as to think of " piecing up the old Fabrick, here with Stone, there with Brick, and cover " all Faults with a Coat of Plaister, leaving it still to Posterity, as a further " Object of Charity.

" I suppose your Lordships may think proper to take a middle Way, and " to neglect nothing that may conduce to a decent uniform Beauty, or durable " Firmness in the Fabrick, or Suitableness to the Expence already laid out " on the Outside: especially since it is a Pile both for Ornament and Use. " For, all the Occasions either of a Quire, Consistory, Chapter-house, Li- " brary, Court of Arches, Preaching-auditory, might have been supplied in " less Room, with less Expence, and yet more Beauty; but then it had " want-

" wanted of the Grandeur, which exceeds all little Curiosity; this being the
 " Effect of Wit only, the other a Monument of Power, and mighty Zeal
 " in our Ancestors to publick Works in those Times, when the City had
 " neither a fifth Part of the People, nor a tenth Part of the Wealth it now
 " boasts off.

" I shall presume therefore to enumerate as well the Defects of Comeli-
 " ness as Firmness, that the one may be reconcil'd with the other in the Re-
 " stitution. And yet I should not propose any Thing of meer Beauty to be
 " added, but where there is a Necessity of rebuilding, and where it will be
 " near the same Thing to perform it well as ill.

" First, it is evident by the Ruin of the Roof, that the Work was both ill
 " design'd, and ill built from the Beginning: ill design'd, because the Archi-
 " tect gave not Butment enough to counterpoise, and resist the Weight of
 " the Roof from spreading the Walls; for, the Eye alone will discover to
 " any Man, that those Pillars as vast as they are, even eleven Foot diameter,
 " are bent outwards at least six Inches from their first Position; which being
 " done on both Sides, it necessarily follows, that the whole Roof must first
 " open in large and wide Cracks along by the Walls and Windows, and last-
 " ly drop down between the yielding Pillars.

" This bending of the Pillars was facilitated by their ill Building; for,
 " they are only cas'd without, and that with small Stones, not one greater
 " than a Man's Burden; but within is nothing but a Core of small Rubbish-
 " stone, and much Mortar, which easily crushes and yields to the Weight:
 " and this outward Coat of Free-stone is so much torn with Age, and the
 " Neglect of the Roof, that there are few Stones to be found that are not
 " moulder'd, and flaw'd away with the Salt-peter that is in them; an in-
 " curable Disease, which perpetually throws off whatever Coat of Plaster is
 " laid on it, and therefore not to be palliated.

" From hence I infer, that as the Outside of the Church was new flagg'd
 " with Stone of larger Size than before, so ought the Inside also: And in
 " doing this, it will be as easy to perform it, after a good *Roman* Manner,
 " as to follow the *Gothick* Rudeness of the old Design; and that, without
 " placing the Face of the new Work in any Part many Inches farther out
 " or in, than the Superficies of the old Work; or adding to the Expence
 " that would arise were it perform'd the worse Way.

" This also may be safely affirm'd, not only by an Architect, taking his
 " Measures from the Precepts and Examples of the Antients, but by a Geo-
 " metrician, (this Part being liable to Demonstration) that the Roof is, and
 " ever was, too heavy for its Butment; and therefore any Part of the old
 " Roof new pieced, will still but occasion further Ruin, and the second
 " Ruin will much sooner follow than the first, since 'tis easier to force a
 " Thing already declining. It must therefore be either a timber Roof
 " plaster'd, (which, in such Buildings where a little Soke of Weather is not
 " presently discover'd or remedied, will soon decay) or else, a thinner and
 " lighter Shell of Stone, very geometrically proportion'd to the Strength of the
 " Butment. The Roof may be Brick, if it be plaster'd with *Stucco*, which
 " is a harder Plaster, that will not fall off with the Drip of a few Win-
 " ters, and which to this Day remains firm in many ancient *Roman*
 " Buildings.

" The middle Part is most defective both in Beauty and Firmness, with-
 " out and within; for, the Tower leans manifestly by the settling of one of
 " the ancient Pillars that supported it. Four new Arches were, therefore,
 " of later Years, incorporated within the old ones, which hath straighten'd
 " and hinder'd both the Room, and the clear thorough View of the Nave,
 " in

“ in that Part, where it had been more graceful to have been rather wider than the rest.

“ The excessive Length of Buildings is no otherwise commendable, but because it yields a pleasing Perspective by the continu'd optical Diminution of the Columns; and if this be cut off by Columns ranging within their Fellows, the Grace that would be acquir'd by the Length is totally lost.

“ Besides this Deformity of the Tower itself within, there are others near it; as, the next Intercolumnation in the *Navis* or Body of the Church, is much less than all the rest. Also the North and South-wings have Ailes only on the West-side, the others being originally shut up for the Confistory. Lastly, the Intercolumnations or Spaces between the Pillars of the Quire next adjoining to the Tower are very unequal. Again, on the Outside of the Tower, the Buttresses that have been erected one upon the Back of another to secure three Corners on the inclining Sides, (for the fourth wants a Buttress) are so irregular, that upon the whole Matter, it must be concluded, that the Tower from Top to Bottom, and the next adjacent Parts, are such a Heap of Deformities, that no judicious Architect will think it corrigible, by any Expence that can be laid out upon new dressing it, but that it will still remain unworthy the rest of the Work, infirm and tottering; and for these Reasons, as I conjecture, was formerly resolv'd to be taken down.

“ I cannot propose a better Remedy, than by cutting off the inner Corners of the Cross, to reduce this middle Part into a spacious *Dome* or *Rotundo*, with a *Cupola*, or hemispherical Roof, and upon the *Cupola*, (for the outward Ornament) a *Lantern* with a spiring Top, to rise proportionably, tho' not to that unnecessary Height of the former Spire of Timber and Lead burnt by Lightning.

“ By this Means the Deformities of the unequal Intercolumnations will be taken away; the Church, which is much too narrow for the Height, render'd spacious in the Middle, which may be a very proper Place for a vast Auditory: the outward Appearance of the Church will seem to swell in the Middle by Degrees, from a large Basis rising into a *Rotundo* bearing a *Cupola*, and then ending in a *Lantern*: and this with incomparable more Grace in the remoter Aspect, than it is possible for the lean Shaft of a Steeple to afford. Nor if it be rightly order'd, will the Expence be much more than that of investing the Tower and Corners yet unfinished, with new Stone, and adding the old Steeple anew; the Lead of which will be sufficient for a *Cupola*; and the same Quantity of Ashler makes the Corners outward, that would make them inward as they now are: And the Materials of the old Corners of the Ailes will be filling Stone for the new Work: for I should not persuade the Tower to be pull'd down at first, but the new Work to be built round it, partly because the Expectations of Persons are to be kept up; for, many Unbelievers would bewail the Loss of old *Paul's* Steeple, and despond if they did not see a hopeful Successor rise in its stead; and chiefly because it would save a great Quantity of scaffolding Poles; the Scaffolds which are needful being fix'd from the old to the new Work; and when the *Tholus* or inward Vault is to be laid, the Tower taken down to that Height will rest the Centers of the Vault with great Convenience, and facilitate the planting of Engines for raising the Stones; and after all is finish'd and settl'd, the Tower that is left may be taken clear away from within. All which can only from the Designs be perfectly understood.

“ And

" And for the Encouragement and Satisfaction of Benefactors that comprehend not readily Designs and Draughts on Paper, as well as for the inferior Artificers clearer Intelligence of their Business, it will be requisite that a large and exact Model be made; which will also have this Use, that if the Work should happen to be interrupted, or retarded, Posterity may proceed where the Work was left off, pursuing still the same Design.

" And as the *Portico* built by *Inigo Jones*, being an intire and excellent Piece, gave great Reputation to the Work in the first Repairs, and occasion'd fair Contributions; so to begin now with the *Dome* may probably prove the best Advice, being an absolute Piece of itself, and what will most likely be finished in our Time; will make by far the most splendid Appearance; may be of present Use for the Auditory, will make up all the outward Repairs perfect; and become an Ornament to his Majesty's most excellent Reign, to the Church of *England*, and to this great City, which it is pity, in the Opinion of our *Neighbours*, should longer continue the most unadorn'd of her Bigness in the World.

" In the mean Time, till a good Quantity of Stone be provided, Things of less Expence, but no less Consequence, ought to be regarded; such as fixing again all Cramps that the Roof hath been spoil'd of; covering all Timber from Weather; taking down the falling Roofs; searching the Vaults beneath, and securing them. And before the Foundations be digg'd for the *Dome*, the Arches on which the Tower stands must be secur'd after a peculiar Manner represented in the Designs.

" P. S. I shall crave leave to subjoin, that if there be Use of *Stucco*, I have great Hopes, from some Experience already had, that there are *English* Materials to be brought by Sea at an easy Rate, that will afford as good Plaster as is any where to be found in the World; and that with the Mixture of cheaper Ingredients than Marble-meal, which was the old, and is now the modern Way of *Italy*.

" The Proposer also, (considering that high Buildings grow more and more expensive as they rise, by reason of the Time and Labour spent in raising the Materials, takes this Occasion to acquaint your Lordships, that having had the Opportunity of seeing several Structures of greater Expence than this, while they were in raising, conducted by the best Artists, *Italian* and *French*; and having had daily Conference with them, and observing their Engines and Methods, he hath promoted this *geometrical* Part of *Architecture* yet farther, and thinks the raising of Materials may yet be more facilitated, so as to save in lofty Fabricks, a very considerable Part of the Time, and Labourers Hire.

N. B. The original Designs under the Hand of the Surveyor, consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, propos'd for this Renovation of old *Paul's*, are * still extant.

Notwithstanding the very ruinous Condition of the old Tower (as specified above) and that the Surveyor had prepar'd so proper and beautiful a Design for the Restitution, yet great Opposition was made by some to the taking it down, with strong Application to his Majesty, that, (however difficult and expenciful the Work might prove) the Tower by all Means should continue, and be repair'd, without deviating from the old *Gothick*-style: but the great Fire intervening, decid'd the Matter for that Time. This remarkable Circumstance recollected by that very ingenious and worthy Gentleman *John Evelyn*, Esq; is recorded in his Dedication to the Surveyor, of his *Account of Architecture*, &c. London. 1706.

" I have nam'd, says he, *St. Paul's*, and truly, not without Admiration, as oft as I recall to Mind (as frequently I do) the sad and deplorable Condition it was in; when (after it had been made a *Stable of Horses*, and a *Den of* *Account of Architecture, and Architecture.*
Dedication to Sir Christopher Wren, Knt.

"*Thieves*) You, (with other Gentlemen and myself) were by King Charles, named *Commissioners* to survey the *Dilapidations*, and to make Report to his Majesty, in order to a speedy *Reparation*; you will not, I am sure, forget the *Struggle* we had with some, who were for patching it up any how, (so the Steeple might stand) instead of new building, which it altogether needed: when (to put an End to the Contest) five Days after that dreadful *Conflagration* happen'd; out of whose *Asbes* this *Phoenix* (new St. Paul's) is risen, and was by Providence design'd for you.

Dugdale's
History of St.
Paul's 2d Edit.
p. 153.

The great and dreadful *Fire of London* which began the 2d of September, Anno 1666, consum'd the greatest Part of the City; the parochial Churches were destroy'd, and the ancient Cathedral of St. Paul miserably shatter'd, and demolish'd; the Roof fell down, and with a mighty Force broke through those Vaults, call'd the *Undercroft*, &c. The first Thing design'd after this deplorable *Fire*, was to fit some Part of the Church, thus ruin'd, for a Quire; wherein the Dean and Prebends might have divine Service, until the Repair of the whole, or a new Structure could be accomplish'd: To which End, upon a View thereof, it was resolv'd, that Part of the Body of it, towards the West-end, might, with the least Charge, be made useful for that Purpose. Whereupon Workmen were set upon it, and Scaffolds rais'd for Search of the Walls, and cutting the Remainder of the unmelted Lead from the high Roof, and other Parts of the Church.

In which Employment, as also in digging up the melted Lead, clearing the Rubbish, taking down the Remainder of the vaulted Roof and Walls, with the greatest Part of the Tower-steeple, digging up the Floors, sorting the Stone, and carrying it to several Places, repairing the Convocation-house, and building new Offices for the Work; no less than two Years, (*viz.* the rest of the Year 1666, the whole Year 1667, and Part of the Year 1668) were spent. Towards the latter End of which two Years, they fell to casing some of those great and massy Pillars, which stood betwixt the middle Aile, and the side Ailes; beginning with those below the little North-door, towards the West: But before the third Pillar was perfectly cas'd, so weak and unsound had the excessive Heat of the Fire left it, with the remaining Pillars and Walls, which were all miserably scaled with the Flame, and shatter'd; that upon farther Search into them, they were found to be altogether incapable of any substantial Repair: It was therefore fully concluded, that, in order to a new Fabrick, the Foundations of the old Cathedral, thus made ruinous, should be totally clear'd; and Preparation of Materials, and all Things needful made ready, conducing to a new Fabrick. Which Work continu'd until the last of April 1674.

The State of the old Fabrick after the *Fire*; the unsuccessful Attempts to repair the Ruins, with the Defects of *Inigo Jones's* Work, are farther explain'd in the following Transcript of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. William Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's; afterwards (*viz.* 1677.) Arch-bishop of Canterbury.

To my worthy Friend Dr. Christopher Wren, Professor of Astronomy in Oxford, April 25, 1668.

S I R,

As he said of old, *Prudentia est quædam divinatio*, so Science (at the Height you are Master of it) is prophetick too. What you whisper'd in my Ear at your last coming hither, is now come to pass. Our Work at the West-end of St. Paul's is fallen about our Ears. Your quick Eye discern'd the Walls and Pillars gone off from their Perpendiculars, and I believe other Defects too, which are now expos'd to every common Observer.

About

About a Week since, we being at Work about the third Pillar from the West-end on the South-side, which we had new cas'd with Stone, where it was most defective, almost up to the Chapitre, a great Weight falling from the high Wall, so disabled the Vaulting of the Side-aisle by it, that it threaten'd a sudden Ruin, so visibly, that the Workmen presently remov'd; and the next Night the whole Pillar fell, and carry'd Scaffolds and all to the very Ground.

The second Pillar (which you know is bigger than the rest) stands now alone, with an enormous Weight on the Top of it; which we cannot hope should stand long, and yet we dare not venture to take it down.

This Breach has discover'd to all that look on it, two great Defects in *Inigo Jones's* Work; one, that his new Case of Stone in the upper Walls (massy as it is) was not set upon the upright of the Pillars, but upon the Core of the Groins of the vaulting: the other, that there were no Key-stones at all to tie it to the old Work; and all this being very heavy with the *Roman* Ornaments on the Top of it, and being already so far gone outward, cannot possibly stand long. In fine, it is the Opinion of all Men, that we can proceed no farther at the West-end. What we are to do next is the present Deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us, that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing without you.

'Tis therefore, that in my Lord of *Canterbury's* Name, and by his Order, (already, as I suppose, intimated to you by the Dean of *Christ-church*) we most earnestly desire your Presence and Assistance with all possible Speed.

You will think fit, I know, to bring with you those excellent Draughts and Designs you formerly favour'd us with; and in the mean Time, till we enjoy you here, consider what to advise, that may be for the Satisfaction of his *Majesty*, and the whole *Nation*; an Obligation so great and so publick, that it must be acknowledg'd by better Hands than those [of —]

Your very affectionate Friend, and Servant,

W. SANCROFT.

From the same Hand.---To Dr. Wren, at Oxford, London,
July 2, 1668.

S I R,

Yesterday my Lords of *Canterbury*, *London* and *Oxford*, met on purpose to hear your Letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done in order to the Repairs of *St. Paul's*. They unanimously resolv'd, that it is fit immediately to attempt something; and that without you they can do nothing.

I am therefore commanded to give you an Invitation hither, in his Grace's Name, and the rest of the Commissioners with all Speed; that we may prepare something to be propos'd to his *Majesty* (the Design of such a Quire at least, as may be a congruous Part of a greater and more magnificent Work to follow) and then for the procuring Contributions to defray this, we are so sanguine, as not to doubt of it, if we could but once resolve what we would do, and what that would cost. So that the only Part of your Letter we demurr to, is the Method you propound of declaring first, what Money we would bestow; and then designing something just of that Expence; for quite otherwise, the Way their Lordships resolve upon, is to frame a Design handsome and noble, and suitable to all the Ends of it, and to the Reputation of the City, and the Nation, and to take it for granted, that Money will be had

to

to accomplish it; or however, to let it lie by, till we have before us a Prospect of so much as may reasonably encourage us to begin.

Thus far I thought good to prepare you for what will be said to you, when you come, that you may not be surpris'd with it; and if my Summons prevail not, my Lord the Bishop of Oxford, hath undertaken to give it you warmer, *ore tenus*, the next Week, when he intends to be with you, if at least you be not come towards us before he arrives; which would be a very agreeable Surprise to us all, and especially to —

Your very affectionate humble Servant,

W. SANCROFT.

Le Neve's
*Lives of Arch-
bishops*, vol. 1,
p. 199.

This excellent Man was nominated Dean of St. Paul's in 1664, where he set himself with unwearied Diligence to repair that Cathedral, till the Fire in 1666, employed his Thoughts on the more noble Undertaking of rebuilding it; towards which he gave 1400 *l.* besides what he contributed by his Industry and Endeavours.

S E C T. IV.

Of the new cathedral Church of St. Paul's.

REparation for the new Structure being thus made, and several Designs presented to the King for the Form and Fashion thereof; which was intended to equal, if not exceed the Splendor and Magnificence of the old Cathedral, when it was in its best Estate; his Majesty well approving one of them, commanded a *Model* to be made thereof in so large and exact a Manner, that it might remain as a perpetual and unchangeable Rule and Direction for the Conduct of the whole Work. And for the more speedy Procedure in this vast and mighty Building, issued out his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, bearing Date the 12th Day of November in the 25th Year of his Reign *Anno scil.* 1673, unto several Lords spiritual and temporal, and other Persons of eminent Rank and Quality, and Christopher Wren Doctor of Laws, Surveyor general of the Royal Works; authorizing them, or so many of them, as are therein appointed and enabled to act, to proceed in that great Undertaking, and to endeavour the perfecting thereof, by such Ways and Means, and according to such Rules and Orders as are therein mentioned. A Transcript of the Preamble of which Commission is here inserted.

Whereas— Since the issuing out of our Commission (*viz.* Anno 1663, 15 Car. II.) the late dreadful Fire in London hath destroyed and consumed the cathedral Church of St. Paul to such a Degree, that no Part of the ancient Walls or Structures can with any Safety be relied upon, or left standing; inasmuch, that it is now become absolutely necessary totally to demolish and raze to the Ground all the Relicks of the former Building, and in the same Place, but upon new Foundations, to erect a new Church; (which that it may be done to the Glory of God, and for the promoting of his divine Worship and Service therein to be celebrated; and to the End the same may equal, if not exceed the Splendor and Magnificence of the former cathedral Church, when it was in its best Estate, and so become much more than formerly, the principal Ornament of our royal City, to the Honour of our Government, and of this our Realm, we have caused several Designs to that Purpose to be prepared by Dr. Christopher Wren, Surveyor General of all our Works and Buildings, which we have seen, and one of which we do more especially approve, and have commanded a *Model* thereof to be made after so large and exact a Man-

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ner, that it may remain as a perpetual unchangeable Rule and Direction for the Conduct of the whole Work) And whereas our former Commission, in which the *upholding* and *repairing* the ancient cathedral Church, is only designed and mentioned, doth not sufficiently authorise and impower our said Commissioners therein named, to begin and compleat a new Fabrick upon new Foundations.

Know ye, &c.

The royal Warrant under the Sign-manual and Privy-seal for beginning the Works of the new Cathedral of St. Paul, transcribed from the Original annexed to the Surveyor's Drawings.

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS We have been informed that a Portion of the Imposition laid on Coals, which by Act of Parliament is appointed and set apart for the rebuilding of the cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, in our capital City of *London*, doth at present amount to a considerable Sum, which, tho' not proportionable to the Greatness of the Work, is notwithstanding sufficient to begin the same; and with all the Materials, and other Assurances, which may probably be expected, will put a new Quire in great Forwardness: and whereas among divers Designs which have been presented to Us, We have particularly pitched upon one, as well because We found it very artificial, proper, and useful; as because it was so ordered that it might be built and finish'd by Parts: We do therefore by these Presents signify Our Royal Approbation of the said Design, hereunto annexed; and do will and require you forthwith to proceed according to the said Design, beginning with the East-end or Quire, and accomplishing the same with the present Stock of Money, and such Supplies as may probably accrue, according to the Tenor of the Commission to you directed; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at Our Court at *Whitehall*, the 14th Day of *May*, 1675, in the 27th Year of Our Reign.

To Our Commissioners for
rebuilding the Cathedral
of *St. Paul*, *London*.

By His Majesty's Command,

HENRY COVENTRY.

In the Management of the former Repairs of the old Fabrick, under the Conduct of *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor of the royal Works, no other Fund was advanced towards defraying the Expence, but the voluntary Contributions of pious and charitable People, which came in so slowly, in proportion to the Greatness of the Work, that notwithstanding the royal Munificence, the considerable Sums of Money brought, from Time to Time, into the Chamber of *London*, from private Benefactions; the Zeal of Archbishop *Laud*, for the Honour of God, and the Church of *England*, in promoting by his own Example, and exciting others to liberal Donations for the Reformation of so signal a Monument of the Piety of our Ancestors, being the principal Ornament of the Realm, that celebrated Architect was not able to execute a third Part of what was necessary.

Before such Time, therefore, as a Tax on Sea-coal had been granted by Parliament, for the Building the Church, (which Duty commenced not till the first of *May* 1670) it seemed in vain in any new Designs, to propose an Edifice too large and costly to be brought to a good and timely Period.

Upon this Consideration the Surveyor was at first directed to contrive a Fabrick of moderate Bulk, but of good Proportion; a convenient Quire, with a Vestibule, and Porticoes, and a Dome conspicuous above the Houses. A long Body with Ailes was thought impertinent, our Religion not using Processions.

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It was to be vaulted underneath for Burials, that the Pavement above might be preserved. A Model in Wood was made of this Church, which tho' not so large, would have been beautiful, and very fit for our Way of Worship; being also a convenient Auditory (for the Sermons anciently accustomed to be without Doors from a Stone Pulpit in the Church-yard, were now to be brought into the Church) and by the Help of the Vestibule, it was capable of any grand Ceremony. It had Porticoes on the Outside, which might prevent Disturbance within. This was applauded by Persons of good Understanding, as containing all that was necessary for the Church of a Metropolis; of a beautiful Figure, and of an Expence that reasonably might have been compass'd; but being contriv'd in the *Roman* Stile, was not so well understood and relish'd by others, who thought it deviated too much from the old *Gothick* Form of cathedral Churches, which they had been used to see and admire in this Country. Others observed it was not stately enough, and contended, that for the Honour of the Nation, and City of *London*, it ought not to be exceeded in Magnificence, by any Church in *Europe*.

After this, in order to find what might satisfy the World, the *Surveyor* drew several Sketches merely for Discourse-sake, and observing the Generality were for Grandeur, he endeavour'd to gratify the Taste of the *Connoisseurs* and Critics, with something coloss and beautiful, with a Design antique and well studied, conformable to the best Stile of the *Greek* and *Roman* Architecture. Some Persons of Distinction, skill'd in Antiquity and Architecture, express'd themselves much pleas'd with the Design, and wish'd to see it in a Model: the *Surveyor* comply'd with their Desires as well as his own, and made a very curious large Model in Wood, accurately wrought, and carv'd with all its proper Ornaments, consisting of one Order, the *Corinthian* only (as *St. Peter's* in *Rome*.) This Model was for many Years kept in the Office of the Works at *St. Paul's*, in a Shed built for that Purpose; thence, after the finishing the new Fabrick, it was deposited, (together with the other Models, and particularly one for the high Altar, to consist of rich Marble-columns writhed, &c. in some Manner like that of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*) over the Morning-prayer-chapel, on the North-side; where, it is to be hoped, such publick Care will be taken, that it may be preserv'd, and, if damag'd, repair'd, as an eminent and costly Performance, and a Monument, among the many others of the Skill of the greatest Geometrician and Architect of his Time. [The original Designs drawn in a large Scale for the King's Use, are extant.] (a)

Thus much is specified, upon Recollection, that the *Surveyor* in private Conversation, always seem'd to set a higher Value on this Design, than any he had made before or since; as what was labour'd with more Study and Success; and, (had he not been over-rul'd by those, whom it was his Duty to obey,) what he would have put in Execution with more Chearfulness, and Satisfaction to himself than the latter.

But as yet nothing could be fully resolv'd upon; the *Chapter*, and some others of the Clergy thought the Model not enough of a Cathedral-fashion; to instance particularly, in that, the Quire was design'd Circular, &c. in the mean Time, the Money granted by Parliament upon the Coal-duty began to come in; something was to be done in order to make a Beginning without more Delay. The *Surveyor* then turn'd his Thoughts to a Cathedral-form, (as they call'd it) but so rectified, as to reconcile, as near as possible, the *Gothick* to a better Manner of Architecture; with a *Cupola*, and above that, instead of a Lantern, a lofty Spire, and large Porticoes.

(a) The Model of *Bramante's* first Design of *St. Peter's* Church is preserved with great Care in the *Vatican* Palace.



King Charles approved those Designs, and that there might be no further Interruption, the * Warrant, as before recited, was issued under the *Privy-seal*, for beginning the Works. 1 May, 1675.

From that Time, the *Surveyor* resolv'd to make no more Models, or publicly expose his Drawings, which, (as he had found by Experience,) did but lose Time, and subjected his Business many Times, to incompetent Judges.

By these Means, at last, the Scheme of the present mighty Structure, (different in some Manner from the former, and preferable in his Majesty's own Judgment, upon After-thoughts) was no sooner concluded on, and order'd by his Majesty, but begun and prosecuted by his *Surveyor*, with Vigour, in the Year 1675. And the King was pleas'd to allow him the Liberty in the Prosecution of his Work, to make some Variations, rather ornamental, than essential, as from Time to Time he should see proper; and to leave the Whole to his own Management.

S E C T. V.

Of the taking down the vast Ruins of the old Cathedral, and of the Foundations of the old and new Structure.

THE pulling down the Walls, being about 80 Feet high, and 5 Feet thick, was a great and troublesome Work; the Men stood above, and work'd them down with Pickaxes, whilst Labourers below moved away the Materials that fell, and dispersed them into Heaps: the want of Room made this Way slow, and dangerous, and some Men lost their Lives; the Heaps grew

grew steep and large; and yet this was to be done before the Masons could begin to lay the Foundations.

The City having Streets to pave anew, bought, from the Rubbish, most of the Stone, call'd *Kentish-rag*, which gave some Room to dig, and to lay Foundations; which yet was not easy to perform with any Exactness, but by this Method.

The Surveyor placed Scaffolds high enough to extend his Lines over the Heaps that lay in the Way; and then by Perpendiculars set out the Places below, from the Lines drawn with Care upon the level Plan of the Scaffold.

Thus he proceeded, gaining every Day more Room, till he came to the Middle Tower that bore the Steeple; the Remains of the Tower being near 200 Feet high, the Labourers were afraid to work above, thereupon he concluded to facilitate this Work by the Use of Gunpowder.

He dug a Hole of about 4 Feet wide, down by the Side of the North-west Pillar of the Tower, the 4 Pillars of which were each about 14 Feet diameter; when he had dug to the Foundation, he then, with Crows and Tools made on purpose, wrought a Hole 2 Feet square, level into the Center of the Pillar; there he placed a little Deal-box, containing eighteen Pounds of Powder, and no more: a Cane was fix'd to the Box with a Quick-match, (as Gunners call it) within the Cane, which reach'd from the Box to the Ground above, and along the Ground was laid a Train of Powder, with a Match: after the Mine was carefully clos'd up again with Stone and Mortar to the Top of the Ground, he then observ'd the Effect of the Blow.

This little Quantity of Powder not only lifted up the whole Angle of the Tower, with two great Arches that rested upon it, but also two adjoining Arches of the Ailes, and all above them; and this it seem'd to do somewhat leisurely, cracking the Walls to the Top, lifting visibly the whole Weight about nine Inches, which suddenly jumping down, made a great Heap of Ruin in the Place without scattering, it was half a Minute before the Heap already fallen open'd in two or three Places, and emitted some Smoke. By this Description may be observ'd the incredible Force of Powder: 18 Pounds only of which lifted up above 3000 Tun, and saved the Work of 1000 Labourers.

The Fall of so great a Weight from an Height of 200 Feet, gave a Concussion to the Ground, that the Inhabitants round about took for an Earthquake.

Encourag'd by this Success, he thought to proceed this Way, but being oblig'd to go out of Town in the King's Service, he left the Management of another Mine begun, to the Care of his next Officer, who too wise in his own Conceit, put in a greater Quantity of Powder, and neither went low enough, nor sufficiently fortified the Mouth of the Mine; and tho' it had the Effect, yet one Stone was shot out to the opposite Side of the Church-yard, through an open Window, into a Room of a private House, where some Women were sitting at Work, without any Harm done; this Accident frightened the Neighbours to that Degree, that he was importun'd to use no more Powder, and was so directed also by his Superiors; tho' with due Caution it might have been executed without any Hazard, and sav'd much Time and Money.

He then turn'd his Thoughts to another Method; to gain Time, prevent much Expence, and the endangering of Men's Lives; and that was, to make an Experiment of that ancient Engine in War, the *Battering-ram*.

He took a strong Mast of about 40 Feet long, arming the bigger End with a great Spike of Iron, fortified with Bars along the Mast, and Ferrels: this Mast in two Places was hung up to one Ring with strong Tackle, and so suspended Level to a Triangle-prop, such as they weigh great Guns with: thirty Men, fifteen on a Side, vibrated this Machine to and again, and beat in one Place against the Wall the whole Day; they believ'd it was to little

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Purpose, not discerning any immediate Effect; he bid them not despair, but proceed another Day: on the second Day the Wall was perceiv'd to tremble at the Top, and in a few Hours it fell. The Reason to be given for it may be this; 'tis not by any present Violence the *Ram* is able to overturn a Wall of such Bulk and Compacture, but incessantly vibrating by equidistant Pulses, it makes a small intestine Motion through all the insensible Parts of the Wall, and by Degrees loosens all the Bond of the Mortar, and moves every Stone from its Bed, and tho' not the hundredth Part of an Inch at every Blow, yet this Motion once begun hath its Effects more and more, till at length it is quite loose and falls. He made good Use of this Machine in beating down all the lofty Ruins; and pleas'd himself that he had recover'd this notable Engine, of so great Service to the *Ancients* in besieging of Towns; tho' great Guns have now put them out of Use, as more expeditious, and requiring fewer Men to manage.

It has been before observ'd, (SECT. I.) that the Graves of several Ages and Fashions in *strata*, or Layers of Earth one above another, particularly at the North-side of *Paul's*, manifestly shew'd a great Antiquity from the *British* and *Roman* Times, by the Means whereof the Ground had been rais'd; but upon searching for the natural Ground below these Graves, the *Surveyor* observed that the Foundation of the old Church stood upon a Layer of very close and hard Pot-earth, and concluded that the same Ground which had born so weighty a Building, might reasonably be trusted again. However, he had the Curiosity to search further, and accordingly dug Wells in several Places, and discern'd this hard Pot-earth to be on the North-side of the Church-yard about six Feet thick, and more, but thinner and thinner towards the South, till it was upon the declining of the Hill scarce four Feet: still he searched lower, and found nothing but dry Sand, mix'd sometimes unequally, but loose, so that it would run through the Fingers. He went on till he came to Water and Sand mixed with Periwinkles and other Sea-shells; these were about the Level of Low-water Mark. He continued boring till he came to hard Beach, and still under that, till he came to the natural hard Clay, which lies under the City, and Country, and *Thames* also far and wide.

By these Shells it was evident the Sea had been where now the Hill is, on which *Paul's* stands.

The *Surveyor* was of Opinion, the whole Country between *Camberwell-hill*, and the Hills of *Essex* might have been a great *Frith* or *Sinus* of the Sea, and much wider near the Mouth of the *Thames*, which made a large Plain of Sand at Low-water, through which the River found its Way; but at Low-water, as oft as it happen'd in Summer-weather, when the Sun dried the Surface of the Sand, and a strong Wind happen'd at the same Time, before the Flood came on, the Sands would drive with the Wind, and raise Heaps, and in Time large and lofty Sand-hills; for so are the Sand-hills rais'd upon the opposite Coasts of *Flanders* and *Holland*. The Sands upon such a Conjunction of Sun-shine and Wind, drive in visible Clouds: this might be the Effect of many Ages, before History, and yet without having Recourse to the Flood.

This mighty broad Sand (now good Meadow) was restrain'd by large Banks still remaining, and reducing the River into its Channel; a great Work, of which no History gives Account: the *Britains* were too rude to attempt it; the *Saxons* too much busied with continual Wars; he concluded therefore it was a *Roman* Work; one little Breach in his Time cost 17000 *l.* to restore.

The Sand-hill at *Paul's* in the Time of the *Roman* Colony, was about 12 Feet lower than now it is; and the finer Sand easier driving with the Wind lay uppermost, and the hard Coat of Pot-earth might be thus made; for Pot-earth dissolv'd in Water, and view'd by a Microscope is but impalpable fine Sand, which with the Fire will vitrify; and, of this Earth upon the

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Place, were those Urns, sacrificing Vessels, and other Pottery-ware, made, which (as noted before) were found here in great Abundance, more especially towards the North-east of the Ground.

In the Progress of the Works of the Foundations, the *Surveyor* met with one unexpected Difficulty; he began to lay the Foundations from the West-end, and had proceeded successfully through the *Dome* to the East-end, where the Brick-earth Bottom was yet very good; but as he went on to the North-east Corner, which was the last, and where nothing was expected to interrupt, he fell, in prosecuting the Design, upon a Pit, where all the Pot-earth had been robb'd by the Potters of old Time: Here were discovered Quantities of Urns, broken Vessels, and Pottery-ware of divers Sorts and Shapes; how far this Pit extended northward, there was no Occasion to examine; no Ox-sculls, Horns of Stags, and Tusks of Boars were found, to corroborate the Accounts of *Stow*, *Camden*, and others; nor any Foundations more Eastward. If there was formerly any Temple to *Diana*, he supposed it might have been within the Walls of the *Colony*, and more to the South. It was no little Perplexity to fall into this Pit at last: He wanted but six or seven Feet to compleat the Design, and this fell in the very Angle North-east; he knew very well, that under the Layer of Pot-earth, there was no other good Ground to be found till he came to the Low-water Mark of the *Thames*, at least forty Feet lower: his Artificers propos'd to him to pile, which he refus'd; for, tho' Piles may last for ever, when always in Water, (otherwise *London-Bridge* would fall) yet if they are driven through dry Sand, tho' sometimes moist, they will rot: His Endeavours were to build for Eternity. He therefore sunk a Pit of about eighteen Feet square, wharfing up the Sand with Timber, till he came forty Feet lower into Water and Sea-shells, where there was a firm Sea-beach which confirm'd what was before asserted, that the Sea had been in Ages past, where now *Paul's* is; he bored through this Beach till he came to the original Clay; being then satisfied, he began from the Beach a square Peer of solid good Masonry, ten Feet square, till he came within fifteen Feet of the present Ground, then he turned a short Arch under Ground to the former Foundation, which was broken off by the untoward Accident of the Pit. Thus this North-east Coin of the Quire stands very firm, and, no doubt, will stand. This Narrative may be of Use to others not to trust Piles, unless always, and in all Parts wet; for almost all Sorts of Timber under Water will prove everlasting, but wet and dry will soon perish. The same cannot be said of Iron, for that will decay under Water: but this has been observ'd, in taking out Cramps from Stone-work at least four hundred Years old, which were so bedded in Mortar, that all Air was perfectly excluded, the Iron appear'd as fresh as from the Forge. Therefore in cramping of Stones, no Iron should lye within nine Inches of Air, if possible; for the Air is the Menstruum that consumes all Materials whatever. When there is a Necessity to use Iron for Want of Stones large enough, Care is to be taken to exclude sufficiently the Air from it. To mention another Caution of Use to Artificers; some Cornices of large Projections, tho' the upper Joints are as close fitted as good Workmen can make them, yet in the melting of Snow, the Water will dribble through, and stain the Cornice. The *Surveyor* thus avoided this Inconvenience; he caus'd the Masons so to work the Stone next the Joint, as to leave half a Quarter of an Inch rising on each Side, that the Water might sooner fall off, then soak to the Joint; and this he observ'd in the Paving of the upper Portico of the principal Front of *St. Paul's*; besides, that the Joints are run with Lead: and the same is done, where-ever he was oblig'd to cover with Stone only.

The Reasons for changing the Site of the Church, and taking up all the old Foundations, were chiefly these; first, the Act of Parliament for rebuilding the City had enacted, that all the high Streets (of which that which lead round the

the South-side of St. Paul's was one) should be forty Feet broad, but the old Foundations streightened the Street towards the East-end to under 30 Feet.

Secondly, The Church-yard on the North-side was wide, and afforded Room that Way to give the new Fabrick a more free and graceful Aspect.

Thirdly, To have built on the old Foundations must have confined the *Surveyor* too much to the old Plan and Form; the ruinous Walls in no Part were to be trusted again, nor would old and new Work firmly unite, or stand together without Cracks.

It being found expedient therefore to change the Foundations, he took the Advantage of more Room northward, and laid the middle Line of the new Work more declining to the North-east than it was before, which was not due East and West; neither did the old Front of the Cathedral lie directly from *Ludgate*, as it does not at present, which was not practicable, without purchasing, and taking down a great Number of Houses; and the Aid of Parliament. This, tho' much wished for, he was not able to effect; the Commissioners for rebuilding the City, had, in the first Place, marked and staked out all the Streets, and the Parliament confirmed their Report, before any Thing had been fully determined about the Design for the new Fabrick. The Proprietors of the Ground with much Eagerness and Hasten, had begun to build accordingly; an incredible Progress had been made in a very short Time; many large and fair Houses erected; and every Foot of Ground in that trading and populous Part of the Town was highly estimated.

S E C T. VI.

Answers to Objections; and some Account of the new Fabrick.

IN order to satisfy such Persons who are charmed with the Grandeur of the *Vatican Church of St. Peter at Rome*; with the stately Colonades, and spacious Area in the Front; and think no Structure of this Sort is to be esteemed truly noble and majestic, that does not arise, or nearly approach to that Magnificence; it is to be considered, that at St. Paul's the *Surveyor* wanted Room, and had but small Hopes of procuring more than he found, for the Reasons above-mentioned; and when all the adjacent Ground and new-built Streets were in private Possessions, under various Titles, which on account of their good Situation for Trade in the greatest and richest City in all *Europe*, were valued at a very great Rate; so that proper and necessary Ground as well for the Grandeur as graceful Approach to all Parts of the Fabrick could only be had by a special Act of Parliament, to oblige the numerous Proprietors to part with their Estates upon equitable Terms; and for applying a Part of the Fund on Coals or otherwise to that particular Purpose; which alas! was never obtained. And for this Reason, no more Space was left, especially before the West-front, and to the North-west, tho' great Sums of Money were expended, even with the Assistance of Parliament to purchase Houses, and to gain what present Room there is*.

Some have enquired why the *Surveyor* chose to make two Orders, rather than one single Order, with an *attick Story*, as at St. Peter's in *Rome*. It is most certain his Intention and Desires from the Beginning were to have followed that Example, had all Things succeeded to his Wish. This appears by all his first Designs, and in particular by the great Model before mentioned.

* The magnificent Portico before the Church of St. Peter is not to be equalled, but yet the whole Front of that Structure terminating in a straight Line at the Top, cannot be said to afford so agreeable an Aspect, nor that rational Variety as is discerned by the Elevation of the Pediment in the Middle, and beautiful Campanile Towers at each End of the Front of St. Paul's.

* No fine Stone, but yellowish and porous.

Bramante knew the Quarries of *Tivoli* * would yield Blocks large enough for his Columns at *St. Peter's*, of nine Feet Diameter, but then he was at a Loss to find Stones for his Cornices; and this was the Reason that obliged him to diminish the Proportions of the proper Members of his Cornice. At *St. Paul's* the Surveyor was cautious not to exceed Columns of four Feet, which had been tried by *Inigo Jones* in his Portico; the Quarries of the Isle of *Portland* would just afford for that Proportion, but not readily, for the Artificers were forced sometimes to stay some Months for one necessary Stone to be raised for their Purpose, and the farther the Quarry-men pierced into the Rock, the Quarry produced less Stones than near the Sea. All the most eminent Masons of *England* were of Opinion, that Stones of the largest Scantlings were there to be found, or no where. An Enquiry was made after all the good Stone that *England* afforded. Next to *Portland*, *Rock-abbey* Stone, and some others in *Yorkshire* seemed the best and most durable; but large Stone for the *Paul's* Works was not easily to be had even there.

For these Reasons the Surveyor concluded upon *Portland-stone*, and also to use two Orders, and by that Means to keep the just Proportions of his Cornices; otherwise he must have fallen short of the Height of the Fabrick, which now exerts itself over all the Country, as well as City, as it did of old, when that Structure, tho' rude, was lofty and majestic.

At the *Vatican Church*, *Bramante* was ambitious to exceed the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Temples, which generally were built from the noble Quarries of Marble of the Isles of the *Archipelago*, and *Egypt*, where Stones were to be had of the largest Size Architects could have Occasion to use; and altho' by Necessity he failed in the due Proportions of the proper Members of his Cornice, because the *Tivoli* stone would not hold out for the Purpose; yet (as far as we can find) he succeeded in the † Diameter of his Columns, for the greatest of the antique Pillars that remain, (supposed to have been of the Frontispiece of *Nero's* golden House, thence brought by *Vespasian* to the Temple of Peace, and now before the Temple of *Santa Maria Major*) is less in ‡ Diameter than those at *St. Peter's*. The Glory however of the *Roman* Pillar must be acknowledged in this wonderful Particular, that consists but of one solid || Stone of *Parian* Marble, of the *Corinthian* Order.

† Viz. nine Feet. Q.

‡ Viz. 6 Feet, 2 Inches one Quarter English. Palm. 8. Pal. 3. Overbeke, 2 tom. P. 43.

|| 100. 00 Feet English in Height.

A Query has been made, why all the Pilasters of the Outside were doubled? They are of the same Use as Buttresses, and to give Space for large Windows between, which in our darker Weather is necessary: as also for the good Regularity of the Arcades within, and the Roof, they will appear proper to those who consider well the whole Design together.

Again, why were the Columns of the West Portico doubled? This, no doubt, is not according to the usual Mode of the *Ancients* in their ordinary Temples, which, for the Generality, were small; but was followed in their Coloss, or greater Works; for Instance, in the Portico of the § Temple of Peace, the most magnificent in old *Rome*, the Columns were very properly and necessarily doubled to make wider Openings, after the Manner of the middle Openings in the Porticoes of the *Greek* Temples, to five Doors at unequal Distances, viz. three near together, which lead into the great middle Nave, or Body of the Temple, and one to each Side-aisle, at greater Distances. (a) *Bramante* used double Columns without Scruple, as did *Michael Angelo* within and without the Cupola of *St. Peter's*, in the *Vatican*: the like is done in the Portico of the Church of *Santa Maria Major* in *Rome*; and also in other publick and private Edifices by the most celebrated Architects; to in-

§ See the Plan in the Architecture of Sebastian Serlio.

(a) The Cupola of the Temple of *Bacchus*, near the Gate of *St. Agnes* at *Rome*, anciently the *Porta Viminalis*, was supported on the Inside by twenty-four coupled Columns of the Composite Order, of Oriental Granite [Palladio, Desgodetz, Seb. Serlio.]

stance

stance among others, in the * Facade of the Palace of SSrs. *Caffarelli alla Valle*, * Palazzi di built by *Raphael Urbin* in the Year 1515; which contains 26 duplicated Columns in Front. The French Architects have practised the same to a good Effect, especially in the beautiful Facade of the *Lowvre*. It is to be observed in the Portico of *St. Paul's*, two Columns are brought nearer together, to make greater Inter-columns alternately, to give a proper Space for three Doors. The Ancients, particularly the *Greeks*, in their Temples, generally made the middle Inter-column wider than the rest; and as they shifted the Columns of the Portico for the better Approach to one Door; so at *St. Paul's*, for the same Reason, where there are three Doors, (the two Side-doors for daily Use, and the Middle for Solemnities) the Columns are widened, to make a more open and commodious Access to each; and this falls out gracefully, by placing the Pillars alternately, *Eustyle*, and *Pseudostyle*. *Hermogenes*, who first contrived the *Pseudodipteron*, by taking away a whole Range of Columns to enlarge the Portico, went farther than his Masters durst before him, yet is commended by *Vitruvius* for this very Thing, because useful. The Romans, after the Greek Examples, not only widened the middle Openings in the Colonnades before their Temples, but followed the like Manner in Arcades also: thus in the Colosseum, or Amphitheatre of *Vespasian* in *Rome*, of the eighty Arches, four which lead principally to the *Arena*, were made wider than all the rest. They generally took such Liberties, well knowing that the Orders were to be adapted to their proper Use, and not the Design too servilely to the Orders; of which a hundred Examples may be given. Those who duly examine by Measure the best Remains of the Greek or Roman Structures, whether Temples, Pillars, Arches or Theatres, will soon discern, that even among these is no certain general Agreement; for it is manifest the ancient Architects took great Liberties in their Capitals and Members of Cornices, to shew their own Inventions, even where their Design did not oblige them, but where it did oblige them to a rational Variation, still keeping a good Symmetry, they are surely to be commended, and in like Cases to be followed. We now most esteem the Learning of the *Augustian Age*, yet, no question there were then many different Styles in Oratory, and perhaps some as good as *Cicero's*. This is not said as any Inducement to Masons, or every Novice that can draw Lines, to fall into crude Gothic Inventions, far from the good Examples of the Ancients, no more than to encourage a barbarous Style in *Latin*, and yet surely we cannot but with *Erasmus*, laugh at him who durst not use one Word that he could not find in *Tully*.

To proceed in examining what has been further objected, particularly why the Architrave within is cut off by the Arch. In this the Surveyor always insisted that he had the Ancients on his Side; in the *Templum Pacis*, and in all the great Halls of the Baths, and in all the great Structures of three Ailes, this was done, and for this Reason: in those wide Inter-columns the Architrave is not supposed to lye from one great Column to another, but from the Column to the Wall of the Aile, so the End of it will only appear upon the Pillar of the Inside of the great *Navis*. *Vitruvius* tells us, that Architecture took its Beginning from wooden Porticoes; suppose therefore a Portico of three Ailes in Wood, or at least with the Roof of Timber, the Architraves must join the Pillars of the Ailes, and not be in Range with the Inside Pillars, but cross to that Line; so nothing will appear upon the Pillars of the *Navis* but the Ends of the Architraves. If it be said, that in the *Templum Pacis* the Cornice is cut off as well as the Architrave, the Answer is plain, there is not the same Reason to cut off the Cornice of the Arches at *St. Paul's*, which rise not so high; for a Cornice may be carried within, even without Pillars, (provided the Proportion be kept of its due Height) much more with Pillars.

The Surveyor followed the *Templum Pacis* as near as our Measures would admit, having but three Arcades in each of the Bodies East and West, as there;
e e but

but where there are no Arcades, and next the Dome, he has continued the whole Entablature.

One Thing he seems to have varied from the Ancients, in that he has incorporated lesser Pilasters with the greater, and that of the same *Corinthian* Order: 'tis true the Imposts of old upon which the Arches rested, had a particular Capital of the *Dorick* Manner, and not of the same Capital with the Pillar, as is to be seen in the triumphal Arches, and Theatres that remain; but above all Things, they were careful, that this Capital of the Impost should not have more Sally or Projection than to lie upon the great Pillar or Pilaster: and this was easily done in the Outside of Buildings, where there was Room enough to advance the Pilaster till it could receive the Impost Mouldings to lie against the Side of the Pilaster; but in the Inside of *St. Paul's* it would have streightened the great Nave, and made the Breaks of the Cornice above too heavy. Whether *Bramante* was aware of this in *St. Peter's*, it may be questioned, till after he had laid the Bases of the great Pilasters; for he has chopped off the Cornice Mouldings of the Imposts to give way for the Pilaster to break through them; which is ungraceful, and without Authority, or good Reason. Whatever Veneration we may have for this great Man, yet surely in this it must be owned, he hath confessed an Oversight. If any Man thinks it improper to incorporate great and small Pillars together; as is done in the Ailes at *St. Paul's*, let him consider the *Basilica* of the *Colonia Julia*, at *Fanum*; which is the only Piece *Vitruvius* owns himself to be the Author of; he will easily perceive, that there must be small Pillars incorporated into the great, to bear the Galleries; and he will find, that the whole Frize is taken up by *Vitruvius* to give Light.

Bramante makes no Scruple of incorporating Pilasters in his whole Outside of *St. Peter's*: the Surveyor at *St. Paul's* chose to make the little Pilasters of the same Order with the great, in the Ailes, because the opposite Wall is beautified with the same smaller Order; so the Aile of the whole Length of the Church is of itself a long and graceful Portico, without being interrupted by the Legs of the Dome.

The Surveyor in giving the Entablature to this Order, has taken the Liberty to leave out Members, as the Ancients did the Inside of Porticoes; the Architrave is essential in all Works, but they often used in the Inside to leave out the Frize and Cornice also, except some of the lower Members which they added to the Architrave, that it might not appear too meagre. By this Liberty, (in which he was authorised by the best ancient Porticoes) he could couch most of the Members of the Entablature of the little Order within the Sally of the great Pilaster, without chopping off short the Members of an Impost. If it be said still by any, the little Pillars should not have been of the same Order, let them examine the *Templum Pacis*, they will find a little Colonnade continued through every Arch, and that of the *Corinthian* Order, as appears by some small *Corinthian* Capitals still adhering to the great Pile.

This Temple, being an Example of a three ailed Fabrick, is certainly the best and most authentic Pattern of a cathedral Church, which must have three Ailes, according to Custom, and be vaulted: tho' it may not be always necessary to vault with Diagonal-cross Vaults, as the *Templum Pacis*, and Halls of the *Roman* Baths are: the *Romans* used hemispherical Vaultings also in some Places: the Surveyor chose those as being demonstrably much lighter than the other; so the whole Vault of *St. Paul's* consists of 24 Cupolas cut off semicircular with Segments to join to the great Arches one Way, and which are cut cross the other Way with elliptical Cylinders to let in the upper Lights of the Nave: but in the Ailes the lesser Cupolas are both Ways cut in semicircular Sections; and altogether make a graceful geometrical Form, distinguished by circular Wreaths, which is the horizontal Section of the Cupola; for the Hemisphere may be cut all Manner of Ways into circular Sections; and the Arches and Wreaths

Wreaths being of Stone carved, the Spandrels between are of sound Brick invested with *Stucco* of Cockle-shell Lime, which becomes as hard as *Portland* Stone; and which having large Planes between the Stone Ribs, are capable of further Ornaments of Painting, if required. Besides these 24 Cupolas, there is a half Cupola at the East, and the great Cupola of 112 Feet Diameter, in the Middle of the Crossing of the great Ailes. In this the *Surveyor* has imitated the *Pantheon*, or *Rotundo* in *Rome*, excepting only that the upper Order is there but umbratile, not extant as at *St. Paul's*, out of the Wall, but only distinguished by different coloured Marbles. The *Pantheon* is no higher within than its Diameter; *St. Peter's* is two Diameters; this shews too high, the other too low; the *Surveyor* at *St. Paul's* took a mean Proportion, which shews its Concave every Way; and is very lightsome by the Windows of the upper Order, which strike down the Light through the great Colonnade that encircles the Dome without, and serves for the Butment of the Dome, which is Brick of two Bricks thick, but as it rises every five Feet high, has a Course of excellent Brick of 18 Inches long, banding through the whole Thickness. (a) The Concave was turned upon a Centre; which was judged necessary to keep the Work even and true, tho' a Cupola might be built without a Centre; but this is observable, that the Centre was laid without any Standards from below to support it; and as it was both Centering and Scaffolding, it remained for the Use of the Painter. Every Story of this Scaffolding being circular, and the Ends of all the Ledgers meeting as so many Rings, and truly wrought, it supported itself. This Machine was an Original of the Kind, and will be a useful Project for the like Work to an Architect hereafter; for since he must have Scaffolds for the Inside Ornaments, the same thus contrived will also serve for the Builders, and bear all the Weight till the Cupola be turned, and that without any Standards. It was necessary to give a greater Height than the Cupola would gracefully allow within, tho' it is considerably above the Roof of the Church; yet the old Church having had before a very lofty Spire of Timber and Lead, the World expected, that the new Work should not in this Respect fall short of the old (tho' that was but a Spit, and this a Mountain) He was therefore obliged to comply with the Humour of the Age, (tho' not with ancient Example, as neither did *Bramante*) and to raise another Structure over the first Cupola; and this was a Cone of Brick, so built as to support a Stone Lantern of an elegant Figure, and ending in Ornaments of Copper gilt.

As the whole Church above the Vaults is covered with a substantial oaken Roof, and Lead, (for no other Covering is so durable in our Climate) so he covered and hid out of Sight the Brick Cone with another Cupola of Timber and Lead; and between this and the Cone are easy Stairs that ascend to the Lantern.

He took no Care to make little luthern Windows in the leaden Cupola, as are done out of *St. Peter's*, because he had otherwise provided for Light enough to the Stairs from the Lantern above, and round the Pedestal of the same, which are not seen below; so that he only ribb'd the outward Cupola, which he thought less *Gothick*, than to stick it full of such little Lights in three Stories, one above the other, (as is executed in the Cupola of *St. Peter's* at *Rome*) which could not without Difficulty be mended, and if neglected would soon damage the Timbers.

The Inside of the whole Cupola is painted, and richly decorated, by an eminent *English* Artist, Sir *James Thornhill*, containing, in eight Compartments, the Histories of *St. Paul*. In the Crown of the Vault, as in the *Pan-*

(a) The Bricks in the Ruins of the *Roman* Wall, and multangular Tower at *York*, are about seventeen Inches of *English* Measure long, and about eleven Inches broad, and two Inches and a half thick, measured by the ingenious Mr. *Lister*, and communicated to the *Royal Society*, 1683. [*Phil. Transf.* No. 149.]

theon, is a circular Opening, by which not only the Lantern transmits Light, but the Inside Ornaments of the painted and gilded Cone, display a new and agreeable Scene (*a*).

Altho' the Dome wants no Butment, yet, for greater Caution, it is hooped with Iron in this Manner; a Chancel is cut in the Bandage of *Portland-stone*, in which is laid a double Chain of Iron strongly linked together at every ten Feet, and the whole Chancel filled up with Lead.

Among all the Composures of the Ancients, we find no Cupolas raised above the necessary Loading of the Hemisphere, as is seen particularly in the *Pantheon*. In after Ages the Dome of *Florence*, and of the great Church of *Venice*, was raised higher, The *Saracens* mightily affected it, in Imitation of the first most eminent Pattern, given by *Justinian*, in his Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, at *Constantinople*. *Bramante* would not fall short of those Examples; nor could the *Surveyor* do otherwise than gratify the general Taste of the Age, which had been so used to Steeples, that these round Designs were hardly digested, unless raised to a remarkable Height.

Thus *St. Paul's* is lofty enough to be discerned at Sea Eastward, and at *Windsor* Westward; but our Air being frequently hazy, prevents those distant Views, except when the Sun shines out, after a Shower of Rain has washed down the Clouds of Sea-coal Smoke that hang over the City from so many thousand Fires kindled every Morning, besides Glass-houses, Brew-houses, and Foundries, every one of which emits a blacker Smoke than twenty Houses.

In the Beginning of the new Works of *St. Paul's*, an Incident was taken notice of by some People as a memorable Omen, when the *Surveyor* in Person had set out, upon the Place, the Dimensions of the great Dome, and fixed upon the Centre; a common Labourer was ordered to bring a flat Stone from the Heaps of Rubbish, (such as should first come to Hand) to be laid for a Mark and Direction to the Masons; the Stone which was immediately brought and laid down for that Purpose, happened to be a Piece of a Grave-stone, with nothing remaining of the Inscription but this single Word in large Capitals, *RESURGAM*.

The first Stone of this *Basilica* was laid in the Year 1675, and the Works carried on with such Care and Industry, that by the Year 1685 the Walls of the Quire and Side-aisles were finished, with the circular North and South Porticoes; and the great Pillars of the Dome brought to the same Height; and it pleased God in his Mercy to bless the *Surveyor* with Health and Length of Days, and to enable him to compleat the whole Structure in the Year 1710 to the Glory of his most holy Name, and Promotion of his divine Worship,

(*a*) The Judgment of the *Surveyor* was originally, instead of painting in the Manner it is now perform'd, to have beautified the Inside of the Cupola with the more durable Ornament of *Mosaic-work*, as is nobly executed in the Cupola of *St. Peter's* in *Rome*, which strikes the Eye of the Beholder with a most magnificent and splendid Appearance; and which, without the least Decay of Colours, is as lasting as Marble, or the Building itself. For this Purpose he had projected to have procured from *Italy* four of the most eminent Artists in that Profession; but as this Art was a great Novelty in *England*, and not generally apprehended, did not receive the Encouragement it deserved; it was imagined also the Expence would prove too great, and the Time very long in the Execution; but tho' these and all Objections were fully answered, yet this excellent Design was no further pursued.

The Painting and Gilding of the Architecture of the East-end of the Church over the Communion Table was intended only to serve the present Occasion, till such Time as Materials could have been procured for a magnificent Design of an Altar, consisting of four Pillars wreathed, of the richest *Greek* Marbles, supporting a Canopy hemispherical, with proper Decorations of Architecture and Sculpture: for which the respective Drawings, and a Model were prepared.

Information, and particular Descriptions of certain Blocks of Marble were once sent to the Right Reverend Dr. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, from a *Levantine* Merchant in *Holland*, and communicated to the *Surveyor*, but unluckily the Colours and Scantlings did not answer his Purpose; so it rested in Expectance of a fitter Opportunity, else probably this curious and stately Design had been finished at the same Time with the main Fabrick.

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the principal Ornament of the Imperial Seat of this Realm. * *Majestas* * Ovid's Fast. L. 1.
convenit ista Deo.

The highest or last Stone on the Top of the Lantern was laid by the Hands of the *Surveyor's* Son, *Christopher Wren*, deputed by his Father, in the Presence of that excellent Artificer Mr. *Strong*, his Son, and other *Free and Accepted Masons*, chiefly employed in the Execution of the Work.

Thus was this mighty Fabrick, the second Church for Grandeur in *Europe*, in the Space of 35 Years, begun and finished by one Architect, and under one Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Henry Compton*: the Charge supported chiefly by a small and easy Imposition on Sea-coal brought to the Port of *London*: whereas the Church of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, (the only Edifice that can come in Competition with it) continued in the Building the Space of 145 Years, carried on by no less than 12 Architects successively; assisted by the Police and Interests of the *Roman-See*; the ready Acquisition of Marble, and attended by the best Artists of the World in Sculpture, Statuary, Painting, and *Mosaic*-work, during the Reigns of 19 Popes, as may be discerned in the following View.

Names of the ARCHITECTS.

POPE S.

1. <i>Bramante</i> ,	under	<i>Julius II.</i>
2. <i>Julianus a Sancto Gallo</i> ,	}	<i>Leo X.</i>
3. <i>Frater Jucundus Veronensis</i> <i>Dominicanus</i> ,		
4. <i>Raphael Urbino</i> ,		<i>Hadrianus VI.</i>
5. <i>Baltazarus Perusius</i> ,		<i>Clemens VII.</i>
6. <i>Michael Angelo Bonarota</i> ,		<i>Paulus III.</i>
7. <i>Pyrrhus Lygorius</i> ,		<i>Julius III.</i>
8. <i>Jacobus Barocius</i> ,		<i>Paulus IV.</i>
9. <i>Jacobus a Porta</i> ,		<i>Pius IV.</i>
10. <i>Dominicus Fontana</i> ,		<i>Pius V.</i>
		<i>Gregorius XIII.</i>
		<i>Sixtus V.</i>
		<i>Urbanus VII.</i>
		<i>Gregorius XIV.</i>
11. <i>Carolus Modernus</i> ,		<i>Innocentius IX.</i>
		<i>Clemens VIII.</i>
		<i>Paulus V.</i>
		<i>Alexander VII.</i>
12. <i>Eques Berninus</i> ,		<i>Urbanus VIII.</i>
		<i>Innocentius X.</i>

Anno Christi
1503.

1648.

Inscription over the middle great Gate of *St. Peter's*.

Basilicam
Principis Apostolorum
In hanc Molis Amplitudinem.
Multiplici Romanorum Pontificum
Ædificatione Perductam
Innocentius X. Pont. Max. &c.

* * * * *
 * * * * *

Terminavit.

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The Difference between the Dimensions of St. Peter's Church at Rome, and St. Paul's in London.

N. B. *The Proportion of the Roman Palm to the English Foot is as 732 is to 1000.*
 $1000 = 732. 914 = 669, 048$, and so of the rest, ut infra.

	St. Peter's,	2.	3.	St. Paul's,	Excess of St. Peter's above St. Paul's.
	Roman Palms,	English Feet.	Fraction of a Foot.	English Feet.	Difference of Feet.
Long within	914	669	048	500	169
Broad at the Entrance	310	226	920	100	126
Front without	540	395	280	180	215
Broad at the Cross	604	442	128	223	219
Cupola Clear	190 ⁵	139	629	108	031
Cupola and Lantern high	591	432	612	330	102
Church high	200	146	404	110	036
Pillars in the Front	125	091	500	040	051

Critical Review of public Buildings in London, p. 17, 1734.

"The grand Cathedral of St. Paul's (says an ingenious Writer) is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent modern Buildings in Europe; all the Parts of which it is composed are superlatively beautiful and noble; the North and South Fronts in particular are very perfect Pieces of Architecture, neither ought the East to go without due Applause. The two Spires at the West-end are in a finished Taste; and the Portico with the Ascent, and the Dome that rises in the Centre of the whole, afford a very august and surprizing Prospect."—N. B. The critical Objections of this Author, subsequent to this his general Character of St. Paul's delivered with Candour and Modesty, are chiefly answer'd in the above Section VI. Part II.

Travels by Ed. Wright, Esq; vol. 1, p. 206, Lond. 1730.

"The Parts (says a judicious Traveller) of the Front of that most admirable Fabrick of St. Peter's in Rome are certainly very beautiful, grand, and noble, the Pillars being nine Feet in Diameter; but the whole is terminated by a strait Line at Top, which (without any Prejudice in favour of my own Country) I cannot think has so good an Effect as the agreeable Variety, which is given by the Turrets at each End, and the Pediment rising in the Middle of the Front of St. Paul's.

A List of Drawings, relating to the Architecture of the cathedral Church of St. Paul.

A Plan of the old Gothic Cathedral, with the Chapter-house, &c. in a large Scale, on Vellum, used by the Surveyor for adjusting the proposed Repairs, before the great Fire, Anno 1666.

P. 93.

A Plan of Part of the old Cathedral reformed; together with the Plan, Orthography, and Section of a Dome, Lantern and Spire, contrived to have been erected in the Place of the old, ruinous, middle Tower, as presented to

to King *Charles II.* and Commissioners for the Repairs of that Fabrick, before the great Fire.

Plan, Elevation, and Section of a Design after the great Fire; but before a Fund was granted by the Parliament for the Building. P. 116.

Plan, Elevation, Section, and diagonal View, according to a Design after the Coal-duty was appropriated by Parliament for the Fabrick; of which a large and curious Model was made in Wood, approved by the Royal Commission under the Great Seal, *Anno 1673.* P. 117.

The same Designs in a large Scale, drawn for his Majesty's Perusal.

Plan, Elevation, and Section of another Design, in a Style more conformable to the old Cathedral Form, with his Majesty's * Approbation, and War-rant to begin the Works, under the Sign-manual, and Privy-seal, annexed to the Drawings, *Anno 1675.* P. 118. Original.

Plans general and particular of the new Fabrick, as it is executed.

Orthography of the whole Church from West to East, with the Section; in which the Dome and Western Towers are represented, as once intended.

Orthography and View of the whole Fabrick to the West, the Dome, and upper Parts of the Towers, according to a prior Intention, not executed.

Orthography and Sections of the whole, and distinct Parts of the Structure, as it is executed, *viz.*

The Peristyles of the Dome, outward and inward, with the Section.

Section of the whole Cupola, Cone, and Stone Lantern, with the Copper-work, Ball and Cross.

Section of the Cross-aisle.

Elevation and Section of the West-towers.

Designs of the great Portico, the two circular Porticoes, and their Architraves, &c.

Designs in Orthography, and Perspective of the Inside of the Church, Quire and Chapels.

Designs of the Doors, Windows, Niches, the exterior and interior Finishings and Ornaments.

Designs for Marble Altar Pieces.

Designs of the Morning-prayer-chapel, and Consistory.

Design of the Organs, and their Ornaments.

Design of the Centering of the great Cupola, &c.

S E C T. VII.

ANother eminent Work, in a different Style of Architecture, was the Reparation of the ancient Abbey-church of *St. Peter*, in *Westminster*, prosecuted by the *Surveyor*, to the Time of his Death, the Space of 25 Years, with all the Application, that the Branch of the Coal-duty given by Parliament for that Purpose, would admit. A particular Account of which will be best understood from his own Words, in the following Memorial to the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, in the Year 1713.

"When I had the Honour to attend your Lordship to congratulate your Episcopal Dignity, and pay that Respect which particularly concerned myself as employed in the chief Direction of the Works and Repairs of the Collegiate-church of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*; you was pleased to give me this seasonable Admonition, that I should consider my advanced Age; and as I had already made fair Steps in the Reparation of that ancient and ruinous Structure, you thought it very requisite for the publick Service, I should leave a Memorial of what I had done; and what my Thoughts were for carrying on the Works for the future.

In order to describe what I have already done, I should first give a State of the Fabrick as I found it; which being the Work of 500 Years, or more, through several Ages and Kings Reigns, it will come in my Way to consider the Modes of Building in those Times, and what Light Records may afford us; such as at present I am able to collect, give me leave to discourse a little upon.

That a Temple of *Apollo* was here in *Thorny island* (the Place anciently so called, where the Church now stands) and ruined by an Earthquake in the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, I cannot readily agree. The *Romans* did not use, even in their Colonies, to build so slightly; the Ruins of ancienter Times shew their Works to this Day; the least Fragment of Cornice, or Capital, would demonstrate their Handy-work. Earthquakes break not Stones to Pieces, nor would the *Picts* be at that Pains: but I imagine the Monks finding the *Londoners* pretending to a Temple of *Diana*, where now *St. Paul's* stands; (Horns of Stags, Tusks of Boars, &c. having been dug up there in former Times, and it is said also, in later Years) would not be behind Hand in Antiquity: but I must assert, that having changed all the Foundations of Old *Paul's*, and upon that Occasion rummaged all the Ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some Footsteps of such a Temple, I could not discover any, and therefore can give no more Credit to *Diana* than to *Apollo*.

To pass over the fabulous Account, that King *Lucius* first founded a little Church here, *A. D.* 170, out of the Ruins of the Temple of *Apollo*, destroyed by an Earthquake a little before: but it is recorded with better Authority, that *Sebert*, King of the *East-Saxons*, built a Monastery and Church here in 605, which being destroyed by the *Danes*, was about 360 Years after repaired by the pious King *Edgar*. This, it is probable, was a strong good Building, after the Mode of that Age, not much altered from the *Roman*. We have some Examples of this ancient *Saxon* Manner, which was with Peers or round Pillars, much stronger than *Tuscan*, round headed Arches, and Windows; such was *Winchester* Cathedral of old; and such at this Day the Royal Chapel in the *White-tower* of *London*; the Chapel of *St. Crosses*; the Chapel of *Christ-church* in *Oxford*, formerly an old Monastery; and divers others I need not name, built before the *Conquest*; and such was the old Part of *St. Paul's* built in King *Rufus's* Time.

King *Edward the Confessor* repaired, if not wholly rebuilt this Abbey-church of King *Edgar*; of which a Description was published by Mr. *Camden* in 1606, from an ancient Manuscript, in these Words: "*Principalis arca domus, altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere, parique commissura circumvolvitur; ambitus autem ipsius ædis duplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc inde fortiter solidata operis compage clauditur. Porro crux templi quæ medium canentium domino chorum ambiret, & sui gemina hinc inde sustentatione mediæ turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primum & robusto fornice simpliciter surgit; deinceps vero cochleis multipliciter ex arte ascenditibus plurimis intumescit; deinceps vero simplici muro usque ad tectum ligneum plumbo diligenter vestitum pervenit.*"

The Sense of which I translate into Language proper to Builders, as I can understand it.

"The principal Aile or Nave of the Church being raised high, and vaulted with square and uniform Ribs, is turned circular to the East. This on all Sides is strongly fortified with double Vaulting of the Ailes in two Stories, with their Pillars and Arches. The Cross-building, fitted to contain the Quire in the Middle, and the better to support the lofty Tower, rose with a plainer and lower Vaulting; which Tower then spreading with artificial

"Wind-

"Winding-stairs, was continued with plain Walls to its Timber Roof, which was well covered with Lead."

These ancient Buildings were without Buttresses, only with thicker Walls: the Windows were very narrow, and latticed, for King *Alfred* is praised for After-invention of Lanterns to keep in the Lamps in Churches.

In the Time of King *Henry* the Third, the Mode began, to build Chapels behind the Altar to the *Blessed Virgin*: what this Chapel here was, is not now to be discovered, I suppose the Foundations of it, are under the Steps of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, and this Work probably semicircular (as afterwards four more were added without the Ailes) was also intended for his own Sepulture; some of his own Relations lying now, just below those Steps, and may be supposed to have been within his Chapel: of this he laid the first Stone, *Anno* 1220, and took down the greatest Part of *St. Edward's* Church to rebuild it according to the Mode, which came into Fashion after the Holy War.

This we now call the *Gothick* Manner of Architecture (so the *Italians* called what was not after the *Roman* Style) tho' the *Goths* were rather Destroyers than Builders; I think it should with more Reason be called the *Saracen* Style; for those People wanted neither Arts nor Learning; and after we in the West had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their *Arabick* Books, what they with great Diligence had translated from the *Greeks*.

They were Zealots in their Religion, and where-ever they conquered, (which was with amazing Rapidity) erected Mosques and Caravansara's in Haste; which obliged them to fall into another Way of Building; for they built their Mosques round, disliking the *Christian* Form of a Cross, the old Quarries whence the Ancients took their large Blocks of Marble for whole Columns and Architraves, were neglected, and they thought both impertinent. Their Carriage was by Camels, therefore their Buildings were fitted for small Stones, and Columns of their own Fancy, consisting of many Pieces; and their Arches were pointed without Key-stones, which they thought, too heavy.

The Reasons were the same in our Northern Climates, abounding in Free-stone, but wanting Marble.

The *Crusado* gave us an Idea of this Form; after which King *Henry* built his Church, but not by a Model well digested at first; for, I think, the Chapels without the Ailes were an After-thought, the Buttresses between the Chapels remaining being useless, if they had been raised together with them; and the King having opened the East-end for *St. Mary's* Chapel, he thought to make more Chapels for Sepulture; which was very acceptable to the Monks, after Licence obtained from *Rome* to bury in Churches, a Custom not used before.

The King's Intention was certainly to make up only the Cross to the Westward, for thus far it is of a different Manner from the rest more Westward built after his Time, as the Pillars and Spandrils of the Arches shew.

I am apt to think the King did not live to compleat his Intention, nor to reach four Inter-columns West of the Tower; the Walls of this Part might probably be carried up in his Time, but the Vaulting now covering the Quire, tho' it be more adorned and gilded, is without due Care in the Masonry, and is the worst performed of all done before. This Stone Vault was finished 23 Years after his Decease, in the Reign of King *Edward* the First, so that the old Verse is not punctually right,

Tertius Henricus est templi conditor hujus.

But alas! it was now like to have been all spoiled; the Abbots would have a Cloyster, but scrupled, I suppose, at moving some venerable Corpses laid between the Outside Buttresses; then comes a bold, but ignorant Architect, who undertakes to build the Cloyster, so that the Buttresses should be without the Cloyster spanning over it, as may be seen in the Section.

This was a dangerous Attempt. It is by due Consideration of the Statick Principles, and the right Poising of the Weights of the Butments to the Arches, that good Architecture depends; and the Butments ought to have equal Gravity on both Sides. Altho' this was done to flatter the Humour of the Monks, yet the Architect should have considered that new Works carried very high, and that upon a newer Foundation, would shrink: from hence the Walls above the Windows are forced out ten Inches, and the Ribs broken. I could not discern this Failure to be so bad, till the Scaffold over the Quire was raised to give a close View of it; and then I was amazed to find it had not quite fallen. This is now amended with all Care, and I dare promise it shall be much stronger, and securer than ever the first Builders left it.

After what had been done by King *Henry* the Third and his Successor, it is said, the Work was carried further by the Abbots and Monks toward the West, and I perceive also the contiguous Cloyster after the Manner it was begun by King *Henry* the Third with Butments spanning over the Cloyster, which they were necessitated to proceed upon, according as it had been begun, tho', by Error, not to be amended till it was carried beyond the Cloyster; but then they proceeded with regular Butments answerable to the North-side, till they came to the West-front. This West-vault was proceeded on with much better Care and Skill, and was a Work of many Years, during the Reigns of the three succeeding *Edwards*, and King *Richard* the Second. I suppose there was a great Intermision or Slackness of Work, till the *Lancastrian* Line came in; for then, in the very first Bay of this Work, I find in the Vaulting, and the Key-stones, the Rose of *Lancaster*.

In the tumultuous and bloody Wars between the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, little was done to the Abbey, but by the Zeal of the Abbots, who drove the Work on as well as they were able, tho' slowly, to the West-end, which was never compleatly finished.

When King *Henry* the Eighth dissolved the Monastery, the Cloyster was finished, and other Things for the Convenience of the Abbey.

The *Confistory* (no contemptible Fabrick) was, I think, done in the Time of King *Edward* the First, and, in order to join it to the Church, the East-side of the Cloyster was taken out of the West-side of the cross Part of the Church, (by ill Advice) for it might have otherwise been done by a more decent Contrivance, but it may be the King was to be obeyed, who founded this octagonal Fabrick: the Abbot lent it to the King for the Use of the House of Commons, upon Condition the Crown should repair it, which, tho' it be now used for Records, hath lately been done.

The *Saracen* Mode of Building seen in the East, soon spread over *Europe*, and particularly in *France*; the Fashions of which Nation we affected to imitate in all Ages, even when we were at Enmity with it. Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond Measure, with the Flutter of Arch-buttresses, so we call the sloping Arches that poise the higher Vaultings of the Nave. The *Romans* always concealed their Butments, whereas the *Normans* thought them ornamental. These I have observ'd are the first Things that occasion the Ruin of Cathedrals, being so much exposed to the Air and Weather; the Copping, which cannot defend them, first failing, and if they give Way, the Vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no Use, and as little Ornament. The Pride of a very high Roof raised above reasonable Pitch is not for Duration,

for

for the Lead is apt to slip; but we are tied to this indiscreet Form, and must be contented with original Faults in the first Design. But that which is most to be lamented, is the unhappy Choice of the Materials, the Stone is decayed four Inches deep, and falls off perpetually in great Scales. I find, after the *Conquest*, all our Artists were fetched from *Normandy*; they loved to work in their own *Caen*-stone, which is more beautiful than durable. This was found expensive to bring hither, so they thought *Rygate*-stone in *Surrey*, the nearest like their own, being a Stone that would saw and work like Wood, but not durable, as is manifest; and they used this for the Ashlar of the whole Fabric, which is now disfigur'd in the highest Degree: this Stone takes in Water, which, being frozen, scales off, whereas good Stone gathers a Crust, and defends itself, as many of our *English* Free-stones do. And though we have also the best Oak Timber in the World, yet these senseless Artificers in *Westminster-hall*, and other Places, would work their Chefnuts from *Normandy*; that Timber is not natural to *England*, it works finely, but sooner decays than Oak. The Roof in the Abbey is Oak, but mixed with Chefnut, and wrought after a bad *Norman* Manner, that does not secure it from stretching, and damaging the Walls, and the Water of the Gutters is ill carried off. All this is said, the better, in the next Place, to represent to your Lordship what has been done, and is wanting still to be carried on, as Time and Money is allowed to make a substantial and durable Repair.

First, in Repair of the Stone-work, what is done shews itself: beginning from the East-window, we have cut out all the ragged Ashlar, and invested it with a better Stone, out of *Oxfordshire*, down the River, from the Quarries about *Burford*. We have amended and secured the Buttresses in the Cloyster-garden, as to the greatest Part; and we proceed to finish that Side; the Chapels on the South-side are done, and most of the Arch-buttresses all along as we proceeded. We have not done much on the North-side, for these Reasons: the Houses on the North-side are so close, that there is not Room left for the raising of Scaffolds and Ladders, nor for Passage for bringing Materials: besides, the Tenants taking every Inch to the very Walls of the Church to be in their Leases, this Ground already too narrow, is divided as the Backsides to Houses, with Wash-houses, Chimnies, Privies, Cellars, the Vaults of which, if indiscreetly dug against the Foot of a Buttress, may inevitably ruin the Vaults of the Chapels (and indeed I perceive such Mischief is already done, by the Opening of the Vaults of the octagonal Chapel on that Side) and unless effectual Means be taken to prevent all Nuisances of this Sort, the Works cannot proceed, and if finished, may soon be destroyed. I need say no more, nor will I presume to dictate, not doubting but proper Means will be taken to preserve this noble Structure from such Nuisances, as directly tend to the Demolition of it.

And now, in further Pursuance of your Lordship's Directions, I shall distinctly set down, what yet remains to finish the necessary Repairs for Ages to come. And then, in the second Place, (since the first Intentions of the Founders were never brought to a Conclusion) I shall present my Thoughts and Designs, in order to a proper compleating of what is left imperfect, hoping we may obtain for this, the Continuance of the Parliamentary Assistance.

I have yet said nothing of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, a nice embroidered Work, and performed with tender *Caen*-stone, and tho' lately built, in Comparison, is so eaten up by our Weather, that it begs for some Compassion, which, I hope, the sovereign Power will take, as it is the regal Sepulture.

I begin, as I said, to set down what is necessary for compleating the Repairs, tho' Part thereof at present I can only guess at, because I cannot as yet come at the North-side to make a full Discovery of the Defects there, but I hope to find

find it rather better than the South-side; for it is the Vicissitudes of Heat and Cold, Drought and Moisture, that rot all Materials more than the Extremities that are constant, of any of these Accidents: this is manifest in Timber, which, if always under Ground and wet, never decays, otherwise *Venice* and *Amsterdam* would fall: it is the same in Lead-work, for the North-side of a steep Roof is usually much less decayed than the South; and the same is commonly seen in Stone Work: besides, the Buttresses here are more substantial than those of the South-side, which I complained before were indiscreetly altered for the sake of the Cloyster; and I find some Emendations have been made about eighty Years since, but not well. Upon the whole Matter I may say, that of the necessary Repairs of the outward Stone Work, one third Part is already compleated. The most dangerous Part of the Vaulting over the Quire now in Hand will be finished in a few Months, but the Roof over it cannot be opened till Summer. The Repairs of the Stone Work, with all the Chapels, Arch-buttresses, Windows, and Mouldings of the North-side are yet to be done, excepting Part of the North-cross Aile: a great Part of the Expence will be in the North Front, and the great Rose Window there, which being very ruinous, was patched up for the present to prevent further Ruin, some Years since, before I was concerned, but must now be new done: I have prepared a proper Design for it. The Timber of the Roof of the Nave, and the Cross, is amended and secured with the Lead; and also the Chapels: but the whole Roof, and Ailes from the Tower Westward, with Lead and Pipes to be new-cast, remains yet, with all the Timber Work, to be mended, as hath been done Eastward of the Tower already. The Chapels on the North-side must have their Roofs amended, when we can see how to come at them, after the Removal of one little House.

And now having given a summary Account of what will perfect the meer Repairs, let me add what I wish might be done to render those Parts with a proper Aspect, which were left abruptly imperfect by the last Builders, when the Monastery was dissolved by King *Henry* the Eighth. The West-front is very requisite to be finished, because the two Towers are not of equal Height, and too low for the Bells, which hang so much lower than the Roof, that they are not heard so far as they should be: the great West-window is also too feeble, and the Gabel-end of the Roof over it, is but Weather-boards painted.

The original Intention was plainly to have had a Steeple, the Beginnings of which appear on the Corners of the Cross, but left off before it rose so high as the Ridge of the Roof; and the Vault of the Quire under it, is only Lath and Plaster, now rotten, and must be taken care of.

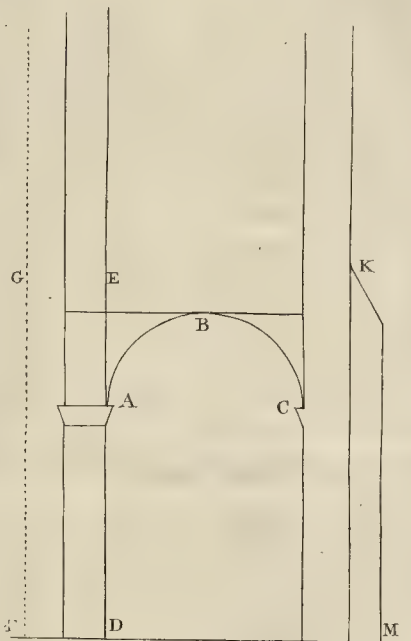
Left it should be doubted, whether the four Pillars below, be able to bear a Steeple, because they seem a little swayed inward, I have considered how they may be unquestionably secured, so as to support the greatest Weight that need be laid upon them; and this after a Manner that will add to their Shape and Beauty.

It is manifest to the Eye, that the four innermost Pillars of the Cross are bended inward considerably, and seem to tend to Ruin, and the Arches of the second Order above are cracked also: how this has happened, and how it is to be secured, I shall demonstrate.

I conceive the Architect knew very well, that the four Pillars above the Intersection of the Cross-nave would not prove a sufficient Butment to stand against the Pressure of so many Arches, unless they were very much bigger than the other Piers; but that could not be without cumbering up the principal Part of the Church: but tho' these angular Pillars could not be made bigger, yet they could be made heavier to stand against the Pressure of the several

veral Rows of Arches, which might prove an Equivalent, as may appear thus :

Let A B C be an Arch resting at C, against an immoveable Wall K M, but at A upon a Pillar A D, so small as to be unable to be a sufficient Butment to the Pressure of the Arch A B: what is then to be done? I cannot add F G to it to make it a Butment, but I build up E so high, as by Addition of Weight, to establish it so firm, as if I had annexed F G to it to make it a Butment: it need not be enquired how much E must be, since it cannot exceed, provided A D be sufficient to bear the Weight imposed on it: and this is the Reason why in all *Gotbick* Fabricks of this Form, the Architects were wont to build Towers or Steeples in the Middle, not only for Ornament, but to confirm the middle Pillars



against the Thrust of the several Rows of Arches, which force against them every Way. The Architect understood this well enough, but knowing that it might require Time to give such a Butment as the Tower to his Arches, which was to be last done; and lest there should be a Failing in the mean Time, he wisely considered, that if he tied these Arches every Way with Iron, which were next to the Middle of the Crosse: this might serve the Turn, till he built the Tower to make all secure, which is not done to this Day. These Irons which were hooked on from Pillar to Pillar have been stolen away; and this is the Reason of the four Pillars being bent inward, and the Walls above cracked; but nothing can be amended, till first the Pillars are restored, which I have considered how to perform, and represented in a Model. This must be first done, otherwise the Addition of Weight upon that which is already crooked and infirm, will make it more so: but the Pillars being once well secured from further Distortion, it will be necessary to confirm all by adding more Weight upon them, that is, by building a Tower according to the original Intention of the Architect, and which was begun, as appears by the Work, but left off before it rose to the Ridge of the Roof. In my Opinion the Tower should be continued to at least as much in Height above the Roof, as it is in Breadth; and if a Spire be added to it, it will give a proper Grace to the whole Fabrick, and the West-end of the City, which seems to want it.

I have made a Design, which will not be very expensive but light, and still in the *Gothick* Form, and of a Style with the rest of the Structure, which I would strictly adhere to, throughout the whole Intention : to deviate from the old Form, would be to run into a disagreeable Mixture, which no Person of a good Taste could relish.

I have varied a little from the usual Form, in giving twelve Sides to the Spire instead of eight, for Reasons to be discerned upon the Model.

The Angles of Pyramids in the *Gothick* Architecture, were usually enriched with the Flower the Botanists call *Calceolus*, which is a proper Form to help Workmen to ascend on the Outside to amend any Defects, without raising large Scaffolds upon every slight Occasion ; I have done the same, being of so good Use, as well as agreeable Ornament.

The next Thing to be considered is, to finish what was left undone at the West-front.

It is evident, as is observed before, the two West-towers were left imperfect, and have continued so since the Dissolution of the Monastery, one much higher than the other, though still too low for Bells, which are stifled by the Height of the Roof above them ; they ought certainly to be carried to an equal Height, one Story above the Ridge of the Roof, still continuing the *Gothick* Manner, in the Stone-work, and Tracery.

Something must be done to strengthen the West-window, which is crazy ; the Pediment is only boarded, but ought undoubtedly to be of Stone. I have given such a Design, as I conceive may be suitable for this Part : the *Jerusalem-Chamber* is built against it, and the Access from *Totbill-street* not very graceful.

The principal Entrance is from *King-street*, and I believe always will continue so, but at present, there is little Encouragement to begin to make this North-front magnificent in the manner I have designed, whilst it is so much incumbered with private Tenements, which obscure and smother the Fabrick, not without danger of firing it.

The great North-window had been formerly in danger of Ruin, but was upheld, and stopt up, for the present, with Plaster. It will be most necessary to rebuild this with *Portland-stone*, to answer the South-rose-window, which was well rebuilt about forty Years since ; the Stair-cases at the Corners must be new ashlar'd, and Pyramids set upon them conformable to the old-
* This Front, commonly called Solomon's Porch, the Surveyor lived to finish in the Year 1722.
 Sytle, to make the Whole of a Piece. I have therefore made a* Design in order to restore it to its proper Shape first intended, but which was indifferently tamper'd with some Years since, by patching on a little *Dorick* Passage before the great Window, and cropping off the Pyramids, and covering the Stair-cases with very improper Roofs of Timber and Lead, which can never agree with any other Part of the Design.

For all these new Additions I have prepared perfect Draughts and Models, such as I conceive may agree with the original Scheme of the old Architect, without any modern Mixtures to shew my own Inventions : in like manner as I have among the Parochial Churches of *London* given some few Examples, (where I was oblig'd to deviate from a better Style) which appear not ungraceful, but ornamental, to the East part of the City ; and it is to be hoped, by the publick Care, the West part also, in good Time, will be as well adorned ; and surely by nothing more properly than a lofty Spire, and Western-towers to *Westminster-abbey*.

N. B. By the foregoing Epistle, at the Beginning, and also in Part II. Sect. I. pag. 266. It appears that Sir *Christopher Wren* gave no Credit to the Stories ; how, of old, a Temple of *Diana* stood on the Situation of the present Church of *St. Paul*, in *London* ; and another of *Apollo*, in *Thorney-Island*, the Site of *Westminster-abbey* : what induced him to reject these

Accounts

Accounts as fabulous, was, that in digging the Foundations of *St. Paul's* Cathedral, he could make no Discoveries in favour of such Conceits; no doubt, the many Antiquities said to have been found there, in proof of those Relations, were never brought to his View; however, the following Extracts from good Authority, shew the Conjecture, particularly in Reference to the Temple of *Diana*, was not groundless.

"*Erasmus* observed, while he was in *England*, a popular Custom at *Erasmi Ecclesiast.*
London, that on such a Day, viz. *St. Paul's* Conversion, the People in a
 "sort of wild Procession, bring into the Church of *St. Paul*, the Head of a
 "kind of Deer frequent in that Island, fixed upon the Top of a long Spear
 "or Pole, with the whole Company blowing Hunters-horns in a sort of *Dr. Knight's*
 "hideous Manner, and so in this rude Pomp they go up to the High-Altar, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 298.
 "and offer it there; you would think them all the mad Votaries of *Diana*.
 This, probably at first *Pagan* Custom, continued to, and could hardly be
 swept away at the Reformation. Though the Church was now dedicated to
 the Memory of the great Apostle *St. Paul*; yet they seemed willing not to
 forget the Goddess *Diana*, to whom (we are told) in this very Place, was
 anciently a Temple erected; and that in the Time of *Melitus*, the first
 Bishop of *London*, *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, built a Church to the Honour
 of *St. Paul*, where before stood a Temple of *Diana*, as an ancient Manu-
 script in the *Cotton Library* tells us. *Immolat Diane Londonia, thurificat*
Apollini suburbana Thornea, (*Thorney* is now *Westminster*.) *ib. 299.*

An earthen Lamp was found in digging the Foundation of *St. Paul's*, re-
 presenting the Figure of a Building, which the late *Mr. Kemp*, into whose
 Hands this Lamp came, supposed to be the Temple of *Diana*; and he was
 the more confirmed in this Opinion, from another Lamp of the same Sort,
 which was found in the same Place, and at the same Time with the former,
 together with several Boars Tusks *. *ib. 301.*

Mr. Camden thinks it not improbable, that there was antiently a Temple of *Diana*, where *St. Paul's* Church now stands, from the great Number of Ox-heads
 that were found there in digging up the Church-yard, in the Reign of *K. Edw. I.*
 and were looked upon as *Gentile* Sacrifices, and in this Opinion he is followed
 by his learned Editor; as also by *Mr. Samms*, *Mr. Howel*, and others; particular-
 ly the ingenious *Dr. Woodward* acquaints us, that he has in his Collection, Tusks
 of Boars, Horns of Oxen, and of Stags, as also the Representations of
 Deer, and even of *Diana* herself, upon the sacrificing Vessels digged up near
St. Paul's Church; and likewise a small Image of that Goddess, found not
 far off. Now it appears from ancient Writers, that not only Stags, but
 Oxen and Swine also were sacrificed to *Diana*. *ib. 302.*

There is extant an earthen Lamp, which was procured of the above-
 mentioned *Mr. Kemp*, and is supposed to have been dug up among the other
 Lamps and Antiquities at *St. Paul's*; on it is embossed the Figure of *Diana* in
 a Hunting-posture, in the same Manner as she is represented on the ancient
Greek Coins of *Ephesus*, and conformable to an antique Statue of Marble in
 the Gallery of the King of *France* at *Versailles*. This Lamp, as the other
 before-mentioned, is of very mean Work; on the Reverse, in the Center
 are some Letters, probably the Potter's Name, as usual, but so ill executed
 as to be hardly legible.

S E C T. VIII.

THE large, and magnificent Cathedral-church of *Salisbury*, (in like
 manner as *Westminster-abbey*) discovering manifest Decays, and threaten-
 ing Ruin, arising partly from the Want of true Judgment in the first Architect,
 partly

partly from Injuries of Time and Weather, the lofty Spire especially having been much shaken and crackt by some Tempest and Storm of Lightning, required the Skill and Direction of the *Surveyor* for a speedy Amendment; in order to which, the Faults of the Steeple of Necessity claimed the first Consideration, because it could not be ruined alone, without drawing with it the Roof and Vaults of the Church. This therefore he took special Care to strengthen, and effectually secure, by bracing with Bandages of Iron wrought by Anchor-smiths, accustomed in great Works for Ships, and these so judiciously placed, and artfully performed, that it continues demonstrably stronger than at the first Erection.

He had taken an accurate Survey in the Year 1669, of the whole Structure of this ancient Cathedral, at the Request of his excellent Friend Dr. *Seth Ward*, Bishop of that See; in his Report to whom, and the Dean and Chapter, after enumerating the fundamental Errors, Defects, and present Decays, he gave his Advice and full Instructions, for the necessary amending, restoring, and keeping it from farther Declension, together with the Diseases suggesting the Cures. As this Church is justly esteemed one of the best Patterns of *Gothick-building*, a short Architectonical Account thereof, taken from the first Part of the *Surveyor's* Report, may bespeak the Attention of the Curious, as a further Taste of that Style of Architecture.

“ The Figure of the Church is a Cross, upon the Interfection of which, stands a Tower and Spire of Stone, as high from the Foundation, as the whole Length of the *Navis*, or Body of the Church; and it is founded only upon the four Pillars and Arches of the Interfection. Between the Steeple and the East-end is another crossing of the *Navis*, which on the West-side only wants its Ailes; all other Sides of the main Body and the Crosses are supported on Pillars with Ailes annexed, and buttressed without the Ailes, from whence arise Bows or flying Buttresses to the Walls of the *Navis*, which are concealed within the Timber Roof of the Ailes. The Roof is almost as sharp as an *Æquilateral Triangle*, made of small Timber after the ancient Manner without principal Rafters; but the Wall-plats are double, and tied together with Couples above forty Feet long. The whole Church is vaulted with Chalk between Arches and Cross-springers only, after the ancients Manner, without Orbs and Tracery, excepting under the Tower, where the Springers divide, and represent a wider Sort of Tracery; and this appears to me to have been a later Work, and to be done by some other Hand than that of the first Architect, whose Judgment I must justly commend for many Things, beyond what I find in divers *Gothick* Fabricks of later Date, which, tho' more elaborated with nice and small Works, yet want the natural Beauty which arises from the Proportion of the first Dimensions. For here the Breadth to the Height of the *Navis*, and both to the Shape of the Ailes bear a good Proportion. The Pillars and the Intercolumnations, (or Spaces between Pillar and Pillar) are well suited to the Height of the Arches, the Mouldings are decently mixed with large Planes without an Affectation of filling every Corner with Ornaments, which, unless they are admirably good, glut the Eye, as much as in Music, too much Division the Ears. The Windows are not made too great, nor yet the Light obstructed with many Mullions and Transomes of Tracery-work; which was the ill Fashion of the next following Age: our Artist knew better, that nothing could add Beauty to Light, he trusted to a stately and rich Plainness, that his Marble Shafts gave to his Work: I cannot call them Pillars, because they are so small and slender, and generally bear nothing, but are only added for Ornament to the Outside of the great Pillars, and decently fastened with Brads.

“ Not-

" Notwithstanding this Commendation of the Architect, there are some original Errors, which I must lay to his Charge, the Discovery of which will give us Light to the Cause of the present Decays.

" First, I must accuse him, that building in a low and marshy Soil, he did not take sufficient Care of the Foundation, especially under the Pillars. That Foundation which will bear a Wall, will not bear a Pillar, for Pillars thrust themselves into the Earth, and force open the solid Ground, if the Foundation under them be not broad; and if it be not hard Stone, it will be ground and crushed as Things are bruised in a Mortar, if the Weight be great.

" A second Fault, was the not raising the Floor of the Church above the Fear of Inundations; many sufficient Foundations have failed after the Earth hath been too much drenched with unusual Floods; besides, it is unhandsome to descend into a Place.

" The third Fault, is in the Poise of the Building: generally the Substructions are too slender for the Weights above.

" The Pillars appear small enough, and yet they shew much greater than they are; for the Shafts of Marble that encompass them, seem to fill out the Pillars to a proportionable Bulk; but indeed they bear little or no Weight, and some of those that are pressed, break and split; if those Ornaments should be taken off, the Pillar would then appear too little for its Burthen; but this is no where so enormous as under the Steeple, which being four hundred Feet in Height, is borne by four Pillars, not much larger than the Pillars of the Ailes: and therefore out of Fear to overburden them in the Inside of the Tower, for forty Feet high above, the *Navis* is made with a slender hollow Work of Pillars and Arches; nor hath it any Buttresses, and the Spire itself is but seven Inches thick, tho' the Height be above one hundred and fifty Feet. This Work of Pillars and Arches within the Tower, makes me believe that the Architect laid his first Floor of Timber forty Feet higher than the Vault beneath, (which, as I said, was since added) and without doubt intended a Belfry above (as appears by Places left in the Walls for Timber, and fastening of the Frames for the Bells) and so would have concluded with the Tower only, without a Spire. And if this Addition of a Spire was a second Thought, the Artist is more excusable for having omitted Buttresses to the Tower; and his Ingenuity commendable for supplying this Defect, by bracing the Walls together with many large Bands of Iron within and without, keyed together with much Industry, and Exactness: and besides these that appear, I have Reason to believe, that there are divers other Braces concealed within the Thickness of the Walls; and these are so essential to the Standing of the Work, that if they were dissolved, the Spire would spread open the Walls of the Tower, nor could it stand one Minute. But this Way of tying Walls together with Iron, instead of making them of that Substance and Form, that they shall naturally poise themselves upon their Butment, is against the Rules of good Architecture; not only because it is corruptible by Rust; but because it is fallacious, having unequal Veins in the Metal, some Pieces in the same Bar being three Times stronger than other; and yet all sound to Appearance. I shall not impute to our Artist those Errors which were generally the Mistakes of Builders in that Age; yet it will not be amiss to insist a little upon those which seem to concern us, and to occasion some of the Infirmities in our Buildings.

" Almost all the Cathedrals of the *Gothick* Form are weak and defective in the Poise of the Vault of the Ailes; as for the Vault of the *Navis*, both Sides are equally supported, and propped up from the Spreading by the Bows or flying Buttresses, which rise from the outward Walls of the Ailes; but for the Vaults of the Ailes, they are indeed supported on the Outside by

“ the Buttresses, but inwardly they have no other Stay but the Pillars themselves, which (as they are usually proportioned) if they stood alone without the Weight above, could not resist the Spreading of the Ailes one Minute. True indeed, the great Load above the Walls and Vaults of the *Nave*, should seem to confirm the Pillars in their perpendicular Station, that there should be no need of the Butment inward; but Experience hath shewn the contrary, and there is scarce any *Gothick* Cathedral, that I have seen, at home or abroad, wherein I have not observed the Pillars to yield and bend inwards from the Weight of the Vault of the Aile; but this Defect is most conspicuous upon the angular Pillars of the Cross, for there, not only the Vault wants Butment, but also the angular Arches that rest upon that Pillar, and therefore both conspire to thrust it inward towards the Center of the Cross: and this is very apparent in the Fabrick we treat of: for this Reason, this Form of Churches has been rejected by modern Architects abroad, who use the better and *Roman Art* of Architecture.”

These Surveys, and other occasional Inspections of the most noted cathedral Churches and Chapels in *England*, and foreign Parts; a Discernment of no contemptible Art, Ingenuity, and geometrical Skill in the Design and Execution of some few, and an Affectation of Height and Grandeur, tho' without Regularity and good Proportion, in most of them, induced the *Surveyor* to make some Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of this *Gothick* Mode, and to consider how the old *Greek* and *Roman* Style of building, with the several regular Proportions of Columns, Entablatures, &c. came within a few Centuries to be so much altered, and almost universally disused.

He was of Opinion (as has been mentioned in another Place) that what we now vulgarly call the *Gothick*, ought properly and truly to be named the *Saracenick Architecture refined by the Christians*; which first of all began in the East after the Fall of the *Greek* Empire by the prodigious Success of those People that adhered to *Mahomet's* Doctrine, who out of Zeal to their Religion, built Mosques, Caravansaras, and Sepulchres, wherever they came.

These they contrived of a round Form, because they would not imitate the christian Figure of a Cross; nor the old *Greek* Manner, which they thought to be idolatrous, and for that Reason all Sculpture became offensive to them.

They then fell into a new Mode of their own Invention, tho' it might have been expected with better Sense, considering the *Arabians* wanted not Geometricians in that Age, nor the *Moors*, who translated many of the most useful old *Greek* Books. As they propagated their Religion with great Diligence, so they built Mosques in all their conquered Cities in Haste. The Quarries of great Marble, by which the vanquished Nations of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and all the East had been supplied; for Columns, Architraves, and great Stones, were now deserted; the *Saracens* therefore were necessitated to accommodate their Architecture to such Materials, whether Marble or Free-stone, as every Country readily afforded. They thought Columns, and heavy Cornices impertinent, and might be omitted; and affecting the round Form for Mosques, they elevated Cupolas in some Instances, with Grace enough. The Holy War gave the Christians, who had been there, an Idea of the *Saracen* Works, which were afterwards by them imitated in the West; and they refined upon it every Day, as they proceeded in building Churches. The *Italians* (among which were yet some *Greek* Refugees) and with them *French*, *Germans*, and *Flemings*, joined into a Fraternity of Architects, procuring papal Bulls for their Encouragement, and particular Privileges; they stiled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one Nation to another, as they found Churches to be built (for very many in those Ages were every where in Building, through Piety or Emulation.) Their Government was regular, and where they fixed

near

near the Building in Hand, they made a Camp of Huts. A Surveyor govern'd in chief; every tenth Man was called a Warden, and overlooked each nine: the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, either out of Charity or Commutation of Pennance, gave the Materials and Carriages. Those who have seen the exact Accounts in Records of the Charge of the Fabricks of some of our Cathedrals near four hundred Years old, cannot but have a great Esteem for their Oeconomy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty Structures. Indeed great Height they thought the greatest Magnificence; few Stones were used, but what a Man might carry up a Ladder on his Back from Scaffold to Scaffold, tho' they had Pullies, and spoked Wheels, upon Occasion, but having rejected Cornices, they had no need of great Engines; Stone upon Stone was easily piled up to great Heights; therefore the Pride of their Works was in Pinacles and Steeples. In this they essentially differed from the *Roman* Way, who laid all their Mouldings horizontally, which made the best Perspective: the *Gothick* Way on the contrary carried all their Mouldings perpendicular, so that the Ground-work being settled, they had nothing else to do but to spire all up as they could. Thus they made their Pillars of a Bundle of little *Torus's*, which they divided into more, when they came to the Roof; and these *Torus's* split into many small ones, and traversing one another, gave Occasion to the Tracery-work, (as they called it) of which this Society were the Inventors. They used the Sharp-headed-arch, which would rise with little centering, required lighter Key-stones, and less Butment, and yet would bear another Row of doubled Arches rising from the Key-stone; by the diversifying of which, they erected eminent Structures, such as the Steeples of *Vienna*, *Strafburg*, and many others. They affected Steeples, though the *Saracens* themselves most used Cupolas. The Church of *St. Mark* at *Venice*, is built after the *Saracen* Manner. Glass began to be used in Windows, and a great part of the Outside-ornament of Churches consisted in the Tracery Works of disposing the Mullions of the Windows, for the better fixing in of the Glass. Thus the Work required fewer Materials, and the Workmanship was for the most part performed by Flat-moulds, in which the Wardens could easily instruct hundreds of Artificers. It must be confessed; this was an ingenious Compendium of Work, suited to these northern Climates; and I must also own, that Works of the same Height and Magnificence in the *Roman* Way, would be very much more expensive, than in the other *Gothick* manner managed with Judgment. But, as all Modes, when once the old rational Ways are despised, turn at last into unbounded Fancies; this Tracery induced too much mincing of the Stone into open, Battlements and spindling Pinnacles, and little Carvings without Proportion of Distance; so the essential Rules of good Perspective and Duration were forgot. But about two hundred Years ago, when ingenious Men began to reform the *Roman* Language to the Purity, which they assigned and fixed to the Time of *Augustus* and that Century; the Architects also, ashamed of the modern Barbarity of Building, began to examine carefully the Ruins of *Old Rome*, and *Italy*; to search into the Orders and Proportions, and to establish them by inviolable Rules; so to their Labours and Industry, we owe in a great Degree the Restoration of Architecture.

The ingenious Mr. *Evelyn*, makes a general and judicious Comparison, in his Account of Architecture, of the ancient and modern Styles, with Reference to some of the particular Works of *Inigo Jones*, and the Surveyor; which in few Words, gives a right Idea of the majestic Symmetry of the one, and the absurd System of the other.

"The ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Architecture answer all the Perfections Account of
 "required in a faultless and accomplished Building; such as for so many Architecture,
 "Ages were so renowned and reputed by the universal Suffrages of the civilized P. 9.

"World,

" World, and would doubtless have still subsisted, and made good their
 " Claim, and what is recorded of them ; had not the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and
 " other barbarous Nations, subverted and demolished them, together with
 " that glorious Empire, where those stately and pompous Monuments stood ;
 " introducing in their stead, a certain fantastical and licentious Manner of
 " Building, which we have since called *Modern* or *Gothick*. Confections of
 " heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish Piles, without any just Proportion,
 " Use or Beauty, compared with the truly ancient ; so as when we
 " meet with the greatest Industry, and expensive Carving, full of Fret and
 " lamentable Imagery ; sparing neither of Pains nor Cost ; a judicious Spectator
 " is rather distracted or quite confounded, than touched with that Admiration,
 " which results from the true and just Symmetry, regular Proportion,
 " Union, and Disposition ; and from the great and noble Manner in
 " which the august and glorious Fabricks of the Ancients are executed.

It was after the Irruption and Swarms of those truculent People from the
 North ; the *Moors* and *Arabs* from the South and East, over-running the
 civilized World ; that where-ever they fixed themselves, they soon began to
 debauch this noble and useful Art ; when instead of those beautiful Orders,
 so majestic and proper for their Stations, becoming Variety, and other ornamental
 Accessories ; they set up those slender and misshapen Pillars, or rather
 Bundles of Staves and other incongruous Props, to support incumbent Weights,
 and ponderous arched Roofs, without Entablature ; and though not without
 great Industry (as *M. D'Aviler* well observes) nor altogether naked of gaudy
 Sculpture, trite and busy Carvings ; 'tis such as gluts the Eye, rather than gratifies
 and pleases it with any reasonable Satisfaction : For Proof of this (without
 travelling far abroad) I dare report myself to any Man of Judgment, and
 that has the least Taste of Order and Magnificence ; if after he has looked
 a while upon King *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel at *Westminster*, gazed on its
 sharp Angles, Jetties, narrow Lights, lame Statues, Lace, and other Cut-work,
 and Crinkle-cranle ; and shall then turn his Eyes on the Banqueting-house
 built at *Whitehall* by *Inigo Jones*, after the ancient Manner ; or on what
 his Majesty's Surveyor, Sir *Christopher Wren*, has advanced at *St. Paul's*, and
 consider what a glorious Object the Cupola, Porticoes, Colonades, and other
 Parts present to the Beholder, or compare the Schools and Library at *Oxford*
 with the Theatre there ; or what he has built at *Trinity-College*, in *Cambridge*,
 and since all these, at *Greenwich* and other Places ; by which Time our
 Home-traveller will begin to have a just Idea of the ancient and modern
 Architecture : I say, let him well consider, and compare them judiciously, without
 Partiality and Prejudice ; and then pronounce which of the two Manners
 strikes the Understanding as well as the Eye, with the more Majesty and solemn
 Greatness ; tho' in so much a plainer and simple Dress, conform to the respective
 Orders and Entablature ; and accordingly determine to whom the Preference is due :
 Not as we said, that there is not something of solid, and only artificial too,
 after a Sort : but then the universal and unreasonable Thickness of the Walls,
 clumsy Buttresses, Towers, sharp-pointed Arches, Doors, and other Apertures,
 without Proportion : nonsensical Insertions of various Marbles impertinently
 placed ; Turrets and Pinacles thick set with Monkies and Chimeras, and
 Abundance of busy Work and other Incongruities dissipate and break the
 Angles of the Sight, and so confound it, that one cannot consider it with any
 Steadiness, where to begin or end ; taking off from that noble Air and
 Grandeur, bold and graceful Manner, which the Ancients had so well,
 and judiciously established : but, in this Sort have they and their Followers
 ever since filled not *Europe* alone, but *Asia* and *Africa* besides, with Mountains
 of Stone, vast and gigantick Buildings indeed, but not worthy the Name
 of Architecture, &c.

S E C T. IX.

A Catalogue, short Description, and general Dimensions, of Fifty-one parochial Churches of the City of London, erected according to the Designs, and under the Care and Conduct, of Sir Christopher Wren, in lieu of those which were burnt and demolish'd by the great Fire in the Year 1666. together with other Churches built, and repair'd; and publick Buildings.

I. *ALLHALLOWS* Bread-street Church, in the Ward of Bread-street New View within the Walls of London, was rebuilt, and finish'd in 1684, and of London, 1708. the Steeple, in 1697. It is a pleasant Church of the *Tuscan* Order; the Length 72, Breadth 35, and Altitude 30 Feet. The Steeple, (as the Church) is of Stone, built square, of the *Dorick* Order, and well adorn'd; the Key-stones over the Windows being Carved Heads, and between each a large Festoon; it's Height is about 86 Feet.

II. *Allballows the Great*, situated on the South-side of *Thames-street*, in the Ward of *Dowgate*, within the Walls of *London*, was re-erected, and finished in 1683, of the *Tuscan* Order, supported and adorn'd with Pillars and *Mem-brettos* of that Order, and strong built of Stone. Its Length is about 87 Feet, Breadth 60, Height 33, with a square Stone Tower, 86 Feet high.

III. *Allballows Lombard-street* Church, situated on the North-side of that Street, in the Ward of *Langbourn*, was rebuilt and finish'd in 1694. In the Church is only one Pillar, which, as also the Pilasters, are of the *Tuscan* Order; the Length is 84 Feet, Breadth 52, Height about 30; the Altitude of the Tower is about 85, built square.

IV. *St. Alban Wood-street* Church, situated on the East-side of *Great-Wood-street*, in the Ward of *Cripple-Gate*, was rebuilt and finished in 1685; the Building both of the Outside and Inside is *Gotbick*, as the same was before the Fire, in Length about 66, Breadth 59, Height 33 Feet; the Tower is of Stone, built square, with *Gotbick* Pinnacles; its Altitude is 85½ Feet, or to the Top of the Pinnacles 92.

V. The Church of *St. Anne and Agnes*, situated on the North-side of *St. Anne's-lane*, within *Aldersgate*, was re-erected and finish'd in 1680, and beautify'd in 1703, very pleasant, and ornamental, tho' small; 53 Feet square, and about 35 Feet high; and the Tower to the Top of the Turret, about 84. The Roof is supported by four handsome *Corinthian* Pillars, which are posited in a Geometrical Square, from each other; its Ornament consists of four Arches of Fret-work, with Flowers, Fruit, Leaves, Cherubims, &c. At the four Angles, the Roof is lower, and consists of four Quadrangles, within each of which, is a Circle form'd by a Circumference of very rich Fret-work.

VI. *St. Andrew's Wardrobe* Church, situated on the East-side of *Puddle-dock-bill*, in the Ward of *Castle-Baynard*, was re-edify'd and finish'd in 1692, built of Brick, but finished or rendered over in imitation of Stone; the *Facias* and Corners are Stone, and very good rustick Quoins. The Roof is supported by
k k twelve

twelve *Tuscan* Pillars, and well ornamented with Fret-work: The Length of this Church is about 75, Breadth 59, Altitude 38 Feet; and that of the square Tower about 86.

VII. *St. Andrew's Holbourn Church*, situated on the South-side of *Holbourn-bill*, in the Ward of *Farendon*, without the Walls of *London*, but within the Liberty, was rebuilt and finish'd in 1687, beautiful, and spacious; the Columns that support the Roof; adorn'd with Fret-work, are of the *Corinthian* Order; the Walls of Stone; the Length is 105, Breadth 63, and Height 43 Feet; the Altitude of the Tower, or square Steeple, is 110 Feet; it has four large Windows fronting E. W. N. and S. adorn'd with Pilasters, Architrave, Frieze, Cornice, Pediments, and of the *Dorick* Order; finish'd in 1704.

VIII. *St. Anthony's*, alias *St. Antholin's Church*, situated at the West-end of *Watlin-street*, in *Cordwainer-street* Ward, was re-erected and finish'd in 1682, built of Stone, the Outside of the *Tuscan* Order, but the Roof within (which is an elliptical Cupola adorn'd with Fret-work of Festoons, with four Port-hole Windows) is supported by eight Pillars of the *Composite* Order; the Length is about 66, Breadth 54, and Height within 44 Feet: It has a neat Spire Steeple, in Altitude about 154 Feet.

IX. *St. Augustin's* neat little Church, situated on the North-side of *Watlin-street*, near *St. Paul's Cathedral*, was finish'd in 1683, and the Steeple in 1695; the Church and Steeple are of Stone, the latter being a Tower with Acroteria, a Cupola, a Lantern adorn'd with Vases, and a Spire whose lower Part is of a parabolical Form. The Roof is cambered, divided into Pannels, adorn'd with Fret-work, and supported with Pillars of the *Ionick* Order; the Length of the Church is about 51, Breadth 45, and Height 30 Feet; and that of the Steeple 145 Feet.

X. *St. Benedict* (vulgarly *St. Bennet*) *Graf-church* situated on the East-side of *Graf-church-street*, in the Ward of *Bridge-within*, i. e. within the Walls of *London*, was re-edify'd and finish'd in 1685; its Length within is about 60, Breadth 30, Height 32; and of the Steeple 149 Feet.

XI. *St. Bennet's Paul's Wharf Church*, situated on the North-side of *Thames-street*, in the Ward of *Castle-Baynard*, was rebuilt in 1683, of Brick and Stone, ornamented on the Outside with Festoons carv'd in Stone round the Fabrick; the quadrangular Roof within is supported by four Pillars and Pilasters of the *Corinthian* Order, with their Architrave, Frieze, and *Cantalever* Cornice; the Length within is 54, Breadth 50, Height 36 Feet; the Steeple (which is of Brick and Stone, as the Church) consists of a Tower, Dome and Turret, the Altitude about 118 Feet.

XII. *St. Benedict's* (vulgo *St. Bennet*) *Fink-church*, situated on the North side of *Tbread-needle-street*, in the Ward of *Broad-street*, was built in 1673, of Stone, and is a fine Piece of Architecture; the Body of the Church within is a compleat elipsis, (a very commodious Form for the Auditory) and the Roof is an elliptical Cupola, (at the Center of which is a Turret glaz'd round) environ'd with a *Cantalever* Cornice, and supported by six Columns of the *Composite* Order; between each of which is a spacious Arch, and six large light Windows, with strong Munions and Transoms: The Length (or greater Diameter) of the Church is 63, the Breadth, (or lesser Diameter) 48, the Altitude 49 Feet. The Steeple consists

confists of a square Tower, over which is a large Cupola, and above that a Spire, which are together above 110 Feet; and the Tower is adorn'd with *Fresco*-work of Festoons, &c.

XIII. *St. Bartholomew's Exchange* (or *the Eittle*) Church, situated on the East-side of *Bartholomew-lane*, and near the *Royal exchange*, in the Ward of *Broad-street*, was rebuilt in 1679; 'tis a strong Building, the Roof flat, adorn'd with Fret-work, and supported with Columns of the *Tuscan* Order, and large Arches. Here are three fine Door-cases, on the N. S. and W. Sides of the Church, whose Pilasters, Entablature, and Pediments are of the *Corinthian* Order, adorn'd with Cherubims, Shields, Festoons, &c. that towards the South being more particularly spacious and fine: The Length is 78, Breadth 60, Height 41; and that of the square Tower, about 90 Feet.

XIV. *St. Bridget*, alias *St. Bride's* Church, situated on the South-side of *Fleet-street*, in the Ward of *Farendon*, without the Walls of *London*, but within the Liberty of the City, was rebuilt with great Beauty and Strength, in 1680, and further adorn'd in 1699; the Roof is elevated on Pillars, and Arches, with Entablaments of the *Tuscan* Order; the Length is 111, Breadth 57, Height 41 Feet; The Altitude of the Steeple is 234 Feet; it consists of a Tower, and lofty Spire of Stone, adorn'd with Pilasters, and Entablature of the *Corinthian* Order, arched Pediments, Urns, &c. and spiry Arcades, of a most elegant Effect.

XV. *Christ-church*, situated on the North-side of *Newgate-street*, was rebuilt in 1687; the Fabrick is of Stone, spacious and beautiful, with Buttresses on the Out-side, and adorn'd with Acroteria, Pine-apples, Pediments, &c. the Spire was finish'd in 1704, which is likewise of Stone, adorn'd with Vases, &c. the Roof of the Nave of the Church is cambered, and those of the two Side-aisles are flat; the first supported by ten Pillars of the *Composite* Order, the others by as many Pilasters of the same Order; the Length is 114 Feet, Breadth 81, Height 38; the Altitude of the Steeple (which consists of a Tower and Spire) is about 153 Feet.

XVI. *St. Christopher's* Church, situated on the North-side of *Theadneedle-street*, in the Ward of *Broad-street*, was not totally destroy'd by the great Fire, (the Walls partly escaping the Flames) and had probably far'd better, had it not been fill'd with Paper. It was soon after the Fire repair'd, in 1671; afterwards beautify'd in 1696; all the Old Part left by the Fire is *Gothick*, but the Pillars within are *Tuscan*; the Length is 60, Breadth 52, Height 40 Feet; Altitude of the Tower about 80 Feet.

XVII. *St. Clements Danes* Church, situated on the North-side of the *Strand*, a little Westward of *Temple-Bar*, in the Liberty of *Westminster*, "being greatly decay'd, was taken down in the Year 1680, and rebuilt and finish'd in 1682, &c. Sir Christopher Wren his Majesty's Surveyor, freely and generously bestowing his great Care and Skill towards the contriving and building of it, &c." The Fabrick is of Stone, strong and beautiful, of the *Corinthian* Order, with a Tower, and the late Addition thereon of an ornamental * Steeple. The East-ends both of the Church and Chancel are elliptical. The Roof is cambered, supported with *Corinthian* Columns, and enrich'd with Fret-work. On the South, fronting the *Strand*, is a circular Portico of six *Ionick* Pillars. The Length is 96 Feet, Breadth 63, Height 48; Altitude of the Tower about 116 Feet.

*Inscribed on a
Stone of white
Marble on the
North side of
the Chancel.*

** by Mr. Gibbs,*

XVIII. *St. Clements East-cheap* Church, situated on the East-side of *St. Clements-lane*, near great *East-cheap*, in the Ward of *Candlewick-street*, was rebuilt of Brick and Stone, in 1686, of the *Composite* Order, having a Tower, flat Roof, and Pilasters round the Inside of the Church. The Cieling is adorn'd with a spacious Circle, whose Periphery is curious Fret-work. The Length is 64, Breadth 40, Height 34; and that of the Tower 88 Feet.

XIX. *St. Dionis Back* Church, situated on the West-side of *Lime-street*, in the Ward of *Langbourn*, was rebuilt in 1674; and the Steeple, in 1684. The Building is chiefly of Stone; the Tower, and the Pillars within are strong; but part of the Walls are of Brick *finish'd-over*; the said Pillars and the Pilasters that strengthen the Walls within, and support the Roof, are of the *Ionick* Order; as is also the End fronting *Lime-street*. The Length is 66 Feet, Breadth 59, Height 34; and that of the Tower and Turret 90 Feet.

XX. *St. Dunstan's in the East*, is situated in the Middle-way between *Tower-street*, North, and *Thames-street*, South; in *Tower-street* Ward. The Church was only repair'd, and new beautify'd, but the Steeple was erected as it now appears, in 1698. The Windows and Steeple are of a modern *Gothick* Stile, but the Pillars and Arches within are *Tuscan*. The Altitude of the Steeple, consisting of a Stone-tower and Spire, at each Corner of which Tower are four neat smaller Spires, and the fifth or principal erected on four *Gothick* Arches is 75 Feet.

XXI. *St. Edmund the King*, situated on the North-side of *Lombard-street*, in *Langbourn* Ward, is well built of Stone, and of the *Tuscan* Order: The Roof is flat, and there are no Pillars within to support it. The Length is 69 Feet, Breadth 39, Height 33; and that of the Tower about 90 Feet, the Church was rebuilt in 1690.

XXII. *St. George Botolph-lane* Church, situated on the West-side of *Botolph-lane*, in the Ward of *Belingsgate*, was rebuilt of Stone, of 1674. The Roof over the two Side-aisles is flat, but that over the Nave is cambered, and supported by Columns of the *Composite* Order. The Outside of the East-end is adorn'd with a Stone Cornice and Pediment, and enrich'd with a Cherub and Festoons; the Roof with fretted Arches; and an Entablament above the Columns. The Length is 54 Feet, Breadth 36, Height 36; and of the Steeple about 84 Feet.

XXIII. *St. James's Garlick-hill* Church, situated on the East-side of that *Hill*, near *Thames-street*, in the Ward of *Vintry*, was rebuilt, of 1683, of Stone, with handsome outer Door-cases of the *Corinthian* Order. The Roof within is flat, and supported with 12 Columns, besides Pilasters, of the *Ionick* Order. The Length is 75, Breadth 45, Height 40 Feet; and of the Steeple (which is a Tower, with Rail and Banister above the Cornice) about 90 Feet.

XXIV. *St. James's, Westminster*, Church, situated on the North-side of *Fermyng-street*, fronting towards *St. James's-square*, within the Liberty of the City of *Westminster*, was erected at the Charge and Credit of *Henry Fermyn*, Earl of *St. Albans*, and of the Inhabitants, Owners and Occupiers of the Houses and Lands in this Precinct; and with the Authority of an Act of Parliament passed 3^{tio} *Jacobi 2di*. constituting this Church parochial. The Walls are of Brick, with Rustick Quoins, *Facias*, Doors, and Windows of Stone. The Roof is arched, supported by Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order; and the Door-cases of the *Ionick* Order. The Beauty of this Church consists chiefly, 1st. in its Roof within,

within, divided into Pannels of Crocket and Fret-work, and the twelve Columns that support it; and in the Cornice. 2dly, In the Galleries. 3dly, In the Door-cases, especially that fronting *Jermyn-street*. 4thly, In the Windows, especially two at the East-end; the upper Order a *Venetian* Window, adorned with two Columns and two Pilasters, of the *Composite* Order; the lower, of the *Corinthian*: The Length is 84, Breadth 63, Height 42; and that of the Steeple, which consists of a Tower and Clock-spire, 149 Feet.

XXV. *St. Lawrence Jewry* Church, situated on the North-side of *Cateaton-street*, and West-side of *Guildball-yard*, in the Ward of *Cheap*, was rebuilt in 1677 of Stone, and in the *Corinthian* Order. The Roof is flat, adorned with Fret-work; and the Columns, Pilasters, and Entablement, of the same Order. The Length is 81, Breadth 68, Height 40 Feet; and that of the Steeple, (which is a Tower-lantern, and small Spire) about 130 Feet.

XXVI. *St. Magnus* Church, situated on the East-side, and North-end of *London Bridge*, in *Bridge-ward*, was rebuilt in 1676, and the Steeple in 1705, of Stone. The Roof over the Nave or middle Aile is cambered, and enriched with Arches of Fret-work; also an Architrave, Frieze, and Cornice, round the Walls. Over the two other Ailes flat, supported by Columns of the *Ionick* Order, &c. The Steeple consists of a Tower, a Lantern, a Cupola, and spiry Turret. The Length is 90, Breadth 59, Height 41 Feet; and that of the Steeple

XXVII. *St. Margaret Lotburi* Church, situated on the North-side of *Lotbury*, in the Ward of *Coleman-street*, was re-edified and finish'd in 1690, of Stone; with a Steeple, consisting of a spacious Tower, on which is a small Dome, and on that a Spire: The Roof is flat, supported with Columns on the South, and Pilasters on the North-side, of the *Corinthian* Order. The Length is 66, Breadth 54, Height 36 Feet; and that of the Steeple 140 Feet.

XXVIII. *St. Margaret's Pattens* Church, situated on the North-side of *Little Tower-street*, in the Ward of *Belinsgate*, was rebuilt in 1687. The Walls at the West-end are of Stone, but fronting Southward of Brick covered with a Finishing, and Quoins of Stone. The Tower is also of Stone, with Acroteria and Spire, of the *Dorick* Order. The outer Door-case at the West-end is *Tuscan*, and the Pillars and Pilasters within are *Corinthian*. The Roof is flat, having a Quadrangle of Fret-work, and the Arches adorned with the like. The Length is 66, Breadth 52, Height 32; and that of the Steeple, which consists of a spacious Tower and Spire, is 198 Feet 2 Inches.

XXIX. *St. Martin's Ludgate* Church, situated on the North-side of *Ludgate-street*, in the Ward of *Farrendon*, was rebuilt and finished, with the Steeple, in 1684. The Walls, and four Columns near the four Angles of the Church that support the cambered Roof, are of Stone, of the *Composite* Order: The Steeple consists of a handsome Tower, Cupola, and Spire, of the *Tuscan* Order. Above which Cupola is a Balcony. The Length is 57, Breadth 66, Height 59 Feet; and of the Steeple to the Top of the Spire 168 Feet.

XXX. *St. Mary Abchurch*, situated on the West-side of *Abchurch-lane*, in the Ward of *Candlewick-street*, was rebuilt in 1686, of Brick, with Stone-Quoins, Windows, and Door-cases: The Tower also is of the like Materials, which has a Cupola and Spire. The Length is 63, Breadth 60, Height 51 Feet; and of the Steeple about 140 Feet.

XXXI. *St. Mary-at-hill* Church, situated on the West-side of the Street, called *St. Mary-hill*, in the Ward of *Belinsgate*, was rebuilt in 1672. The Front towards the *Hill* is Stone; the rest of the Walls Stone, covered with a Finishing; the Tower is also of Stone; the Inside of the Roof over the middle Aile is a little Arching, in the Middle whereof is a handsome Cupola: The Roofs of the side Ailes are flat, and lowest at the four Angles, supported with four Columns: At each End of the Church are two Pilasters, of no Order at all; but a Species, partly composed of the *Dorick* and *Corinthian*. The Roof of the Cupola is adorned with Cherubims, Arches, and Leaves, and the rest of the Church-cieling with quadrangular Figures, all of Fret-work; under which is a *Cantalever* Cornice. The Length is 96, Breadth 60, Altitude to the Cieling of the Roof 26, and to the Center of the Cupola 38 Feet; and that of the Steeple, consisting of a Tower and Turret, about 96 Feet.

XXXII. *St. Mary Aldermary* Church, situated on the East-side of *Bow-lane*, in the Ward of *Cordwainers-street*, was rebuilt by a private Benefaction, before the Publick Fund was settled by Parliament on Coals, for rebuilding the Churches demolished by the Fire. The lower Part of the Tower was repaired by the Surveyor, and the upper Part new-built in 1711. The Altitude to the Vertex of the Pinnacles 135 Feet.

XXXIII. *St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish-street* Church, situated on the North-side of *Little Knight-rider-street*, in the Ward of *Castle-Baynard*, was rebuilt in the Year 1685, mostly of Stone; with Rail and Banister round the Outside. There are three Ailes, and a handsome Stone-Tower. The Length is 60, Breadth 48, Height 30 Feet; and of the Tower

XXXIV. *St. Mary Somerset* Church, situated on the North-side of *Thames-street*, in the Ward of *Queenhyth*, was rebuilt in 1695, of Stone, with the Tower. Here are two Ailes, with a flat Roof, adorned with a Cornice; and between the Windows with Fret-work of Cherubims, &c. The Length is 83, Breadth 36, Height 30 Feet; and of the Tower, to the Top of the highest Pinnacles, 120 Feet.

XXXV. *St. Mary le-bow*, situated on the South-side of *Cheapside*, in the Ward of *Cordwainer-street*. This Church was rebuilt and finished in 1673. upon the Walls of a very ancient Church, about the early Time of the *Roman Colony*, which by the Rising of the Ground in succeeding Ages, were entirely buried under the Level of the present Street of *Cheapside*. It is built of Brick and Stone; the Walls covered with a Finishing; the Roof is arched, and supported with ten *Corinthian* Columns; there are three Ailes, besides the cross Aile at the West-end. The Model is after that of the *Templum Pacis*.

But the principal Ornament of this Church is the Steeple, erected near the North-west Angle, and made contiguous by a Lobby between the Church and Steeple, which is founded upon an *old Roman Causeway*, lying about 18 Feet below the Level of the Street. It is accounted by judicious Artists an admirable Piece of Architecture, not to be parallel'd by the Steeple of any parochial Church in *Europe*. It was designed by the incomparable Sir *Christopher Wren*, begun in 1671, and finished in 1680. It is built of *Portland-stone*, consisting of a Tower and Spire: The Tower is square; in the North-side thereof is a Door and beautiful Door-case, the Peers and Arch are of the *Tuscan* Order, and is adorned with two Columns and Entablement of the *Dorick* Order;

Order; the *Metops* enriched with Cherubims; above the Cornice is an elliptical Aperture, on the Key-piece a Cherub, whence (by way of Compartment) extend two Festoons of large Fruit, sustain'd lower by two Cupids in a sitting Posture, their Feet resting on the Cornice; and the whole farther adorned with Rustick-work, and another Door-case of the same Form, on the West-side; above which, on the said North-side, is another Aperture and Balcony; and a little higher a Modillion Cornice; above that are four Windows, (on each Side one) each adorned with four Pilasters, with Entablement, of the *Ionick* Order: Over the Cornice a Ballustrade, and at each Angle four Cartouches, erected tapering; and, on the Meeting of the upper Ends, a spacious Vase, which terminates the Tower.

The Spire begins with a circular Mure; and on that, a little higher than the Tops of the said Vases, is a Range of Columns with Entablature, and Acroteria, of the *Corinthian* Order. This Balcony is adorned with Bows or Arches, all which you pass under in walking round this Part of the Spire, which (a little higher) is adorned with Pedestals, their Columns and Entablature of the *Composite* Order; so that here are *all the five Orders*, regularly executed. On the Cornice of this last Order stand Cartouches, whereon is erected an Obelisk of a considerable Altitude, and at the Vertex thereof a spacious Ball; and above that (as a Weather-cock) is the Figure of a Dragon of Brass gilt, about ten Feet long; in the expanded Wings is figur'd a Cross, (the Supporter of the Ensigns-armorial of the City of *London*.) The Dimensions of the Church within, are, Length 65 $\frac{1}{2}$ Feet, Breadth 63, Altitude 38; and that of the famous Steeple 225 Feet.

To give the Sentiments of an Author we have took Occasion sometimes to quote:— "The Steeple of *Bow-church*, says he, is another Master-piece [of Sir Christopher Wren's] in a peculiar Kind of Building, which has no fixed Rule to direct it, nor is it to be reduced to any settled Laws of Beauty; without doubt, if we consider it only as a Part of some other Building, it can be esteemed no other than a delightful Absurdity: But if either considered in itself, or as a Decoration of a whole City in Prospect, not only to be justified, but admir'd. That which we have now mentioned is beyond Question as perfect as human Imagination can contrive or execute, and till we see it outdone, we shall hardly think it to be equalled."

Critical Review of Buildings in London, 1734, Page 13.

XXXVI. *St. Mary Woolnoth Church*, situated on the South-side of *Lombard-street*, was repaired in 1677. The Sides, the Roof, and Part of the Ends, having been damnified by the *great Fire*: The Steeple was old, and wanted rebuilding, which, together with the whole Church, is now very substantially performed by the ingenious and skilful Architect Mr. *Nicholas Hawksmoor*, who formerly was, and continued for many Years, a Domestick-clerk to the Surveyor, and was afterwards employed under him in the *royal, and other publick Works*.

XXXVII. *St. Mary Aldermanbury Church*, situated near the Middle of *Aldermanbury*, in the Ward of *Cripplegate*, was rebuilt in 1677, of Stone; with the Steeple, consisting of a Tower and Turret. The Roof within is cambrated, and supported with twelve Columns of the *Composite* Order: At the East-end is a large Cornice and Pediment; also two large Cartouches, and Pine-Apples of Stone carved; the Inside of the Roof is adorned with Arches of Fret-work, and the said Columns with an Entablature; the Cornice *Cantalever*. The Length 72, Breadth 45, Height 38 Feet; and of the Steeple, about 90 Feet.

XXXVIII. *St. Matthew Friday-street* Church, situated on the West-side of *Friday-street*, near *Cheapside*, in the Ward of *Farrendon*, was rebuilt in 1685. The Walls and Tower are of Brick, the Windows and Door-cases Stone; as is all the Front towards *Friday-street*. The Length is 60, Breadth 33, Height 31; and of the Tower, 74 Feet.

XXXIX. *St. Michael Basinghall* (alias *Bassishaw*) Church, situated on the West-side of *Basinghall-street*, in the Ward of *Bassishaw*, was rebuilt and finish'd in 1679. The Walls are Brick; the Tower of Stone; three Ailes, the Apertures of each Side similar to those of their Opposites in Number and Model; Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order: The Roof is cambered, and divided into Quadrangular Pannels of Crocket-work; also a *Cantalever* Cornice, Frieze, &c. enrich'd with Foliage, &c. the Length 70, Breadth 50, Height 42 Feet; and of the Tower, 75 Feet.

XL. *St. Michael Royal* Church, on the East-side of *College-hill*, in the Ward of *Vintry*, was rebuilt in 1694. The Walls are of Stone, and at the East-end some Brick; a flat square Roof, adorned with Fret and Crocket-work. The Length is 86, Breadth 48, Height 40; and of the Tower, about 90 Feet.

XLI. *St. Michael Queenbyth* Church, on the South-west Angle of *Little Trinity-lane*, in *Thames-street*, in the Ward of *Queenbyth*, was rebuilt in 1677. The Walls are of Stone; there are three Ailes; the Roof is square and flat, with the Ornament of a Quadrangle bounded with Fret-work. The Length 71, Breadth 40, Height 39; and that of the Steeple, consisting of a Tower and Spire, 135 Feet.

XLII. *St. Michael Wood-street* Church, on the West-side of *Great Wood-street*, in the Ward of *Cripplegate*, was rebuilt in 1675, of Stone; the Roof flat, and adorned with Fret and Crocket-work, the Walls with Arches and Imposts; the Front towards *Wood-street*, with Stone Pilasters, Entablature, and pitched Pediment of the *Ionick* Order. The Length within is 63, Breadth 42, Height 31 Feet; of the Tower, 90 Feet.

XLIII. *St. Michael Crooked-lane* Church, on the East-side of *St. Michael's-lane*, in the Ward of *Candlewick-street*, was rebuilt in 1688, of Stone. The Length is 78, Breadth 46, Height 32 Feet; and of the Tower to the Top of the Pinnacles, about 100 Feet.

XLIV. *St. Michael Cornhill* Church, on the South-side of *Cornhill*, in the Ward of *Cornhill*, being demolished by the *great Fire* (except the Tower), was rebuilt in 1672, mostly of Stone, and with three Ailes; the Roof cambered, having Groins and Imposts covered with Lead, and supported with *Tuscan* Columns. The Length is 87, Breadth 60, Height 35 Feet; and, of the Tower to the Top of the small ones at the Angles, 130 Feet.

XLV. *St. Mildred Bread-street* Church, on the East-side of *Bread-street*, and in the Ward of *Bread-street*, was rebuilt in 1683. The Front towards *Bread-street* is well-built of Free-stone; the rest of the Walls, and Tower, of Brick; the four Sides within the Structure are uniform, each having one Window under a spacious graceful Arch; and the Roof is a Dome, whose Base's Circumference touches the four Arches aforesaid. Here are two Ailes, and the Steeple

is placed at the South-east Angle of the Church. The Arches and Walls, within are adorned with great Variety of Fret-work, &c. The Length is 62, Breadth 36, Height 40 Feet, and to the Top of the Dome 52 Feet; and of the Steeple to the Top of the Spire 140.

XLVI. *St. Mildred Poultry Church*, on the North-side of the *Poultry*, near *Stocks-market*, in the Ward of *Cheap*, was rebuilt in 1676, of Stone, and has three small Ailes, with a flat quadrangular Roof, adorned with Fret-work, &c. The Outside next the *Poultry* has a Cornice, Pediment, and Acroters, with Enrichments of Foliage, &c. all cut in Stone. The Length is 56, Breadth 42, Height 36 Feet; and of the Stone Tower 75.

XLVII. *St. Nicholas Coleabbey Church*, on the South-side of *Fish-street*, in the Ward of *Queenbyth*, was rebuilt in 1677. The Walls are well built of Stone; the Steeple is a Tower, and a Fruustum of a Pyramid covered with Lead, and a Balcony at the upper End; there are three Ailes; the Roof is flat, adorned with Pannels of Crocket-work; and the Walls with *Corinthian* Pilasters. The Length is 63, Breadth 43, Height 36 Feet; and of the Steeple 135.

XLVIII. *St. Olaves Jewry Church*, on the West-side of the *Old Jewry*, in the Ward of *Coleman-street*, was rebuilt in 1673. The Walls are partly Brick, with Stone *Facias*, Windows, Door-cases; the Outside of the East-end is adorned with Pilasters, Cornice, and a spacious pitched Pediment; the upper Part of the Walls, at the meeting with the Roof round the Church, is enriched with Cherubims, Festoons, and Cartouches: There are two Ailes, and a very large Chancel. The Steeple is of Stone, consisting of a handsome Tower, with Pinnacles. The Length is 78, Breadth 34, Height 36 Feet; and of the Tower, to the Top of its Pinnacles, about 88 Feet.

XLIX. *St. Peter's Church in Cornhill*, was rebuilt in 1681, of Stone, except Part of the South-side, and the Tower, which is Brick; the rest of the Steeple, viz. the Dome and Spire, are Timber covered with Lead; the Roof within is cambered, and supported with square Pillars, adorned with Pilasters of the *Corinthian* Order; and there are three Ailes. The Length is 80, Breadth 47, Height 40; and of the Steeple, about 140 Feet.

L. *St. Sepulchre's Church*, on the North-side of *Snow-hill*, in the Ward of *Farendon without*, being almost demolished by the great Fire, (except Part of the Wall and Steeple) was rebuilt in 1670. The Walls are of Stone strengthened with Buttresses; the Tower is also of Stone, with four small Spires, one at each Angle, which, as also the Windows, are modern *Gothick*; the Roof over the Nave is cambered, but is flat; and lower about 8 Feet over the Side-ales, supported with twelve strong Stone Columns of the *Tuscan* Order. The Length is (besides the Passage or Ambulatory at the West-end) 126 Feet, Breadth (excluding the Chapel on the North-side) 58, Height of the Roof over the Middle-ale 35; and of the Tower and Spires, about 140 Feet.

LI. *St. Stephen's Coleman-street*, was rebuilt in 1676, chiefly of Stone, with two Ailes. The Roof is flat, without Pillars to support it. On the Outside, the Front of the East-end is adorned with a Cornice and circular Pediment, between two Pine-apples, &c. The Length is 75, Breadth 35, Height 44; and of the Tower, besides the Turret, 65 Feet.

LII. *St. Stephen's Wallbrook Church*, near *Stocks-market*, was rebuilt in 1676. The Walls and Tower are of Stone; the Roof within, over the Middle-aisle is arched, in the Center of which is a spacious Cupola, and a Lantern in the middle of that: Over the rest of the Church the Roof is flat, supported by *Corinthian Columns* and Pilasters. Here are three Ailes, and a Crois-aisle. The Length is 75, Breadth 56, Altitude of the middle Roof 34, of the Cupola and Lantern 58 Feet; and of the Tower to the Top of the Rail and Banister, about 70 Feet.

"*Wallbrook Church*, so little known among us, is famous all over *Europe*, and is justly reputed the Master-piece of the celebrated Sir *Christopher Wren*. Perhaps *Italy* itself can produce no modern Building that can vie with this, in Taste or Proportion: There is not a Beauty which the Plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in its greatest Perfection; and Foreigners very justly call our Judgment in question for understanding its Graces no better, and allowing it no higher a Degree of Fame."

[*Critical Review of Publick Buildings in London*, P. 12, 1734.]

LIII. *St. Switkin's Church*, on the North-side of *Cannon-street*, near *London-stone*, in the Ward of *Walbrook*, was rebuilt in 1679, of Stone, with the Tower; the Roof supported with Demi-columns of the *Composite Order*. Here are three Ailes; and the whole is commodious and pleasant, though small. The Length 61 Feet from North to South, from East to West 42, Height 40; and of the Tower and Spire 150 Feet.

LIV. *St. Vedast*, alias *Foster Church*, on the East-side of *Foster-lane*, in the Ward of *Farendon*, was rebuilt in 1697, of Stone, with three Ailes; the Roof flat, supported on the South-side with *Tuscan Columns*, and adorned with an elliptical Figure within a Parallelogram, environed with curious Fret-work, &c. The Length is 69 Feet, Breadth 51, Altitude 36; and of the Tower, about 90 Feet.

In the ninth Year of the Reign of *Queen Anne*, 1708, an Act of Parliament passed to erect Fifty new additional *Parish Churches* in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*: The *Surveyor*, being appointed one of the Commissioners for carrying on the Works, attended that Service with all the Application his other Offices would permit; and preparatory thereunto, took occasion to impart his Thoughts to this Effect, in a Letter to a Friend in that Commission.

SINCE Providence, in great Mercy, has protracted my Age, to the finishing the cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, and the parochial Churches of *London*, in lieu of those demolished by the Fire; (all which were executed during the Fatigues of my Employment in the Service of the Crown, from that Time to the present happy Reign;) and being now constituted one of the Commissioners for Building, pursuant to the late Act, Fifty more Churches in *London* and *Westminster*; I shall presume to communicate briefly my Sentiments, after long Experience; and without further Ceremony exhibit to better Judgment, what at present occurs to me, in a transient View of this whole Affair; not doubting but that the Debates of the worthy Commissioners may hereafter give me occasion to change, or add to these Speculations.

1. First, I conceive the Churches should be built, not where vacant Ground may be cheapest purchased in the Extremities of the Suburbs, but among the thicker Inhabitants, for Convenience of the better sort, although the Site of them should cost more; the better Inhabitants contributing most to the future Repairs, and the Ministers and Officers of the Church, and Charges of the Parish.

2. I could wish that all Burials in Churches might be disallowed, which is not only unwholesom, but the Pavements can never be kept even, nor Pews upright: And if the Church-yard be close about the Church, this also is inconvenient, because the Ground being continually raised by the Graves, occasions, in Time, a Descent by Steps into the Church, which renders it damp, and the Walls green, as appears evidently in all old Churches.

3. It will be enquired, where then shall be the Burials? I answer, in Cemeteries seated in the Out-skirts of the Town; and since it is become the Fashion of the Age to solemnize Funerals by a Train of Coaches, (even where the Deceased are of moderate Condition) though the Cemeteries should be half a Mile, or more, distant from the Church, the Charge need be little or no more than usual; the Service may be first performed in the Church: But for the Poor, and such as must be interred at the Parish Charge, a publick Hearse of two Wheels and one Horse may be kept at small Expence, the usual Bearers to lead the Horse, and take out the Corpse at the Grave. A Piece of Ground of two Acres in the Fields will be purchased for much less than two Roods among the Buildings: This being inclosed with a strong Brick Wall, and having a Walk round, and two cross Walks, decently planted with Yew-trees, the four Quarters may serve four Parishes, where the Dead need not be disturbed at the Pleasure of the Sexton, or piled four or five upon one another, or Bones thrown out to gain Room. In these Places beautiful Monuments may be erected; but yet the Dimensions should be regulated by an Architect, and not left to the Fancy of every Mason; for thus the Rich, with large Marble Tombs, would shoulder out the Poor; when a Pyramid, a good Bust, or Statue on a proper Pedestal, will take up little Room in the Quarters, and be properer than Figures lying on Marble Beds: The Walls will contain Escutchions and Memorials for the Dead, and the Area good Air and Walks for the Living. It may be considered further, that if the Cemeteries be thus thrown into the Fields, they will bound the excessive Growth of the City with a graceful Border, which is now encircled with Scavengers Dung-stalls.

4. As to the Situation of the Churches, I should propose they be brought as forward as possible into the larger and more open Streets, not in obscure Lanes, nor where Coaches will be much obstructed in the Passage. Nor are we, I think, too nicely to observe East or West in the Position, unless it falls out properly: Such Fronts as shall happen to lie most open in View should be adorned with Porticos, both for Beauty and Convenience; which, together with handsome Spires, or Lanterns, rising in good Proportion above the neighbouring Houses, (of which I have given several Examples in the City of different Forms) may be of sufficient Ornament to the Town, without a great Expence for enriching the outward Walls of the Churches, in which Plainness and Duration ought principally, if not wholly, to be studied. When a Parish is divided, I suppose it may be thought sufficient, if the Mother-church has a Tower large enough for a good Ring of Bells, and the other Churches smaller Towers for two or three Bells; because great Towers, and lofty Steeples, are sometimes more than half the Charge of the Church.

5. I shall mention something of the Materials for publick Fabricks. It is true, the mighty Demand for the hasty Works of thousands of Houses at once, after the Fire of *London*, and the Frauds of those who built by the great, have so debased the Value of Materials, that good Bricks are not to be now had, without greater Prices than formerly, and indeed, if rightly made, will deserve them; but Brick-makers spoil the Earth in the mixing and hasty burning, till the Bricks will hardly bear Weight; though the Earth about *London*, rightly managed, will yield as good Brick as were the *Roman* Bricks, (which I have often found in the old Ruins of the City) and will endure, in our Air, beyond
any

any Stone our Island affords; which, unless the Quarries lie near the Sea, are too dear for general Use: The best is *Portland*, or *Reh-abley* Stone; but these are not without their Faults. The next Material is the Lime; Chalk-lime is the constant Practice, which, well mixed with good Sand, is not amiss, though much worse than hard Stone-lime. The Vaulting of *St. Paul's* is a Rendering as hard as Stone; it is composed of Cockle-shell-lime well beaten with Sand; the more Labour in the beating, the better and stronger the Mortar. I shall say nothing of Marble, (though *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, afford good, and of beautiful Colours) but this will prove too costly for our Purpose, unless for Altar-pieces. In Windows and Doors *Portland* Stone may be used, with good Bricks, and Stone Quoyns. As to Roofs, good Oak is certainly the best; because it will bear some Negligence: The Church-wardens Care may be defective in speedy mending Drips; they usually white-wash the Church, and set up their Names, but neglect to preserve the Roof over their Heads: It must be allowed, that the Roof being more out of Sight, is still more unminded. Next to Oak is good yellow Deal, which is a Timber of Length, and light, and makes excellent Work at first, but if neglected will speedily perish, especially if Gutters (which is a general Fault in Builders) be made to run upon the principal Rafters, the Ruin may be sudden. Our Sea-service for Oak, and the Wars in the North-sea, make Timber at present of excessive Price. I suppose ere long we must have recourse to the *West-Indies*, where most excellent Timber may be had for cutting and fetching. Our Tiles are ill made, and our Slate not good; Lead is certainly the best and lightest Covering, and being of our own Growth and Manufacture, and lasting, if properly laid, for many hundred Years, is, without question, the most preferable; though I will not deny but an excellent Tile may be made to be very durable; our Artisans are not yet instructed in it, and it is not soon done to inform them.

6. The Capacity and Dimensions of the new Churches may be determined by a Calculation. It is, as I take it, pretty certain, that the Number of Inhabitants, for whom these Churches are provided, are five times as many as those in the City, who were burnt out, and probably more than 400,000 grown Persons that should come to Church; for whom these fifty Churches are to be provided, (besides some Chapels already built, though too small to be made parochial.) Now, if the Churches could hold each 2000, it would yet be very short of the necessary Supply. The Churches therefore must be large; but still, in our reformed Religion, it should seem vain to make a *Parish-church* larger, than that all who are present can both hear and see. The *Romanists*, indeed, may build larger Churches, it is enough if they hear the Murmur of the Mass, and see the Elevation of the Host, but ours are to be fitted for Auditories. I can hardly think it practicable to make a single Room so capacious, with Pews and Galleries, as to hold above 2000 Persons, and all to hear the Service, and both to hear distinctly, and see the Preacher. I endeavoured to effect this, in building the Parish Church of *St. James's, Westminster*, which, I presume, is the most capacious, with these Qualifications, that hath yet been built; and yet at a solemn Time, when the Church was much crowded, I could not discern from a Gallery that 2000 were present. In this Church I mention, though very broad, and the middle Nave arched up, yet as there are no Walls of a second Order, nor Lanterns, nor Buttresses, but the whole Roof rests upon the Pillars, as do also the Galleries; I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such, the cheapest of any Form I could invent.

7. Concerning the placing of the Pulpit, I shall observe-----A moderate Voice may be heard 50 Feet distant before the Preacher, 30 Feet on each Side, and 20 behind the Pulpit, and not this, unless the Pronunciation be distinct and equal, without losing the Voice at the last Word of the Sentence, which is commonly

emphatical, and if obscur'd spoils the whole Sense. A *French* Man is heard further than an *English* Preacher, because he raises his Voice, and not sinks his last Words: I mention this as an insufferable Fault in the Pronunciation of some of our otherwise excellent Preachers; which School-masters might correct in the young, as a vicious Pronunciation, and not as the *Roman* Orators spoke: For the principal Verb is in Latin usually the last Word; and if that be lost, what becomes of the Sentence?

8. By what I have said, it may be thought reasonable, that the new Church should be at least 60 Feet broad, and 90 Feet long, besides a Chancel at one End, and the Bellfrey and Portico at the other. These Proportions may be varied; but to build more room, than that every Person may conveniently hear and see, is to create Noise and Confusion. A Church should not be so fill'd with Pews, but that the Poor may have room enough to stand and sit in the Alleys, for to them equally is the Gospel preach'd. It were to be wish'd there were to be no Pews, but Benches; but there is no stemming the Tide of Profit, and the Advantage of Pew-keepers; especially too since by Pews, in the Chapels of Ease, the Minister is chiefly supported. It is evident these fifty Churches are not enough for the present Inhabitants, and the Town will continually grow; but it is to be hoped, that hereafter more may be added, as the Wisdom of the Government shall think fit; and therefore the Parishes should be so divided, as to leave room for Sub-divisions, or at least for Chapels of Ease.

I cannot pass over mentioning the Difficulties that may be found, in obtaining the Ground proper for the Sites of the Churches among the Buildings, and the Cemetries in the Borders without the Town; and therefore I shall recite the Method that was taken for purchasing in Ground at the North-side of *St. Paul's* Cathedral, where in some Places the Houses were but eleven Feet distant from the Fabrick, exposing it to the continual Danger of Fires. The Houses were seventeen, and contiguous, all in Leasehold of the Bishop, or Dean alone, or the Dean and Chapter, or the Petty-canons, with divers Undertenants. First we treated with the superior Landlords, who being perpetual Bodies were to be recompens'd in Kind, with Rents of the like Value for them and their Successors; but the Tenants in Possession for a valuable Consideration; which to find what it amounted to, we learn'd by diligent Inquiry, what the Inheritance of Houses in that Quarter were usually held at: This we found was fifteen Years Purchase at the most, and proportionably to this the Value of each Lease was easily determin'd in a Scheme, referring to a Map. These Rates, which we resolv'd not to stir from, were offer'd to each; and, to cut off much Debate, which may be imagin'd every one would abound in, they were assur'd that we went by one uniform Method, which could not be receded from. We found two or three reasonable Men, who agreed to these Terms: Immediately we paid them, and took down their Houses. Others who stood out at first, finding themselves in Dust and Rubbish, and that ready Money was better, as the Case stood, than to continue paying Rent, Repairs, and Parish Duties, easily came in. The whole Ground at last was clear'd, and all concern'd were satisfied, and their Writings given up. The greatest Debate was about their Charges for fitting-up their new Houses to their particular Trades: For this we allow'd one Year's Purchase, and gave leave to remove all their Waincote, reserving the Materials of the Fabrick only. This was happily finish'd without a Judicatory or Jury; altho' in our present Case, we may find it perhaps sometimes necessary to have recourse to Parliament.

In the Year 1671, the *Surveyor* began the building of the great fluted Column of *Portland* Stone, and of the *Dorick* Order, (commonly call'd the *Monument* of *London*, in Memory of the burning, and rebuilding of the City) and finish'd it in 1677. The Artificers were oblig'd to wait sometimes for Stones of

proper Scantlings; which occasion'd the Work to be longer in Execution than otherwise it would have been. It much exceeds in * Height the Pillars at Rome, of the Emperors *Trajan*, and *Antoninus*, the stately Remains of Roman Grandeur; or that of *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*. In forming this *Coloss* Column, the Surveyor took the Liberty to exceed the received Proportion of the Order, one Module, or Semi-diameter. In the Place of the Brass-Urn on the Top, (which is not artfully perform'd, and was set up contrary to his Opinion) was originally intended a *Coloss* Statue in Brass gilt, of *King Charles the Second*, as Founder of the new City; in the Manner of the Roman Pillars, which terminated with the Statues of their *Cæsars*; or else, a Figure erect of a Woman crown'd with Turrets, holding a Sword, and Cap of Maintenance, with other Ensigns of the City's Grandeur, and Re-erection. The Altitude, from the Pavement, is 202 Feet; the Diameter of the Shaft (or Body) of the Column is 15 Feet; the Ground bounded by the Plinth or lowest Part of the Pedestal is 28 Feet square; and the Pedestal in Height is 40 Feet. Within, is a large Stair-case of black Marble, containing 345 Steps, 10, $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches broad, and six Inches Risers. Over the Capital is an Iron Balcony encompassing a *Cippus*, or *Meta*, 32 Feet high, supporting a blazing Urn of Brass gilt. Prior to this, the Surveyor (as it appears by an original Drawing) had made a Design of a Pillar of somewhat less Proportion, viz: 14 Feet in Diameter, and after a peculiar Device; for, as the Romans express'd by *Relievo*, on the Pedestals, and round the Shafts of their Columns, the History of such Actions and Incidents as were intended to be thereby commemorated; so this Monument of the Conflagration, and Resurrection of the City of London, was represented by a Pillar in Flames; the Flames, blazing from the Loopholes of the Shaft, (which were to give Light to the Stairs within) were figur'd in Brass-work gilt; and on the Top was a Phoenix rising from her Ashes, of Brass gilt likewise.

Mr. Evelyn
of *Medals*,
Page. 162.
London. 1697.

* *Trajan's*
Col. 147.
Roman Feet,
Antonine's 175,
London, 202,
English Feet.

* *The Theatre*
of Oxon, St. Paul's, Chelsea
Coll. Hampton
Court, Churches
of London, the
Library at
Trinity Coll.
Camb. &c.

" Our late Discoveries of new Worlds, and Conflicts at Sea; the *sanglant*
" Battles that have have been fought at Land; the Fortitude and Sufferings
" of an excellent Prince; the Restoration of his Successor; the Conflagra-
" tion, and Re-edifying of the greatest City of the World in less then twenty
" Years (which had been near two thousand Years in building, nor then half
" so vast, &c.) call aloud for their *Medals* apart: We yet see in Medal none
" of the Column erected in Memory of that dreadful Fire, the biggest and *
" highest all Europe has to shew; and infinite Pity 'tis, that it had not been
" set up where the *Incendium* and Burning ceas'd, like a *Jupiter stator*, rather
" than where it fatally began; not only in regard to the Eminency of the Ground,
" but for the Reason of the Thing, since it was intended as a grateful Monument
" and Recognition to Almighty God for its Extinction, and should therefore have
" been plac'd where the devouring Flames ceas'd and were overcome, more
" agreeably to the stately Trophy, than where they first took Fire, and broke out;
" and where a plain *lugubrious Marble* with some apposite Inscription had perhaps
" more properly become the Occasion. But this was over-ruled, and I beg
" Pardon for this Presumption; tho' I question not but I have the Architect him-
" self on my side, whose rare and extraordinary Talent, and what he has * per-
" form'd of great and magnificent, this Column, and what he is still about, and
" advancing under his Direction, will speak and perpetuate his Memory, as
" long as one Stone remains upon another in this Nation."
" The Monument, says a modern Critick, is undoubtedly the noblest modern
" Column in the World; nay in some respects, it may justly vie with those
" celebrated ones of Antiquity, which are consecrated to the Names of *Trajan*,
" and *Antonine*. Nothing can be more bold and surprizing, nothing more
" beautiful and harmonious: The Bas-relief at the Base, allowing for some few
" Defects, is finely imagin'd, and executed as well; and nothing material can

"be cavilled with, but the Inscriptions round about it. Nothing, indeed, can be more ridiculous than its Situation, unless the Reason which is assigned for so doing. I am of Opinion, if it had been raised where *Cheapside* Conduit stood, it would have been as effectual a Remonstrance of the Misfortune it is designed to record, and would at once have added an inexpressible Beauty to the Vista, and received as much as it gave."

[*Critical Review of London*, p. 9.]

An accurate Account of the Quantity, by Measurements, of the great Column of London.

THE Solidity of the whole Fabrick, from the Bottom of the lowest Plinth, to the black Marble under the Urn, the Cylinder of the Stair-case only deducted, and the Stone for the Carving not allowed for, is	37396 Feet.
The black Marble that covers the Capital	287
Lanthorn	64

From this Solidity deduct,

For 8 great Niches	281
For 3 Doors and Passages	289
For 3 Sides reveyled	486
For rough Block	1499
For Rubble-work	7185

In all

9740

The Remainder is

27656

To this add, upon the account of the Carvings in the Front, the 4 great Dragons, and Festoons	540
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28196 Feet of solid *Portland* Stone.

343 black Marble Steps.

The whole Shaft fluted after it was built, being 4784 superficial Feet.

Marble Harch-pace 56 Feet.

Marble Paving, and other small Articles, not in this Measurement.

Inscription for the great Pillar, or Monument, of London, according to the first Conception of Sir C. W.

QUI celsam spectas Molem, idem quoque infaustum & fatalem toti quondam Civitati vides Locum. Hic quippe, Anno Christi MDCLXVI. 2 Sept. alterâ post mediam Noctem Horâ, ex Casâ humili, prima se extulit Flamma, quæ, Austro flante, aded brevi invaluit, ut non tantum tota ferè intra Muros Urbis, sed et Edificia quæcunque Arcem, et Templariorum Hospitium; quæcunque denique Ripas Fluminis, et remotissima Civitatis interjacent Mœnia, ferali absumpta fuerint Incendio. Tridui spatio, C. Templa, Plateæ CCCC. et plura quam XIV. Domorum Millia Flammis absorpta fuere. Innumeri Cives omnibus suis fortunis exuti, et sub dio agitare coacti, infinitæ, et toto Orbe congestæ opes in Cinerem et Favillam redactæ: ita ut de Urbe omnium quotquot Sol aspicit amplissimâ, et sælissimâ, præter Nomen et Famam, et immenses Ruinarum Aggeres, vix quicquam superesset.

Carolus

Carolus Secundus, Dei Gratia, Rex Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Anno Regni XVIII. et plerique Angliæ Proceres, consumptâ Incendio Urbe penè universâ, eâdemque triennio Spatio in ampliorem Modum instauratâ, et non ut antè ligneis aut luteis, sed partim lateritiis, partim marmoreis Ædificiis, et Operibus ita ornatâ, ut è suis Ruinâ pulchrior multò prodissè videatur; auctis præterea ad immensam Magnitudinem Urbis Pomæriis; ad æternam utriusque Facti Memoriam, hic ubi tantæ Cladis prima emicuit Flamma

Monumentum posuere.

Discat Præsens et Futura Ætas, nequâ similis ingruat Clades, tempestivis Numen placare votis: Beneficium verò Regis, et Procerum, quorum Liberalitate, præter Ornatum, major etiam Urbi accessit Securitas, grata mente recognoscat.

O quantum tibi debet AVGVSTA,
Tot nascentia Templâ, tot renata,
Tot Spectacula?

MART.

As Augustus said of Rome, lateritiâ inveni, marmoream reliqui, so the Re-builder of London might as properly say, luteum et ligneum inveni, lateritium et lapideum reliqui.

Sæpe majori fortunæ locum fecit Injuria: multa ceciderunt, ut altius surgerent, et in majus. Timagenes felicitati Urbis inimicus aiebat, Romæ sibi Incendia ob hoc unum dolori esse, quod sciret meliora resurrectione, quam arsisent. [Senecæ, Epist. 92.]

Mensuræ Columnarum, apud Antiques, maximarum.

Reliquiæ Antiquæ Urbis Romæ, per Mic. Overbeke.

Tota Columna Imp. Antonini, Romæ, Alta est Palmos Romanos CCXXX. Diametros Scapi continet Palmos XVI. et IV. Pollices.

Tota Columna Imp. Trajani, Romæ, ab ejus Imo usque ad Statuæ Sancti Petri verticem, alta est Palmos Romanos CXIII. cum Dimidio; Diametros ejus prope Basin complectitur Palmos XVI. cum Sequi-pollice; ita ut hic Diametros totidem in se continet Pollices, quot Moles totâ Palmos alta esse cognoscitur.

N. B. Palmus Romanus architectonicus continet IX. Pollices Anglicanos.

Columna, dicta Historica, Constantinopoli, sive Imp. Theodosii, sive Arcadii, alta est CXLVII. Pedes. Secundum computum Petri Gyllii.

The Custom-house for the Port of London, situated on the South-side of Thames-street, was erected in 1668, adorned with an upper and lower Order of Architecture: In the latter are Stone Columns, and Entablement of the Tuscan Order; in the former are Pilasters, Entablature, and five Pediments of the Ionick Order. The West-end is elevated on Columns, forming a Piazza. The Length of this Building is 189 Feet; Breadth in the middle Part 27 Feet, at the West-end, &c. 60 Feet.

The Frontispiece of the Middle-temple, towards Fleet-street, was erected in the Year 1684, of Stone and Brick. The Basis is a Rustick Arcade of Stone, supporting four Pilasters, Entablature, and triangular Pediment of the Ionick Order, and the rest of rubbed Brick.

S E C T. X.

A Catalogue and short Description of the Surveyor's Designs of Buildings, in the Service of the Crown.

I. **G**ENERAL Plan of the Situation, with the Plan and Orthography of the royal Palace at the City of *Winchester* (the *Venta Belgarum* of the Romans, a military Station, the Seat of the *West Saxon Kings*.)

This Palace was begun by the Commands of King *Charles the Second*, (March 23, 1683) and prosecuted with that Expedition, that the greatest Part was covered in, and finished, as to the Shell, before the King's Decease, *February* 1684-5. It extends to the West 326 Feet, to the South 216 Feet. "There was particularly intended a large Cupola, 30 Feet above the Roof, which would have been seen a great Way to the Sea; and also a regular Street of handsome Houses, leading in a direct Line down the Hill, from the Front of the Palace to the West-gate of the Cathedral; for which, and for the Parks, the Ground was procured;" and Preparations made for proper Plantations, a necessary Ornament for that open Situation. The Surveyor had projected also to have brought from the Downs a River through the Park, which would have formed a Cascade of 30 Feet Fall. The whole Disposition of this Palace was such, as made it esteemed by the best Judges an excellent Model of a Royal-hunting-feat. In this Place, (where probably had been the *Roman Prætorium*) "stood an ancient Castle, which had been often besieged, but never so straitly, as when *Maud* the Empress maintained it against King *Stephen*. In digging for the new Foundations, were discovered divers *Roman* and *Saxon* Antiquities, as Coins of *Constantine the Great*, and others;—a Brick Pavement of the tessellated Work; a round * Brass Seal, with a Head engraved, and this Inscription in *Saxon* Characters,

Camden's Britannia, 2d. Edit. p. 141.

* *Penes Collectorem.*

SIGILLUM SECRETI. †. &c.

From a Journey through England.

Vol. II. p. 21. Lond. 1722.

KING *Charles* the second taking a Liking to the Situation of *Winchester*, by reason of the Delicousness of the Country for all manner of Country Sports, set Sir *Christopher Wren*, that great Architect, (who had the Honour of making the Plan of *St. Paul's Church* in *London*, laying the first Stone, and living to see it finished) to make a Plan for a Royal Palace where the old Castle stood; and King *Charles* was so fond of it, and forwarded it with so much Diligence, that the whole Case of the Palace was roofed, and near finished, when that Prince died. It will be the finest Palace in *England*, when finished, and inferior to few abroad. It fronts the City to the East, by a noble Area between two Wings. The Marble Pillars sent by the Duke of *Tuscany*, for supporting the Portico of the great Stair-case, lie half buried in the Ground. The Stair-case carries up to the great Guard-hall, from whence you enter into sixteen spacious Rooms on each Wing, nine of which make a Suite to the End of each Wing. There are also two Entries under the Middle of each Wing, to the South and North, above which are to be two Cupola's; and the Front to the West extends 326 Feet, in the Middle of which is another Gate, with a Cupola to be also over it. Under the great Apartment, on each Side from the Ground,

is a Chapel on the left for the King, and another on the right for the Queen; and behind the Chapels are two Courts, finely piazza'd, to give Light to the inward Rooms. There was to be a Terrace round it, as at *Windsor*, and the Ground laid out for a Garden, very spacious, with a Park marked out, of eight Miles Circumference, and that Park to open into a Forest of twenty Miles Circumference, without either Hedge or Ditch. The King designed also a Street from the Area to the *East*, in a direct Line, by an easy Descent, to the great Door of the Cathedral.

Queen *Anne* came once to see *Winchester*, where she staid seventeen Days, and designed to have finished it, as a Jointure-house to her Consort Prince *George of Denmark*; but an expensive War, and the Prince's Death before her, prevented it. Whether his Majesty, or the Prince, when they please to make a Circuit through their Dominions, may not think it worth while to finish so noble a Structure, Time will discover.

Bishop *Morley*, who had been an Exile with King *Charles*, and made Bishop of this See after the Restoration, seeing his Majesty designing to make *Winchester* a royal Residence, thought himself obliged to keep pace with the King; and therefore pulled down a great Part of the old episcopal Palace, and, under the Direction of the same Architect, Sir *Christopher Wren*, began a new one; but he dying about the Time with the King, his Palace stood still with the King's. However, he had compleated one Wing in his Life-time, and left Money for finishing the rest; but Bishop *Mew*, his Successor, seeing no Probability of a Court at *Winchester*, never minded it. Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* succeeding Bishop *Mew*, in Queen *Anne's* Time, called for the Money left by Bishop *Morley*, and finished it. It is a very handsome Palace, à la moderne.

II. *Plans, Elevations, and Sections, of the two royal Apartments at Hampton-court, being a Part only of the Surveyor's Design for a new Palace there.*

This Edifice was begun by the Commands of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in the Year 1690, (to make room for which, the principal Part of the old Fabrick fronting the *House-park* was taken down) and finished in 1694, just before the much lamented Death of that incomparable Princess.

*Quâ nihil majus meliusve Regni
Fata donavere, bonique Divi,
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in Aurum
Tempora priscaum.*

The Queen, upon observing the pleasant Situation of the Palace, proposed a proper Improvement with Building and Gardening, and pleased herself from time to time, in examining and surveying the Drawings, Contrivances, and whole Progress of the Works, and to give thereon her own Judgment, which was exquisite; for there were few Arts, or Sciences, in which her Majesty had not only an elegant Taste, but a Knowledge much superior to any of her Sex, in that, or (it may be) any former Age. This is not said as a Panegyrick, but a plain and well-known Truth, which the Surveyor had frequent Experience of, when, (by that Favour and Esteem the Queen was graciously pleased publicly to shew him, upon a Discernment and Trial of his Worth) he had many Opportunities of a free Conversation with her Majesty, not only on the Subject of Architecture, but other Branches of Mathematicks, and useful Learning. King *William* was pleased so far to approve of the Surveyor's Service in the Designs, and Execution of this Fabrick, as occasionally to deliver his Opinion, (and once particularly in the Hearing of some noble Persons of the first Quality in England) That these two Apartments, for good Proportion, State, and Convenience, jointly, were not paralleled by any Palace in Europe; and, at the same time, to excuse

*Certified to the
Collector, by
the Right Ho-
nourable Tho-
mas Earl of
Pembroke.*

his

his Surveyor, for not raising the Cloysters, under the Apartments, higher; which were executed in that Manner, according to *his* express Orders. The Façade, or *King's Apartment*, fronting the Privy-garden, and *Thames*, extends 328 Feet; the Façade, or *Queen's Apartment*, fronting the House-park, extends 330 Feet; the Access to the principal Stair-case leading to the *King's-side*, is through a beautiful Portico of about 90 Feet long, consisting of a Colonnade of 16 duplicated Pillars, of the *Ionick* Order. "Both *House* and *Parks* being environ'd " on three Sides with the River *Thames*, and consequently enjoying as pleasant a " Situation as the Prudence of its first Founder *Cardinal Wolsey* could select " for it, was indeed a Piece of Work of great Beauty and Magnificence for the " Age it was built in. But the Additions made to it by *King William* and *Queen Mary* do so far excel what it was before, that they evidently shew what " vast Advancements, Architecture has receiv'd since that Time."

Camden's
Britannia, 2d
Edit. P. 368.

*Sic Partem Ille Domûs, quam vix felicior Ætas
Finiat, exegit.*—

If the World had not been depriv'd so soon of the inestimable Life of *Queen Mary*, and had the *Surveyor* been empower'd to have finish'd his whole Design, *Leland's* Description of *Hampton Court* would have been a truer Resemblance of its latter than primitive State.

*Est locus insolito rerum splendore superbus,
Alluiturque vagâ Tamisii fluminis undâ,
Nomine ab antiquo jam tempore dictus Avonâ;
Hic rex Willhelmus tales hic condidit ædes
Magnificas, quales toto sol aureus orbe
Non vidit.*

III. Design of the Mausoleum, which was erected in *Westminster-abbey*, at the Funeral-obsequies of *Queen Mary the Second*, March 5, 1697.

IV. Plans, Elevations, and Views of *Chelsea-college*. This noble Hospital was founded, and near finish'd, by *King Charles the Second*; prosecuted by *King James the Second*; and compleated, and furnish'd with all sorts of Necessaries, and Conveniences for the comfortable Maintenance of maim'd and superannuated Soldiers, by *King William* and *Queen Mary*. The Industry, and Conduct of the *Surveyor*, and *Sir Stephen Fox*, jointly, in the Erection and Settlement hereof, are worthy Remembrance: *Sir Stephen Fox*, a Lord of the Treasury, took care for the due Payment of the Works; whilst the *Surveyor* vigorously prosecuted his Part in the Buildings; and lastly prescrib'd the Statutes, and whole Oeconomy of the House, which for Cleanliness, Health; and Convenience, is deservedly esteem'd one of the best regulated in *Europe*; well suiting, in every particular, the pious Design, and Munificence of its royal Founders.

V. Designs of the royal Hospital at *Greenwich*, for disabled and superannuated Seamen, begun in 1699. The *Surveyor* was among the first who address'd their Majesties *King William* and *Queen Mary*, to convert the Site and Buildings of their royal Palace to this most charitable Use; which was also industriously promoted by the Lord *Sommers*, Mr. *Evelyn*, Mr. *Bridgman* Secretary of the Admiralty, and Mr. *Lownds* Secretary of the Treasury. This extensive Charity was not only calculated for the Relief and Support of the veteran Seamen, and such as had been wounded or disabled in the Service, but also for the Relief and Maintenance of such Widows, and the Education of such Orphans, whose Husbands, and Parents had been slain in the Defence of the Nation at Sea. A

Project so seasonably adjusted for the Encouragement and Improvement of that other most important Branch of the national Defence, the *naval Arms of Great-Britain*. After the Grant had pass'd the *great Seal*, and an ample *Commission* appointed, with Powers to conduct and regulate all Affairs, relating to the building of the *Hospital*; and the *Surveyor* nominated a *Director*, and *chief Architect* of this great Undertaking, he cheerfully engag'd in the Work, *gratis*, and contriv'd the new Fabrick extensive, durable, and magnificent, conformable to the graceful *Pavilion*, which had been erected there by King *Charles the Second*, and originally intended for his own Palace; contributing his Time, Labour, and Skill, and prosecuting the Works for several Years, with all the Expedition the Circumstances of Affairs would allow; without any Salary, Emolument or Reward (which good Example, 'tis to be hoped, has been since follow'd;) preferring in *this*, as in every other Passage of his Life, the publick Service to any private Advantage of his own, by the Acquest of Wealth, of which he had always a great Contempt.

Extracts from the Account of the Buildings of Greenwich Hospital, publish'd by the Deputy-surveyor Mr. Hawksmoor, Anno 1728. for the Perusal of the Parliament.

HER Majesty Queen *Mary*, the Foundress of the marine Hospital, enjoin'd Sir *Christopher Wren* to build the Fabrick with great Magnificence and Order; and being ever solicitous for the Prosecution of the Design, had several times honour'd *Greenwich* with her personal Views of the Building erected by King *Charles II.* as Part of his Palace, and likewise of that built by Mr. *Inigo Jones*, call'd the *Queen's House*, &c. On which Views She was unwilling to demolish either, as was propos'd by some. This occasion'd the keeping of an Approach from the *Thames* quite up to the *Queen's House*, of 115 Feet broad, out of the Grant that was made to the Hospital, that her Majesty might have an Access to that House by Water as well as by Land; and she retain'd a Desire to add the four Pavilions to that Palace, according to *Inigo Jones's* Design, that She might make that little Palace compleat, as a royal Villa for her own Retirement, or from whence Embassadors, or publick Ministers, might make their Entry into *London*.

Her Majesty's absolute Determination to preserve the Wing built by her Uncle King *Charles II.* to keep the *Queen's House*, and the Approach to it, on the Considerations abovesaid, naturally drew on the Disposition of the Buildings, as they are now placed and situated.

The principal Front of this great Building lies open to the *Thames*; from whence we enter into the Middle of the royal Court, near 300 Foot square, lying open to the North, and cover'd on the West with the Court of King *Charles II.* and on the East with that of Queen *Anne*, equal to it; and on the South, the great Hall and Chapel.

The Court of Queen *Anne* contains the great Range or Wing next the royal Court, as afore said, and holds 140 Men. To the East of this Court of Queen *Anne*, is another Range of Building, which contains 66 Persons, &c.

The great Pavilion next the *Thames* contains four very commodious Apartments for Officers.

The great Pavilion, at the South-end of Queen *Anne's* Court, contains Lodgings for Officers, and some proper Rooms for the entertaining of the Widows and Children.

The Court of King *Charles II.* contains the great Wing on the West of the royal Court above mention'd, built by that Prince as Part of his own intended Palace. It is a noble Pile, having in the Middle a tetrastyle Portico, with Arcades;

cadés; the Walls are rusticated, all in *Portland Stone*; the Windows artfully decorated and proportion'd; the Order is *Corinthian*; the Body of the Building is crown'd with an Entablement of that Order; and the two Extrems in two great Pavilions (all in the same Style) rising with an *Attick* Order above the other Part, and make two eminent Towers.

This Wing, together with the *Bas-wing* to the West of the Court of King *Charles II.* contain 206 Persons, &c.

The great Pavillion to the *Thames*, closing the North-side of this Court, contains four Apartments for Officers, and other Conveniences.

The great Pavillion on the South-end of this Court, contains several Lodgings for Officers, and the great Kitchen, and Rooms belonging to it.

The Wing to the West, which was built for Offices for immediate Service, contains Chambers for Servants and other Uses of the Family. This is call'd the *Bas-wing* of King *Charles II.*

Keeping the central Lines of the whole Projection that runs through the royal Court and the Esplanade in the Park, the next Buildings we come at lie on the South-side of the royal Court, and are 1st,

The Colonnade, having a Portico on the right and left Hands of *Doric* Pillars 20 Feet high, is crown'd with an Entablement and Balustrade of *Portland Stone*, each of which Porticos is in Length 430 Feet, and both together sustain'd by 300 Pillars and Pilasters.

These Porticos are intended for Communication from the Hall and Chapel to the Wards and Dormitories; and to protect the Men from the Inclemency of Weather, and give them Air, at any time, without incommoding them; very useful where a Number of People are to inhabit in one College.

On the West-side of this Colonnade is built the Court of King *William*, containing the great Hall, Vestibule and Cupola: The Tambour of the Cupola is a Peristylum of Pillars duplicated, of the *Composite* Order, and broke upon the Quoins with Groups of Pillars; the *Attick* is a Circle without Breaks, cover'd with a Tholus and small Lantern.

Under is a less Hall, and Room for the Guard, and common Rendez-vous of the House. On the West-side of this Court is a large Dormitory, and sundry Lodgments. This Wing will contain 200 Persons.

On the South-side of King *William's* Court is another large Dormitory with several Rooms. This Wing will contain 320 Persons.

On the East of the Colonnade is the Court of *Queen Mary*, which contains the royal Chapel, with the Vestibule and Cupola; and a large Dormitory to the South, like that of King *William*, holding 320 Persons; and a Dormitory, on the East side of this Court, to hold 100 Persons. Besides the Grandeur, Regularity, and Beauty of this publick Building, the capacious Accommodations, the Wards and Chambers, can entertain 1352 Men, excluding Officers and Servants, and Rooms of publick Use.

There was once this only Exception: some Gentlemen thought the *Bas-wing* of Offices was too mean for the rest of the Building, and desir'd a Proposal might be made to alter that, to the Style and Dignity of King *Charles's* Front; which was done, and shew'd to the Persons then in Power: And this occasion'd the doubling the great North Pavillion, and making it so large as now it is, with the Flag-tower upon the Center, which compleated the Strength and Beauty of the North Front of this royal Hospital towards the *Thames*.

VI. *Design* of the Altar-piece of the old Chapel of *Whitehall*, destroy'd, with the Palace, by the Fire in 1697.

VII. *Design* of the Marble Altar-piece, with the original Ornaments, and Statues, erected in *King James* the Second's Chapel at *Whitehall*, which was sav'd from the Fire, and given by *Queen Anne* to the collegiate Church of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*.

Preface to the following Account (in Section XI.) of the Design for the Tomb of King Charles the First.

Richard's
*Hist. of Eng-
land*, Vol. II.
p. 649.

Vol. III.
p. 200.

"IT has been made a Question, and a Wonder by many, why a particular Monument was not erected at *Windsor* for *King Charles the First*, after the Restoration of his Son; especially when the Parliament was well inclined to have given a good Sum for that grateful Purpose. This has caused several Conjectures and Reflections; and Intimations have been given, as if the royal Body had never been deposited there, or else had been afterwards removed by the Regicides; and the Lord *Clarendon* himself speaks softly and suspiciously of this Matter, as if he believed the Body could not be found. But to remove all Imaginations, we shall here insert a Memorandum, or Certificate, sent by Mr. *John Sewell*, Register at *Windsor*.—Anno 1696, September 21. The same Vault in which *King Charles the First* was buried, was opened to lay in a still-born Child of the then Princess of *Denmark*, now our gracious *Queen*. On the King's Coffin the Velvet Pall was strong and sound, and there was about the Coffin a leaden Band, with this Inscription cut through it, KING CHARLES, 1648. *Queen Jane's* Coffin was whole and entire; but that of *King Henry the Eighth* was sunk in upon the Breast Part, and the Lead and Wood consumed with the Heat of the Gums he was embalmed with; and when I laid my Hand on it, it was run together, and hard, and had no noisome Smell. As a further Memorandum relating to the King's Interment, he says, That when the Body of *King Charles the First* lay in the *Dean's Hall*, the Duke of *Richmond* had the Coffin opened, and was satisfied that it was the King's Body. This several People have declared they knew to be true, who were alive, and then present, as Mr. *Randue* of *Windsor*, and others; so that he thinks the Lord *Clarendon* was misled in that Matter, and that *King Charles the Second* never sent to enquire after the Body, since it was well known to the Inhabitants of the Castle and Town, that it was in that Vault." To this may be added, that Mr. *Fisborne*, Gent. of *Windsor*, a Relation of Sir *Christopher Wren's*, was among those who were present at the Interment of the King, went into the Vault, and brought away a Fragment of *King Henry's* Pall; he observed the Vault was so narrow, that it was some Difficulty to get in the King's Coffin by the side of the others.

*At non Vinforæ manes jacuere cavernâ,
Nec cinis exiguus tantam compefcuit umbram;
Profiluit busto, difsectaque membra relinquens,
Degeneremque rogam, fequitur convexa tonantis.
Illic poftquam fe lumine vero
Implevit, ftellasque vagas miratur et astra
Fixa polis, vidit quantâ sub nocte jaceret
Nofta dies, riftique fui ludibria trunci;*

LUCAN.

S E C T. XI.

A Catalogue, and short Account of Designs, in pursuance of the royal Commands, for Buildings, which have not yet been put in Execution.

I. *A General Plan, Orthography, and Section, with the Statues and Ornaments, designed for the Tomb of King Charles the First.*

King Charles the Second was pleased to order the Surveyor to design a Mausoleum, or Tomb, for his Father, the Royal Martyr, after that the House of Commons had voted, upon the Motion of the Lord O-Brian, on the (a). 30th of January, 1677-8, (the House having sat on Part of that Day) "The Sum of Seventy Thousand Pounds, for a solemn Funeral of his late Majesty King Charles the First, and to erect a Monument for the said Prince of glorious Memory; the said Sum to be raised by a two Months Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the present (b) Tax for building Ships."

Echard's
History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 441.

The Form of this Structure (as appears by the Surveyor's original Drawings, which were laid before the King) is a Rotundo, with a beautiful Dome and Lantern; a circular Colonade without, of the Corinthian Order, resembling the Temple of Vesta.—The Enrichments on the Outside and within, are designed costly and magnificent; to instance only in a few Articles taken from the first Estimate, and, particularly, of the Inside, viz.—"Eight Bases of black Marble for the great Pillars under the Dome, at 30 *l.* each. Eight Shafts of rich Marble in whole Stones, 28 Feet long, 3½ Feet Diameter, to be brought from the Levant, valued at 400 *l.* each. Eight Capitals of Brass-work gilt, for the above-named Pillars, at 250 *l.* each. 3520 Feet of Incrustation with various Marbles in the lower Order of Pilasters within the Niches. Entablatures of white Marble. In the Spandrils over the Niches, Marbles inlaid. 1606 Feet superficial of Mosaic-work, in the Heads of Niches. 4620 Feet superficial, of the best Painting in Fresco, in the Cupola. Ten Figures of great Life, cast in Brass and gilt, at 400 *l.* each. Seven Genii, or Cherubims, of Brass gilt,

(a) N. B. The Historian mistakes the Day; the Vote passed on the 29th, as is seen in Dr. Sprat's Sermon before the House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Jan. 30, 1677-8. London, printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1678. Page 4.

The beautiful Paragraph runs thus:
"I confess I might, and, give me leave to say it, I intended to have complained, that the present Age had not made that Use of him [King Charles] which it ought; his Enemies for their Repentance and Amendment, nor even his Friends for his Praise and Honour. But, blessed be God, I am happily prevented in one Part of the Complaint; I have nothing now to wish, but that his Enemies would as well perform their Duty to him, as, it must be acknowledged, you [the House of Commons] his Friends have done yours, by that much deferred, long expected, Yesterday's Vote; in which you have given a Resurrection to his Memory, by designing magnificent Rites to his sacred Ashes. So that now, for the future, an Englishman abroad will be able to mention the Name of King Charles the First, without blushing; and his heroic Worth will be delivered down to Posterity, as it always deserved to be, not only freed from Calumny, or Obscurity, but, in all Things, most illustrious; in all Things to be commended; in most Things to be imitated; in some Things scarce imitable, and only to be admired."

After divine Service, the House sat, (as appears by the Order of Thanks) viz. Mercurii 30 Die Jan. 1677-8, Ordered, That the Thanks of this House be returned to Dr. Sprat, for his Sermon this Day preached before the House, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and that he be desired to print the same, &c.

(b) Apr. 16, 1677, Car. II. 29.—An Act for raising the Sum of Five hundred eighty-four thousand Pounds, &c. for the speedy building thirty Ships of War.

[Echard, Hist. England, Vol. III. p. 421.

" with the Ornaments appertaining, at 150*l.* each. A Coloss Statue of Fame,
 " of gilt Brass, on the Summit of the Lantern. Twenty Statues of great Life,
 " the Acroteria of the Order, on the Outside. Twenty Festoons of Marble be-
 " tween the Capitals on the Outside, &c. The whole Charge estimated at
 " 43,663 *l.*"

*Abissale of
 the Quire,
 p. 136.*

* By an emi-
 nent Italian
 Statuary.

* Jane Sey-
 mour, his 3d
 Wife.

The *Monument*, thus designed, was approved by the King, and determined to be erected at *Windor Castle*, at the East-end of *St. George's Chapel*, in the Place where now stands " a little *Gothick Building* raised by Cardinal *Wolsey*, called the *Tomb-house*, in the Middle whereof he designed to erect a goodly *Monument* for King *Henry* the Eighth, and had well nigh finished it before he died. But this was demolished in *April* 1646, by Command of the long *Parliament*; and the Statues and Figures provided to adorn it, being all of Copper gilt, and exceedingly enriched *, were taken thence.

" This Place King *Charles* the First, of ever blessed and glorious Memory, intended to enlarge and make fit and capable, not only for the Interment of his own royal Body, but also for the Bodies of his Successors Kings of *England*, had not bad Times drawn on, and such as, with much ado, afforded him but an obscure Grave, near the first Haut-pace in the Quire of the Chapel, his Head lying over-against the eleventh Stall on the *Sovereign's Side*, and in the same Vault where the Bodies of King *Henry* the Eighth, and his * *Queen Jane*, yet remain." [Echard's *History of England*, Vol. II. p. 649. *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 528.]

The *Tomb-house*, which had been long neglected, and in a ruinous State, was therefore proposed to be taken down, and the Ground thereof judged to be a most proper Situation for the new *Mausolæum*. After some Time, the King returned the Drawings and Estimates to the *Surveyor*, with Orders to keep them till called for again: But, in conclusion, the whole Design of the *Funeral* and *Tomb*, through Incidents of the Times, or Motives unknown to the Publick, were laid aside.

Upon his Majesty's Decease, King *James* II. ordered the old Fabrick to be put into immediate Repair, and the Cieling to be painted by *Signior Vario*, as it now remains, with Intention, 'tis said, to convert the Room to a Chapter-house, for the Use of the *Order of the Garter*.

In the *Surveyor's* original Designs (still extant) of the *Mausolæum*, are three grand Niches, (besides that which the Portal at the Entrance breaks into) rising from the Pavement to the Entablature of the great Columns within-side: Whether by these was intended, that the three royal Coffins, upon finishing the *Tomb*, were to have been translated thither, and proper monumental Statues and Ornaments placed in the respective Niches, or whether the two Niches were to have been left in reserve for other regal Monuments, is uncertain. In the Middle-niche fronting the Entrance, was designed the *King's Monument*, after this Manner. Four Statues, Emblems of heroick Virtues, standing on a square Basis, or Plinth, and pressing underneath, prostrate Figures of Rebellion, Heresy, Hypocrisy, Envy, &c. support a large Shield, on which is a Statue erect of the royal *Martyr*, in modern Armour; over his Head is a Group of Cherubims, bearing a Crown, Branches of Palm, and other Devices. There are two Draughts of this statuary Design, * one adapted for Brass-work, the other for Marble, as should have been most approved.

* By the emi-
 nent Artificer
 Mr. Gibbons.

*Interea in chartâ tumulum signemus inanem,
 Ut nota sit busti, si quis placare preceptum
 Fortè volet, plenos et reddere mortis honores.
 Proderit hoc olim, quod non mansura sepulcri
 Ardua marmoreo surrexit pondere moles.*

*Pulveris exigui sparget non longa vetustas
 Congeriem, bustumque cadet, mortisque peribunt
 Argumenta tuæ. Veniet felicior ætas
 Quâ sit nulla fides saxum monstrantibus istud
 Et Vinosa fuit populis fortasse, nepotum
 Tam mendax Caroli tumulo, quam Creta tonantis.* LUCAN.

In the Year 1674, at which Time the Surveyor was rebuilding some Parts of the Tower of London, it happened, that the Bones of King Edward the Fourth's Children (those two innocent Princes, King Edward the Fifth, and his Brother, Richard Duke of York, the one of thirteen, the other of eleven Years of Age, most barbarously murdered there, in their Bed, by their unnatural Uncle, the Usurper Richard the Third) were, after 191 Years, found, about 10 Feet deep in the Ground, in a wooden Chest, as the Workmen were taking away the Stairs, which led from the royal Lodgings into the Chapel of the White-tower. The Circumstances of this Discovery being fully represented to the King by the Surveyor, Sir Thomas Chicheley, then Master of the Ordnance, and other Persons of Worth and Credit, Eye-witnesses in the whole Scrutiny, the following Warrant from the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household was directed to the Surveyor; in pursuance whereof, he designed an elegant Urn of white Marble, on a Pedestal, with an Inscription; all which being approved by his Majesty, was erected in the East-wall of the North-aisle of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

“ These are to signify his Majesty's Pleasure, That you provide a white Marble Coffin for the supposed Bodies of the two Princes lately found in the Tower of London; and that you cause the same to be interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in such convenient Place as the Dean of Westminster shall appoint: And this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand, this 18th Day of February, 1674-5. Ex Autograph.

ARLINGTON.

To Sir Christopher Wren, Knt. Surveyor
 General of his Majesty's Works.

H. S. S.

Reliquiæ

*Edwardi Vti. Regis Angliæ, et Richardi Ducis Eborac.
 Hos Fratres germanos in Arce Londinensi conclusos,
 Injectisque culcitris suffocatos,
 Abditè et inbonestè tumulari iussit
 Patruus Richardus perfidus Regni
 Prædo.*

Offa desideratorum diù et multùm quæsit

Post Annos CXCI.

*Scalarum in ruderibus (scalæ nuper istæ ad sacellum
 Turris albæ ducebant)*

Altè defossa Indiciis certissimis sunt reperta,

xvii. Die Julii, Anno Domini MDCLXXIII.

*Carolus Secundus, Rex clementissimus, acerbam
 Sortem miseratus,*

*Inter avita Monumenta, Principibus infelicissimis
 Justa persolvit.*

Anno Domini 1678, Annoque Regni sui, 30.

II. A Catalogue of Designs for rebuilding the royal Palace of *Whitehall*.

Sketch of a Plan for Whitehall.

Façade of the Palace of Whitehall, designed for King Charles II.

Part of the said Front in a large Scale.

1. *General Plan of the Site, Palace, Gardens, &c. of Whitehall, designed, pursuant to Order, and offered to his Majesty King William, after the Fire of the old Palace, in the Year 1697.*

2. *General Plan of the Palace, a Gallery of Communication with the Parliament-house, consisting of a long Portico of Dorick Columns on the Bank of the Thames, extending from Whitehall to Westminster. Together with the Plan and Orthography of the new Parliament-house, as intended.*

3. *Plan of the Palace, Gardens, Canals, and Decorations.*

4. *Orthography of the Palace fronting the Thames.*

5. *Orthography fronting the Park, or Gardens.*

6. *Orthography fronting Charing-cross, and Westminster.*

7. *Sciography of the whole Structure.*

8. *Façade of the Gallery of Communication next the River; and of the new Parliament-house.*

1. *Plan of another Design of a Palace for Whitehall, offered to his Majesty King William, in the Year 1697.*

2. *Orthography fronting the River Thames.*

3. *Front to the Park.*

4. *Front to Westminster.*

III. *Divers Designs of new Buildings, Alterations, and Improvements, in the Castle of Windsor, in 1698, and since; with several Dispositions for Gardens there.*

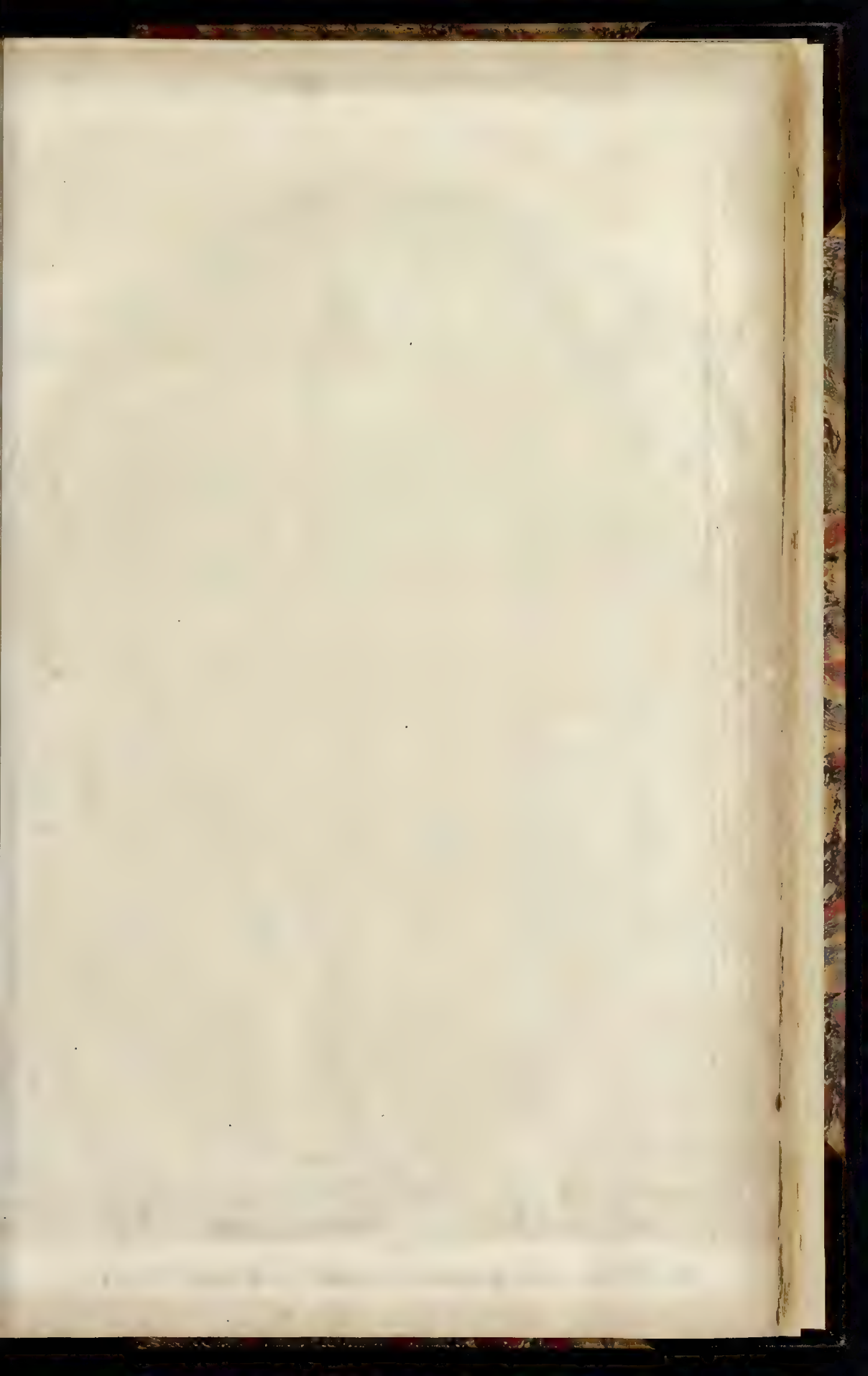
2. *Plan for rebuilding the royal Mews at Charing-cross, to contain 388 Horses, and 42 Coaches, with all Accommodations. Designed by Order, for the Service of King Charles the Second.*

3. *Plan of Barracks proposed in Hyde-park, for a Body of Guards of 1000 Horse, with Houses for Officers, Commissary, Farriers, Sadlers, Courts of Guard, Hay-barns, Granaries, &c. by Order.*

4. *Plan of Barracks in Hyde-park, for 2000 private Men, and Officers, and Infirmary for 160 Men, a Chapel, and all Accommodations. By Order, in 1713; the Estimate of the whole computed at 48,118 l.*

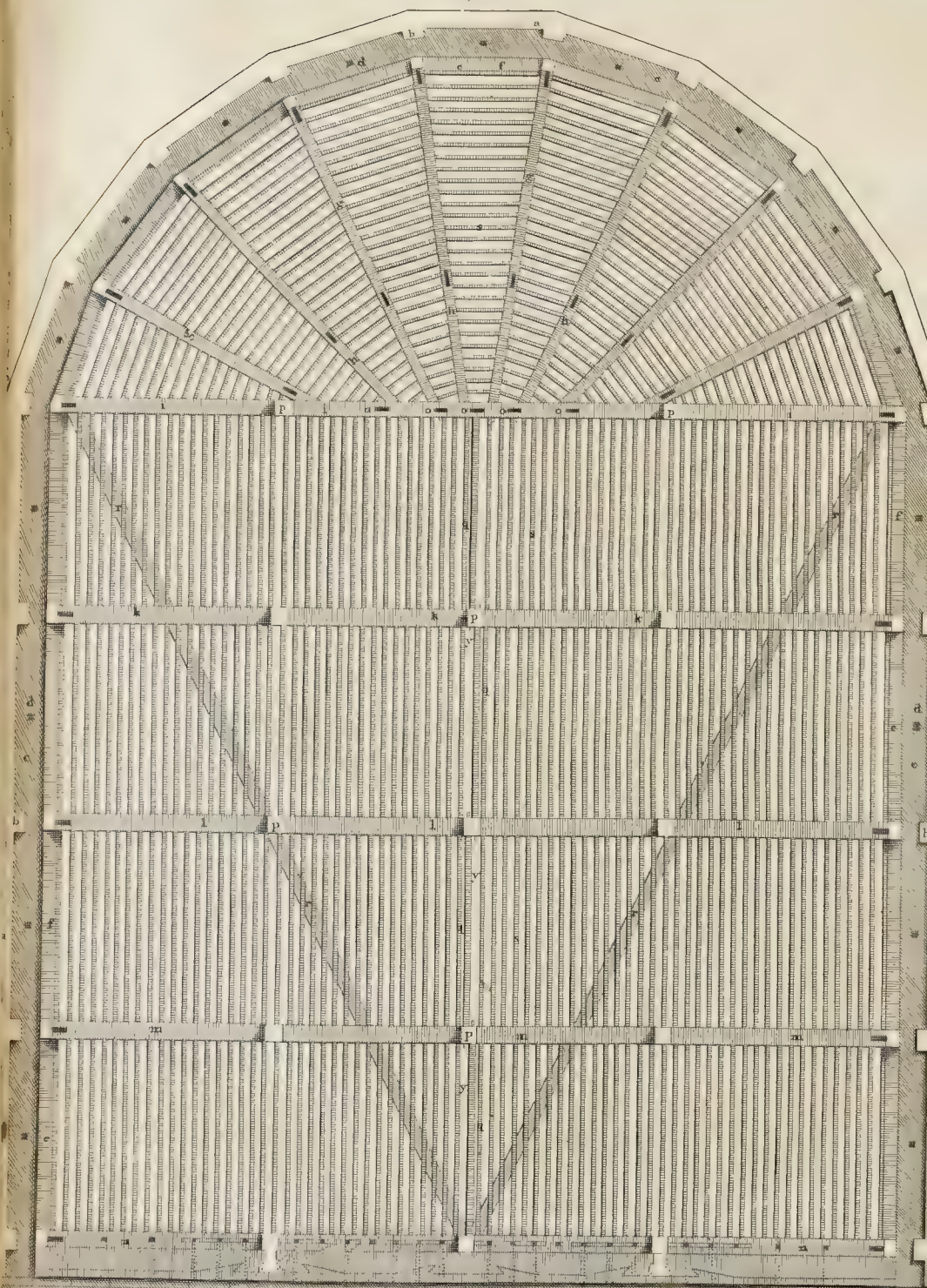
Sir *Christopher Wren* was one of the Commissioners, who, at the Motion of Sir *Jonas Moore*, Surveyor General of the Ordnance, had been appointed by his Majesty to find a proper Place for erecting a royal Observatory; and he proposed *Greenwich*, which was approved of: And *August 10, 1675*, the Foundation of the Building was laid; and when finished, under the Conduct of Sir *Jonas*, with the Advice and Assistance of Sir *Christopher*, was furnished with the best Instruments for making astronomical Observations, and the celebrated Mr. *John Flamsteed* constituted his Majesty's first Professor there (a).

(a) *Præf. ad Hist. Cœlest. Joh. Flamsteedii*, p. II. Edit. 1712.—*J. Ward's* Addition to the Lives of *Gresham* Professors, p. 337.



The Roof of the Theatre at Oxford

Fig. 1



Flüchtel Dahn.

Fig. 2

gilt ander gucht vau

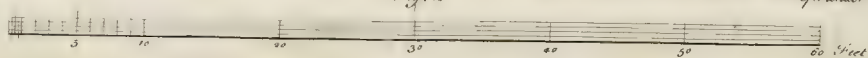


Fig. 3

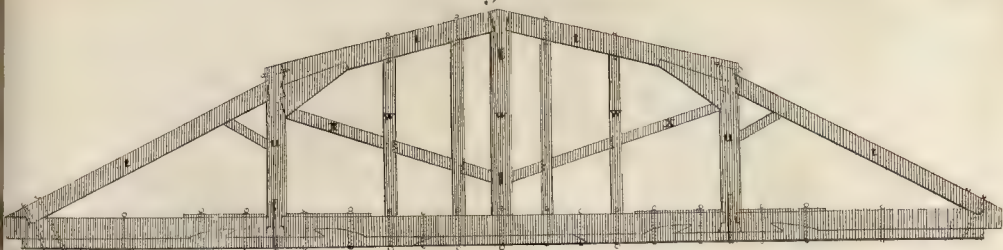


Fig. 4

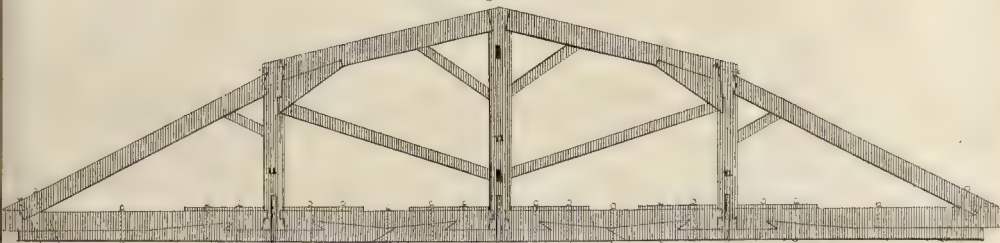
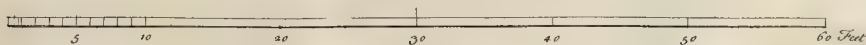
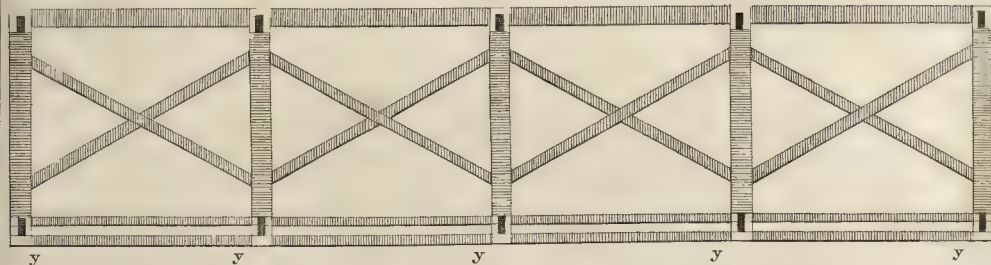


Fig. 5



S E C T. XII.

*A Catalogue, and Account of Designs of Buildings in the Universities of Oxford, and Cambridge.**Plan and Elevations of the Theatre of Oxford, and Scheme of the Roof.*

THIS Theatre, a Work of admirable Contrivance and Magnificence, was the first publick Performance of the Surveyor, in Architecture; which however had been executed in a greater and better Style, with a View to the ancient Roman Grandeur discernible in the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome; but that he was obliged to put a Stop to the bolder Strokes of his Pencil, and confine the Expence within the Limits of a private Purse. What (among other beautiful and distinguished Parts of this Structure) has been esteemed very observable, is the geometrick Flat-roof; which Dr. P—t has particularly * described, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, as follows:

“It was an excellent Device, whoever first contrived it, of making Flat-
 “floors or Roofs of short Pieces of Timber continued to a great Breadth, without
 “either Arch or Pillar to support them, but sustained only by the Side-walls,
 “and their own Texture; for by this means many times the Defect of long
 “Timber, or Mistakes of Workmen are supply’d, and rectified without any Pre-
 “judice to the Building. Of this Sort of Work we have an Example in the
 “Schools, in the Floor of the uppermost Room of the Tower.—There is also
 “a Diagram of such Work in the * *Architecture of Sebastian Serlio*. But
 “Dr. Wallis was the first that demonstrated the Reason of this Work, and
 “has given divers Forms of it, beside the fore-mentioned, in his Book *De*
 “*Motu*, whence are taken the * *Diagrams*, Tab. . Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Upon
 “the two first whereof depend the three last; and all others of the Kind
 “whatever, whether made up of *Quadrats*, or oblong *Parallelograms*, of
 “which there are some other Forms in the fore-cited Book *De Motu*, beside
 “that markt Fig. 3. consisting of great and small *Quadrats*; or *Triangles*
 “alone, as Fig. 4. or mixed with *Hexagons*, as Fig. 5.”

A Model of a geometrick Flat-floor, contrived by the fore-mentioned Dr. Wallis, and given to the Museum of the royal Society, is in the Design obvious to the Eye. The Outfides represent the Walls of the Building, on which the Flat-floor or Roof is to be laid. The Beams next adjoining to the Sides, have one End lodged on those Walls; the other End sustained by another Beam, lying cross; both Ends of which, are, in like manner, sustained by other cross Beams; and those again by others; till they reach the other Walls. So that no one of them can fall, unless the Walls fail, or the Beams break; all mutually sustaining each other, without any Pillar or Prop to support them, besides the outer Walls.

“But of all the Flat-floors having no Pillars to support them, and whose
 “Main-beams are made of divers Pieces of Timber, the most admirable is that
 “of the Theatre of Oxford, from Side-wall to Side-wall, 80 Foot over one
 “Way, and 70 the other; whose Lockages being so quite different from any
 “before-mentioned, and in many other Particulars, perhaps not to be paral-
 “lel’d in the World, I have taken care to represent an exact Draught of it.”
 See Plate, Fig. 1. &c. annexed.

“Wherein *a a a* and *b b b* shew the Walls of the Theatre that support this
 “Frame of Timber, and the Places of the *Pilasters* of the Rail and Ballister
 “round it; *c c c* and *d d d* the Leads and Pipes let down into the Wall for

* *Natural History of Oxon.*
 Chap. ix.

* *Lib. i. de Geom. Cap. 1.*

See Tab. xiii.
 Dr. Plot.

Dr. Grew's
 Museum of
 the R. S. Pag.
 362.

Dr. Plot, ditto.

“ Conveyance of *Water*; *eee* and *fff* the *Wall-plate*, or *Lintel*, and *Places* of its *Joints*; *ggg* the *Girders* of the *Semi-circle*, each supported by a *King-piece* or *Crown-post* cut off at *bbb*, and screwed into the *Binding-beam* *iii*; which is somewhat different from the rest of the *Binding-beams* *kkk*, *lll*, *mmm*, *nnn*, having several *Prick-posts* let into it at *ooooo*, beside the *King-posts* that support this and the rest at *ppppp*, &c. The Letters *qqqq* shew the *Purlines* between the *Binding-beams*, not set right against one another, because of Room to turn the *Screws* whereby they are fastened, and *rrrr* two *Dragon* (perhaps rather *Trigon*) *Beams* or *Braces* lying under the *Joists* *ss ss ss*, &c. The true *Lengths* and *Distances* whereof, and of all other *Pieces* of *Timber* and *Places* whatever, are all shewn by the *Scale*, Fig. 2.—And so are the *Lengths* and *Distances* of the several *Pieces* of *Timber* set over this *Flat-floor*, such as the *principal Rafters* *tttt*, the *Crown-posts* of *King-pieces* *uuuuu*, the *Prick-posts* *www*, *Braces* or *Puncheons* *xxx*; by all which together, the *Binding-beams*, *Girders*, *Joists*, &c. are all held up as it were by an *Arch* above, as in Fig. 3. which is all the *Band* of *Timber* that stands next the *Semi-circle*, having *Prick-posts*, and different *Lockages*, from the rest of the *four Bands*, as is sufficiently represented by one *Half* of one of them, Fig. 4. Which is all I think need be said concerning this fine *Piece* of *Timber-work*, only that there are *Cross-braces* between the middle *Crown-posts* as they stand in a *Line* from the *Front* to the *Semicircle*, as is represented, Fig. 5. marked with the Letters *yyyyyy*, both here, and as they stand, Fig. 1. And that it was contrived by our *English Vitruvius*, the Right Worshipful and Learned Sir *Christopher Wren*, and erected at the sole Charge of his Grace *Gilbert Sheldon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of the *University*; who, besides the Expence of the Structure, gave 2000 *l.* to purchase Lands for the perpetual Repair of it, which is like to stand a most magnificent and lasting Monument of his Grace’s Munificence, and Favour of good Learning to all Posterity (a).”

“ The *Painting* of the *Cieling* of the *Theatre* is worth Examination; for in Imitation of the *Theatres* of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, which were too large to be covered with *Lead* or *Tile*, this, by the *Painting* of the *Flat-roof* within, is represented open: And, as they stretched a *Cordage* from *Pilaster* to *Pilaster*, upon which they strained a *Covering* of *Cloth*, to protect the People from the Injuries of the *Weather*, so here is a *Cord-molding* gilded, that reaches cross and cross the *House* both in *Length* and *Breadth*, which supporteth a great *Drapery*, supposed to have covered the *Roof*, but now furled up by the *Genii* round about the *House* toward the *Walls*, which discovereth the open *Air*, and maketh way for the *Descent* of the *Arts* and *Sciences*, that are congregated in a *Circle* of *Clouds*, &c.

“ The great *bivalve Wooden-windows* in the upper *Gallery* of the *Theatre* are so ingeniously contrived, that notwithstanding their great *Weight*, yet can never sink so as to be brought out of a *Square*, as ’tis usual in such *Windows*; for the *Iron-bars* crossing them from *Side* to *Side*, not being set

Rehards’ Hist.
of England.
Athen. Oxon.

(a) Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, educated in the *University* of *Oxford*, became *Warden* of *All-Souls*, and having been *Chaplain* to *King Charles* the First, and run through many *Difficulties*, was, after the *Restoration*, made first, *Bishop* of *London*, and lastly *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*; which See he held with great Honour and Reputation for above 14 Years, when he died at Seventy-nine Years of Age, Anno 1677. Besides his Learning and Piety, he is particularly distinguished by his munificent Benefactions, in which no Man more readily signalized himself; and especially he immortaliz’d his Name, in that glorious Work the *Theatre* of *Oxford*, which cost him more than Sixteen Thousand Pounds; besides the Gift of Two Thousand Pounds, to buy Lands worth 100 *l.* per Ann. to keep it in Repair. We are assured from his Relations, That from the Time of his being *Bishop* of *London*, to that of his Death, it appeared in his Book of Accounts, that upon publick, pious, and charitable Uses, he had bestowed about Three score and Six Thousand Pounds.

“ at *Right-angles*, but diagonally like *Struts* or *Braces*, as in Fig. 6. must necessarily bend or break, before the Window can sink. Nor are the *Round-windows* below, unworthy Consideration, being contrived to admit *Air* in foul Weather, yet not one Drop of *Rain*; for being opened and set obliquely, as in Fig. 7. it receives the *Rain* within at *a*, and casts it out again at *b*; much less will it admit *Rain* any-ways when shut, it closing within its *Frame* at the Top, and without it at the Bottom.”

On the 9th of *July*, 1669, the new Theatre was opened with great Solemnity, and followed with a most splendid *Act*, such as had not been equalled in the Memory of Man. The munificent Founder honoured the Architect, on this first Essay of his Skill, with the Present of a golden Cup; and by his Statutes, appointed him jointly with the Vice-chancellor perpetual Curator of the Fabrick.

“ We *William Townsend* of *Oxford*, *Mason*, and *Jeremiah Franklin*, and *Thomas Speakman* of the same, *Carpenters*, do hereby certify, that by the Command of the Reverend *Robert Shippen*, Doctor in Divinity, Vice-chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, we did, on the Day of the Date hereof, survey, and strictly examine the whole Fabrick of the Theatre, in the said University, and do find, that all the same is in perfect Repair, and good Order; all the Walls thereof no where appearing to be in the least defective; and the Roof which has been formerly swayed or sunk in the Middle about eleven Inches, occasioned by the shrinking of some of the Timber and great Weight of Books formerly laid upon it, appearing to us to be in as good a Condition as it was above twenty Years since, when the like Examination was made: And we do further certify, That the whole Fabrick of the said Theatre is, in our Opinion, like to remain and continue in such good Repair and Condition, for one hundred, or two hundred Years yet to come. In Testimony whereof, we have hereunto put our Hands the eighth Day of *March*, Anno Dom. 1720.

William Townsend.
Jeremiah Franklin.
Thomas Speakman.

N. B. This Certificate, from Builders of the best Repute in *Oxford*, was occasioned by a groundless Rumour, at that time, that the Fabrick was in want of Repairs.

After the Description of this geometrical Flat-roof, it may be expedient to examine the Diagrams of such Work, by the old Architect *Sebastian Serlio*, and much later, by *Dr. Wallis*; in order to discern in one View, how much this of the *Oxford Theatre* has excell'd the other two; though it is not known that either of those Schemes, was ever put in Practice, except that of *Dr. Wallis* in a small Model.

Sebastiani Serlii Architectura, Lib. i. de Geometria.

Complura præter opinionem Architecto sæpius accidere solent: verbi gratia, ut hujusce rei exemplum aliquod offeramus: contignatio et forte fortuna pedum XV. spatii ac intervallo producenda extruendaque committetur: verum, compluribus tignis ipsi propositis, nullum eorum ad tantam utique longitudinem pertinet, quinimo singula bipedati quantitate, a prædicta deficient longitudine;

quibus tamen, nulla alia prorsus suppetente materia, pro contignatione consuevenda necessariū erit utendum: Quid obsecro miser ille Architectus sibi consilii capiet? Rationem hic descriptam persequetur, et opus suum quam solidissimum reddet, altero nimirum tignorum capite parieti infixo, reliquoque absque ulla futura suspensio remanente, quemadmodum ex subjectā perspicī potest Figurā.

Sebastiani Serlii Diagramma Contignationis planæ Geometricæ.

Dr. Grew's
Description of
the Museum
of the Royal
Society, Pag.
361.

A Model of a geometrical Flat-floor, contrived by Dr. J. Wallis, was given to the Royal Society by Bishop Wilkins; the following Account of which, by the Author, is an Abstract of that he hath published in his Book *De Motu*, Cap. vi. Prop. 10. Fig. 243.

I did first, saith the Doctor, contrive and delineate it, in the Year 1644, at Queen's-college in Cambridge. When afterwards I was made Professor of Geometry at Oxford, about the Year 1650, I caused it to be framed of small Pieces of Timber, prepared by a Joiner, and put together by myself.

This I shewed soon after to divers in Oxford, and particularly to Dr. Wilkins, then Warden of Wadham College. After the King's Restoration, I caused another to be made; and in the Year 1660, presented it to his Majesty, who was well pleased with it, and caused it to be reposit in his Closet.

On the Model first-mentioned, I read two publick Lectures at Oxford; the one, in the Year 1652, as to the Construction of it; the other, in the Year 1653, as to the Computation of what Weight every Joint of it sustains; whereby it might be the better judged how far it may be safely practised. The greatest Weight charged on any one Joint, doth not amount to ten times the Weight of one Beam; and the greatest Weight borne by one Beam, not to seventeen times its own Weight: And even this, not laid all on the same Part, but distributed to several Parts of it.

A third Lecture, much to the same purpose, I read May 1669, in the same Place, before the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The Contrivance is obvious to the Eye. The Outfides represent the Walls of the Building, on which this Flat-floor or Roof is to be laid. The Beams next adjoining to the Sides, have one End lodged on those Walls; the other End sustained by another Beam, lying cross; both Ends of which, are in like manner sustained by other Cross-beams; and, those again by others; till they reach the other Walls. So that no one of them can fall, unless the Walls fail, or the Beams break: All mutually sustaining each other, without any Pillar or Prop to support them, besides the outer Walls.

The Models I caused to be made, and that of the Royal Society in Imitation thereof, are in Breadth about four times as much as the Length of the longest Beam; but may be continued, at Pleasure, to farther Breadth, as shall be thought fit; with this Caution, that the farther the Work is continued, the greater Weight will be charged on every Joint; especially near the Middle. And tho' in this Model, no one Beam is charged with so much as seventeen times its own Weight; yet if the Work be continued to a greater Breadth, the proportional Weight will be thereby increased. And therefore must be limited, according to the Strength of Timber, able to bear more or fewer times its own Weight.

See the Figures.

I do not know, that yet it hath been reduced to Practice, in more than four Pieces in this Form. Such is one of the Floors in the Tower of the publick Schools at Oxford: The Breadth whereof, to the Length of the Beams, is as three to two. But may doubtless be continued much further; especially in such a Roof, as is not to bear much more than its own Weight.

Thus, for Instance, a *Bowling-green* of near an Acre of Ground, may be covered with a Frame of long slender Pieces, without any other Prop than on the Sides, for *Vines*, or other like *Plants* to run upon, so as to shade the whole.

Note here, That whereas the Ends of the several Pieces are to lie upon those that cross them, about the Middle thereof, it will be necessary at every Joint to abate both Pieces half-way, or near it; that one may be thus let into the other, and the whole reduced to a Flat. But whether such Piece, so abated, doth end even with that on which it lies, or doth lie over somewhat beyond it, is indifferent. And though that may seem more elegant, this, perhaps, may be fitter for Use.

Each Piece, I say, must be so abated half-way, or near it: For, whereas those Beams, especially of a considerable Length, will, with the Weight, bow a little; if this Abatement be somewhat less than half-way, (whereby without such bowing, the whole would somewhat rise in the Middle) it will by such bowing be reduced to a Flat.

Note also, That a Frame thus contrived, needs neither *Nail* nor *Pin*; the several Pieces fastening, as well as supporting one another. Yet, if it be to bear a great Weight more than its own, it will be convenient to fasten each Joint with *Pins*; and, if Need be, to strengthen it with *Iron-plates*, or line it with other Pieces of *Timber*, to be fastened with *Iron-bolts*, to make amends for what is weakened by the Abatements at the *Joints*; which will make the whole Frame exceeding strong.

"*Theatrum Oxoniense, in toto hoc nostro Britannico, an non e terrarum* Guil. Walker.
 "orbe? nec habet ullum sibi par, nec ullum secundum; *Theatrum quod ex-*
 "optet Apollo templum, Musæ Parnassum, Plato *academiam*, Aristoteles *Ly-*
 "ceum, Cicero *Tusculanum*, Gratia omnes, Venereſque domum.

Carmen Pindaricum in Theatrum Sheldonianum, et ejus
 Architectum.

I.

Quousque linguas oculis litamus
 Victimæ tacentes?
 Quousque defixi stupemus
 Saxei saxa, plumbei que plumbum,
 Tanquam Nos vacuis parata conchis
 Simulacra cælo dedolasset artifex?
 Vocales ecce lapides et trabes sonoræ
 Ingratam humanis taciturnitatem
 Cognatis exprobrant, Dryas quos Obstetrix
 Eduxit rupto frustra de robore, frustra
 Deucalionæo molliant numina jactu.

Eja quæ doctis musica pulsibus
 Tot malleorum suave concinentium
 Agrestes cicurat sonos!
 Cedant Orphei tandem miracula plectri,
 Atque Amphionæ fides;
 Ille feras olim sylvasque sequaces
 Excivit et montes vagos:

Authore Corb.
 Owen, ex
 Æde Christi.
 Musæ Ang.
 Vol. I.

Hic

*Hic Architecto mœnia carmine
 Stupenda Thebis addidit :
 At ecce jam blando fragore
 Ipsos murorum symphonia
 Vates attonitos trahit :
 At ecce ruderibus prosæ jacentem
 Me me poetam extruit :
 Cui tantos liceat sonos
 Confusæ saltem pro more imitantiæ Echis.*

II.

*At nullum eloquium nulla sonantium
 Decora verborum strues,
 Vassarum trabium non enarrabile textum
 Equabit, solidamve exprimet harmoniam.
 En ut sublimi pensilis aëre
 Tenditur campus juga ponderosi
 Sustinens plumbi, gravidumque fæto
 Culmine montem !
 O quam iusta fides necit amantes
 Arborea, quondam solitas procari
 Blando murmure, nutibusque blandis :
 Connubio iunctas stabili vis nulla revellet,
 Divortium sera non facient secula.
 En audax quanto machina nisu
 Muros deserit hinc et hinc relictos,
 Metumque subiectis jocofum
 Salvis incutit usque et usque tutis !
 Non illa planisphærii minacis
 Secura lapsum magis expavescit,
 Firma quam cæli camera arcuati
 Æterni fornacis ruinam.
 Tam stabilem jubet esse vastitatem
 Ingenium potentis architecti,
 Quo nil solidiusve latiusve,
 Quod molem ætheream vi sustinet Atlanteâ,
 Carcere quod veterum teneri
 Orbiculorum nesciens
 Augusti extendit latè pomeria cæli.*

III.

*Divina WRENNVS heu ! diu Mathemata
 Vel docto nimium pulvere sordida
 Evexit assurgens in altum,
 Interque stellas lucē donavit novâ
 Stellis vel ipsis irvidenda.
 Illic sydereo spectator in Amphitheatro
 Vidit ferarum splendida prælia,
 Iratisque coruscantes
 Faucibus atque oculis rogos.
 Illic serenarum pictis noctium scenis
 Vidit planetas præciosos cæli mimos
 Humana ludentes fata,
 Nunc ore risus comico futuros*

*Festivoque sales, atque bilares jocos,
 Æthereis celebrare choris,
 Nunc face lugubri radiisque pullis,
 Et scelera, & cædes nepotum
 Fingere materiem cothurnis:
 Tandem rependit gratus hospes ætheris
 Spectaculorum syderibus vices.
 Mirantur astra posse mortales manus
 Ditare terras æmula cæli domo.
 Quin et rivalem lustrat amabilem,
 Suamque cælum deperiens imaginem,
 Ut penitus speculo fruatur
 Jam plures oculos, & luminia plura requirit.*

IV.

*Quamvis bianti subtrahat popello
 Modesta frontem fabrica, sicut decet
 Sacro parente procreatam virginem
 Non turbâ genitam promiscuâ,
 Profanis subducat licet
 Oculis plebis malè feriatæ
 Intemerandum vultus eximii decus;
 Quale nec Etruscâ miratus victor in urbe
 Negavit olim Carolus
 Cuius mortali fore fas professâ
 Luce videre;
 Non illa cæli tamen intuentis
 Criticum lumen fugit; ultro solem
 Lynceum vocat, astraque curiosa
 Centum receptat fenestris.
 Ingentis populi videt capaces
 Pegmatum moles attonitus sol,
 Mundi Supervisor supremus,
 Interque varios undique miratur foros
 Tam bellam ordinis benignitatem,
 Dum nulla lucem pars queratur amissam,
 Tristemque pulla lugeat eclipsin.
 Hic sole melius quilibet vel ipso
 Et cunctos vidisse potest, cunctisque videri.*

V.

*Celandum nihil est, nihil tegendum;
 Nullus hic error latebras requirit;
 Perfecta surgit undiquaque moles,
 Et merito duplicis gerit ornamenta coronæ;
 Quanta debetur quotuplexque WRENNO
 Laurea victori, servatori civica,
 Capitique decentior Architecto
 Turrata Cybeles corona?
 Devictam nimium diu
 Oppressamque suis miserabilem ruinis
 Technicen benignus
 Artium civem reddidit urbi
 Olim quæ rudibus dedit vagisque
 Artibus urbem.*

*Longa nequicquam rabies Gothorum,
 Quæ citò Romanum perdidit imperium,
 Bello terebat usque pervicaci
 Artem vastoribus inimicam.
 Auxiliatrices frustra accessere catervæ,
 Orbisque conspiravit dedecus in suum;
 (Nam subruendæ pronus architecturæ
 Ubique totus orbis erat Gothus)
 Aggressus hydram WRENNVS immensam ruit,
 Quamquam tenacis consuetudinis
 Loricâ squammatam adamantinâ.
 Emula nec partem nodosa triumphi,
 Herculeæ ritu, clava sibi vendicat,
 Hic radio totam debili et pœsillo
 Barbariem sternens, simul omnia monstra subegit
 Quotquot sæcundo tulit ignorantia partu.*

VI.

*En multus altis hinc et inde muris
 En triumphalis ut resurgat arcus,
 Intusquæ et extra nobiles columnæ,
 Artis frequenter olim abortientis
 (Ut mos patriciis malus puellis)
 Proles adultæ matris absoluta!
 Hæ tandem ingenio columnæ
 Hæ tandem docto labori
 Quamvis Herculeo, statuunt nil ultra.——&c.*

II. *Orthography of the Campanile, or Bell-tower, over the Gate, in the Front and principal Access to the great Quadrangle-court of Christ-church, Oxon, in the Gothick Stile; begun on the old Foundation (laid by Cardinal Wolsey) in June 1681, and finished November 1682.*

III. *Plan, Elevation, and Section, of the great Library of Trinity College in Cambridge.*

Proposals for the Repairs of the Publick-library and Schools at Oxford, with the Drawings annexed; imparted to Dr. Gregory. Now in the Bodleyan Library.

IV. *Plan, Orthography, and Section of a circular Library, with a Dome and Lantern, and a Colonnade Hexastyle in Front, of the Ionick Order, according to an Intention for Trinity College, not executed. This is a very beautiful and most commodious Model for a large Library.*

V. *Designs of the Chapel of Emmanuel College in Cambridge.*

VII. *Plans, Elevation, and Section of a Theatre, or Commencement-house, with a Library annexed, according to an Intention, for the University of Cambridge, about the Year 1678, but not executed.*

Designs for the parochial Church at Warwick, after the Fire of the Town in 1694, not executed.

Orthography of the Tower of the parochial Church of St. Mary at Warwick, erected after an unsuccessful Attempt in Execution of a defective prior Design by other Hands.

Ortho-

Orthography of the North Front, (commonly called *Solomon's Porch*) finished some time before the *Surveyor's* Decease, in 1723, with the *Designs* intended for the middle Tower and Spire, and two western Towers, for the collegiate Church of *St. Peter* in *Westminster*; contrived in the *Gothick* Stile, conformable to the old Structure of the Abbey-church and Porch.

C O N C L U S I O N.

DURING the Time of the *Surveyor's* Employment in the Service of the *Publick*, and of the *Crown*, by virtue of Letters-patents, consistent with the *Pleasure* of six Crowned-heads, under the Great-seals of King *Charles* the second, King *James* the second, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George* the first, (besides the ordinary Duties of his Office, in the Survey and Care of the Repairs and New-buildings of all the royal Palaces) he began and completed the cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, the second greatest Structure in *Europe*; fifty-one parochial Churches; the great Column called the Monument, and other publick Edifices of *London*; the two royal Palaces of *Hampton-court* and *Winchester*; the royal Hospitals of *Chelsea* and *Greenwich*; the North Front, and other Repairs of *Westminster-abbey*, from the Year 1698 to the Time of his Decease in 1723; the Theatre of *Oxford*; the Theatre-royal in *Drury-lane*; the *Duke's* Theatre in *Salisbury-court*, sometime since taken down; the magnificent Library of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*; the elegant Chapel of *Emmanuel* College there; with many other Fabricks of less Note, and private Seats.

"That I take the Boldness (says the learned and ingenious *John Evelyn*, Esq;) to adorn this little Work, [Account of *Architects* and *Architecture* *] with the Name of the Master of the Works, (whose Patronage alone can give it Reputation) I have no Excuse for, but an Ambition of publickly declaring the great Esteem I have ever had of his Virtues and Accomplishments; not only in the Art of Building, but through all the learned Cycle of the most useful Knowledge, and abstruse Sciences, as well as of the polite and shining. All which is so justly allowed him, that he needs no Panegyrick, or other History to eternize them, than the greatest City of the Universe, which he hath rebuilt and beautified, and is still improving; witness the Churches, the royal Courts, stately Halls, Magazines, Palaces, and other publick Structures; besides what he has built of great and magnificent in both the Universities, at *Chelsea*, and in the Country; and is now advancing of the royal Marine Hospital at *Greenwich*, &c. All of them so many Trophies of his Skill and Industry, and conducted with that Success, that if the whole Art of Building were lost, it might be recovered, and found again in *St. Paul's*, the historical Pillar, and those other Monuments of his happy Talent, and extraordinary Genius."

All these Works form such a Body of civil Architecture, as will appear rather the Production of a whole Century, than the Life and Industry of one Man, of which no parallel Instance can be given.

In an Act of Parliament in the ninth Year of the Reign of King William, For the completing and adorning the cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, *London*, a Clause was inserted, To suspend a Moiety of the Surveyor's Salary, until the said Church should be finished; thereby the better to encourage him to finish the same with the utmost Diligence and Expedition.

It was at that Time a common Notion and Misreport, that the Surveyor received a large annual Salary for that Building, and, consequently, it was his Interest

Anno nono
Gulielmi Reg.

terest to prolong the finishing of the Fabrick, for the Continuance of this supposed Emolument; which, it would seem, occasioned that *Clause*.

The Surveyor's Salary for building *St. Paul's*, from the *Foundation* to the *Finishing* thereof, (as appears from the publick Accounts) was not more than 200 *l. per Annum*. This, in Truth, was his own Choice, but what the rest of the Commissioners, on the Commencement of the Works, judged unreasonably small, considering the extensive Charge; the Pains and Skill in the Contrivance; in preparing Draughts, Models, and Instructions for the Artificers, in their several Stations and Allotments; in almost daily overseeing and directing in Person; in making Estimates and Contracts; in examining and adjusting all Bills and Accounts, &c. Nevertheless, he was content with this small Allowance, nor coveted any additional Profit, always preferring the publick Service to any private Ends.

Anno nono
Anne Reg.

Upon the compleating this great Fabrick, a *Clause* passed in the *Act* of Parliament of the ninth Year of the Reign of Queen Anne declaring the Church finished, to empower the Commissioners to pay the Surveyor the Arrears of this Moiety of his Salary.

His Allowance for building all the parochial Churches of the City of London was about 100 *l. per Annum*, and the same for the Repairs of *Westminster-abbey*.

In the Year 1685, Sir Christopher Wren was elected and returned a Burgess for the Borough of Plympton in the County of Devon, and served in that Parliament which began at Westminster, 29 Maii, 1mo. Jacobi II. 1685.

6 Aug.

In the Parliament which met at Westminster, 22 Jan. 1689, he was elected and returned a Burgess for the Borough of New-windsor, in the County of Berks, by the Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot; but, upon a Petition, the Resolution of the House was, That the Right of Election was in the Mayor, Bailiffs, and select Number of Burgesses only.

17 Maii.

In the Year 1690, 2do. Gulielmi & Mariae R. R. he was elected and returned for the same Borough, by the Mayor, Bailiffs, and select Number of Burgesses only. On Report of the Merits of this Election, the Question being put, "That the House do agree with the Committee, that the Right of Election is in the Mayor, Bailiffs, and select Number of Burgesses only." It passed in the Negative, viz. Yeas 138, Noes 144."

Quarto Geor-
gi R. primi.

In the Year 1700, he was elected and returned a Burgess for the Borough of Weymouth and Melcomb-regis, in the County of Dorset, and served in that Parliament which began at Westminster, 10 Feb. 12mo. Gulielmi R. III^{ti}.

In the Year 1718, Sir Christopher Wren's Patent for the Office of Surveyor of the royal Works was superseded, in the fourscore and sixth Year of his Age, and after more than fifty Years spent in a continued active and laborious Service to the Crown and Publick; at which Time his Merit and Labours were not remembered by some.

At Hamp-
ton-court.

He then betook himself to a Country Retirement *, saying only with the Stoick,—*Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari*.—In which Recess, free from worldly Affairs, he passed the greatest Part of the five last following Years of his Life in Contemplation and Studies, and principally in the Consolation of the holy Scriptures; chearful in Solitude, and as well pleased to die in the Shade as in the Light.

Ex MS. D.
Sprat.

" Heroick Souls a nobler Lustre find
" Even from those Grievs which break a vulgar Mind;
" That Frost which cracks the brittle common Glas,
" Makes Crytal into stronger Brightness pass.

It was the Observation of a *French* Virtuoso, in his Panegyrick upon another great Genius of the first Rank in Philosophy, the incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton*, that he had the extraordinary Fortune to see his own *Apotheosis*:—alluding to the Poet:

Scil.—*Vivo sublime dedisti*
Nomen, ab obsequiis quod dare, fama, soles. OVID.

An Honour, the most worthy very rarely acquire; the Reason is this,—says the Poet;

Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes
Infrà se positas; extinctus amabitur idem. HOR. EP. L. 2. Ep. 1.

If therefore, it might be, the *Surveyor* had not the equal Chance to be so generally distinguished in his Life-time, by the same *Compliment* with his Friend, yet was he alike secured of the posthumous Praise——

Aërias tentasse domos, animoque rotundum
Percutrisse polum.——— HOR.

And has a just Claim to the peculiar Dignity reserved for those——

Inventas et qui vitam excoluere per artes:
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo:
Omnibus his naveâ cinguntur tempora Vittâ. VIRG.

To these two illustrious *Astronomers* may, most aptly and emphatically, be applied the general Encomium of the *Roman Poet*——

Felices animæ, quibus hæc cognoscere primis,
Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
Credibile est illas pariter vitisque locisque
Altius humanis exseruisse caput.
Non Venus et vinum sublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumve fori; militæve labor.
Non levis ambitio, perfusæque gloria suco;
Magnarumve fames sollicitavit opum.
Admovère oculis distantia sidera nostris;
Ætheraque ingenio supposuere suo.
Sic petitur cælum: ut ferat Ossan Olympus;
Summaque Peliacus sidera tangat apex.
Nos quoque sub ducibus cælum metabimur illis
Ponemusque suos ad stata signa dies. OVID. FAST.

“ Thrice happy they, who first with Souls refin’d,
 “ To these Pursuits their generous Care confin’d;
 “ Who, nobly spurning Earth’s impure Abodes,
 “ Assay’d to climb the Mansions of the Gods.
 “ Such Breasts sublime, Intem’rance never broke;
 “ Such ne’er submitted to Love’s shameful Yoke.
 “ Such fled the wrangling of the noisy Bar,
 “ The hideous Din of Arms, and painful Toils of War;
 “ Foes to Ambition, and her idle Lure,
 “ From Thirst of Fame, from Thirst of Gold, secure,
 “ Such

" Such Souls, examining the distant Skies,
 " Unveiled its hidden Lights to mortal Eyes.
 " Let huge *Olympus* lofty *Ossa* bear;
 " Let *Pelion* tow'r on *Ossa* high in Air;
 " Mountains on Mountains short of Heaven must rise;
 " This only Ladder reaches to the Skies.
 " Led by these Guides, to measure Heav'n we try,
 " And to each Sign its stated Days apply."

Dr. *Isaac Barrow*, in his Oration at *Gresham College*, in the Year 1662, gives him this most extraordinary Character: — *Certissime constat, ut praecoxiores neminem unquam praetulisse spes, ita nec maturiores quonquam fructus protulisse; prodigium olim pueri, nunc miraculum viri, imo daemonium hominis; atque ne mentiri videar, suffecerit nominasse ingeniosissimum et optimum Christophorum Wrennum* (a).

Part of his Thoughts for Discovery of the *Longitude at Sea*; a Review of some former Tracts in *Astronomy* and *Mathematics*, had a Share in the Employment of those Hours he could spare from Meditations and Researches in *holy Writ*, during his last Retreat; when it appeared, that though Time had enfeebled his Limbs, (which was his chief Ailment) yet had it little Influence on the Vigour of his Mind, which continued, with a Vivacity rarely found at that Age, till within a few Days of his Dissolution; and not till then could cease the continued Aim of his whole Life, to be (in his own Words) *beneficus humano generi*; for his great Humanity appeared to the last, in Benevolence and Complacency, free from all Moroseness in Behaviour or Aspect.

After a short Indisposition, it was the Will of the omnipotent Author and Dispenser of all Beings to release him from this mortal State, and to invest him with Immortality, on the 25th Day of *February*, in the Year of Grace 1723, and in the *ninety-first* of his Age.

*Sic bene complevit Nestor sua fata, novemque
Addiderat lustris, altera lustra novem.*

OID. TRIST. L. 4.

Fucundum est, esse secum quam diutissime, cum quis se dignum quo fruatur, effecit. SEN. EP. 59.

As to his bodily Constitution, it was naturally rather delicate than strong, especially in his Youth, which seem'd consumptive; and yet, by a judicious Regularity and Temperance, (having acquir'd good Knowledge in Physick) he continued healthy, with little Intermission, even to this extreme old Age. Further 'tis observable, that he was happily endued with such an Evenness of Temper, a steady Tranquillity of Mind, and christian Fortitude, that no injurious Incidents, or Inquietudes of human Life, could ever ruffle or discompose; and was in Practice a *Stoick*. Such was *Seneca's* good Man, *Certus judicii, incunctus, intrepidus, quem aliqua vis movet, nulla perturbat; quem fortuna, cum in eum, quod habuit telum nocentissimum, vi maximâ intorsit, pungit, non vulnerat, & hoc raro.* [EP. 45.] *Talis est sapientis animus, qualis mundi status super lunam; semper illic serenum est.* [EP. 60.] In a Word, (as was said on another Occasion by an elegant Writer) " His Knowledge had a right Influence on the " Temper of his Mind, which had all the Humility, graceful Modesty, Goodness, Calmness, Strength, and Sincerity of a sound and unaffected Philosopher. Lastly, to whose Merits his Country is further indebted, than has

(a) *J. Ward's* Lives of Professors of *Gresham College*, Appendix, Number X.

"been yet acknowledg'd." He is interr'd in the Vaults of the cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, under the South-aisle of the Quire. Over the Grave is this Inscription on a small Table of Marble:

*Subtùs conditur
Hujus Ecclesiæ, & Urbis Conditor
CHRISTOPHORUS WREN,
Qui vixit annos ultrà nonagintà
Non sibi, sed Bono-publico.
Lector, si Monumentum requiris,
Circumspice.*

Obiit 25 Feb. Anno 1723. Ætat 91.

*[Marmora parva quidem, sed non cessura, viator,
Mausoli saxis Pyramidumque, legis.]*

MARTIAL.

*[Umbrae dii tenuem dent, & sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque crocos, & in urnâ perpetuum ver.]*

JUVEN. Sat. VII.

P. S.

An AFTER-THOUGHT for the INSCRIPTION.

*H. S. E.
CHRISTOPHORUS WREN,
Hujus Ecclesiæ & Urbis Conditor
Qui vixit annos ultrà Nestoreos,
Non sibi, sed Patriæ.
Viator, si Tumulum requiris
Despice,
Si Monumentum,
Circumspice.*

Obiit 25 Feb. Anno 1723. Ætat. 91.

Blazonry of the Coat of Arms, viz. Argent, a Chevron between three Lions Heads erased Azure, on a Chief Gules three Cross-Croissants Or.

Crest on the Helmet, A Lion's Head erased Azure, transfix'd by a Spear bloody on the Point.

N. B. The Colours on the Modern Arms differ from the Antient.

Suspice & Mirare.

*CHRISTOPHORUS WREN Eques Auratus,
Totius hujus Fabricæ
Magnus Architectus:*

*Moli huic Immensæ,
Sacrae, Eximiae,
Quam Animo Conceperat,
Quam Inchoaverat,
Quam Perfecerat,*

Unius

*Unius Hominis Opus,
Haud Mortali datum.*

Bis

*Factus Immortalis
De Cælo Invigilat
Mente Permeat, Corpore Sustentat
Quantilli Corpori
Quantus Animus,
Qualis Mens.*

*Depositum servet Ecclesia
Memor Sui!
Subtus jacet
Fundator, Curator.*

*Quam Grande Opus!
Quam Perenne Monumentum!*

By a *St. Paul's* Scholar, *March 7, 1723.*

Aubrey's Miscell. Cap. v. Pag 52. ex Ore C. W. *Sir Christopher Wren* being at his Father's House, anno 1651, at *Knoyle Wilts*, dreamt that he saw a Fight in a great Market-place, which he knew not, where some were flying, and others pursuing; and among those that fled, he saw a Kinsman of his, who went into *Scotland* to the *King's* Army. They heard in the Country that the *King* was come into *England*, but whereabouts *He* was they could not tell. The next Night his Kinsman came to his Father's at *Knoyle*, and was the first that brought the News of the Fight at *Worcester*.

When *Sir Christopher Wren* was at *Paris*, about 1665, he was taken ill and feverish, made but little Water, and had a Pain in his Reins: He sent for a Physician, who advis'd him to let Blood, thinking he had a *Pleurisy*; but Bleeding much disagreeing with his Constitution, he would defer it a Day longer: That Night he dreamt that he was in a Place where Palm-trees grew, (suppose *Egypt*) and that a Woman in a romantick Habit reach'd him Dates. The next Day he sent for Dates, which cur'd him of the Pain in his Reins.

Aubrey's Miscell. Cap. v. By Way of Parallel to this, "The Plague raging in the Army of the Emperor *Charlemain*, he dreamt, that the Decoction of the Root of the "*Dwarf-thistle* [a Mountain Plant, since call'd the *Caroline-thistle*] would "cure that Disease." See *Gerard's Herbal*, who tells us this. *N. B.* He says the Army was thus deliver'd from the Plague, but mentions not the Dream, p. 1158.

Narrat Plinius (25 Lib. Cap. 2. Nat. Hist.) Historiam hujusmodi.

"*Nuper cujusdam militantis in prætorio mater vidit in quiete, ut radicem sylvestris rosæ (quam Cynorrhodon vocant) blanditam sibi aspectu pridè in jureto, mitteret filio bibendam: In Lusitaniâ res gerebatur, Hispaniæ proximâ parte: Casu accidit, ut milite à morsu canis incipiente aquas expavescere, superveniret epistola orantis ut pareret religioni: Servatusque est ex insperato; et postea quisquis auxilium simile tentavit.*—"

"*Cum Ptolomæus familiaris Alexandri M. in prælio, telo venenato ictus esset, eoque vulnere summo cum dolore moreretur, Alexander assidens summo est con-*

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, KNT.

"*sopitus; tum secundum quietem visus ei dicitur draco is, quem mater Olym-*
pias alebat, radiculam ore ferre, et simul dicere quid illa nasceretur, ejus autem
esse vim tantam, ut Ptolomæum facile sanaret. Cùm Alexander experientius
narrasset amicis somnium, emisit qui illam radiculam quærerent. Quid in-
ventâ, et Ptolomæus sanatus dicitur, et multi milites, qui erant eodem genere
teli vulnerati. [Cicero de Divinatione, Lib. II.] — [ὈΝΑΡ ΤΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ
 ΕΣΤΙ. Homer. Iliad. A.]

Nestor of Athens was not only in his Profession the greatest Man of that Age, Tatler, anno 1709, No 52, but had given more Proofs of it, than any other Man ever did; yet for want of that natural Freedom, and Audacity, which is necessary in Commerce with Men, his personal Modesty overthrew all his publick Actions. *Nestor* was in those Days a skilful Architect, and in a manner the Inventor of the Use of mechanick Powers, which he brought to so great Perfection, that he knew to an Atom what Foundation could bear such a Superstructure: And they record of him, that he was so prodigiously exact, that for the Experiment-sake, he built an Edifice of great Beauty, and seeming Strength, but so contrived as to bear only its own Weight, and not to admit the Addition of the least Particle. This Building was beheld with much Admiration by all the Virtuosi of that Time, but fell down with no other Pressure but the settling of a *Wren*, upon the Top of it: Yet *Nestor's* Modesty was such, that his Art and Skill were soon disregarded for want of that Manner with which Men of the World support and assert the Merits of their own Performances. Soon after this Instance of his Art, *Athens* was, by the Treachery of its Enemies, burnt to the Ground. This gave *Nestor* the greatest Occasion that ever Builder had to render his Name immortal, and his Person venerable: For, all the new City rose according to his Disposition, and all the Monuments of the Glories and Distresses of that People were erected by that sole Artiste; nay, all their Temples, as well as Houses, were the Effects of his Study, and Labour; insomuch that it was said by an old Sage, sure *Nestor* will now be famous, for the Habitations of the Gods, as well as Men, are built by his Contrivance. But this bashful Quality still put a Damp upon his great Knowledge, which has as fatal an Effect upon Men's Reputations, as Poverty; for, as it was said *, *The poor Man by his Wisdom delivered the City; yet no Man remembered that same poor Man:* So here we find, *The modest Man built the City, and the modest Man's Skill was unknown.* But surely Posterity are obliged to allow him that Praise after his Death, which he so industriously declined while he was living.

Aliter,

In Eundem.

[*Stylo Martialis.*]

Quanta quies placidi est, et quanta scientia Wrenni!

Sed cobibet vires, ingeniumque pudor.

Ante fores dubitat fortunam admittere siantem;

Seque piget curæ præmia ferre suæ.

Laudes ex meritis, magnisque laboribus ortas,

Ore verecundo noluit esse suas.

Palladium tenui frontem redimire coronâ

Contentus, famæ nec dare vela suæ.

*Sed tamen hunc nostri scit temporis esse * Rabirum*

Artis mira suæ qui monumenta videt.

* Ecclesiastes, c. ix. v. 15.

* Rabirius Architectus eximius, tempore Imp. Domitiani.

In eundem, Astronomum et Architectum, Basilicæ Divi Pauli,
et Urbis Londini conditorem.

*Astra polunque suo concepit pectore Wrennus,
Paulinam mirâ qui struit arte domum.*

*Ista manus Triviæ templi revocâisset honores;
Seu Mausolæi, seu Babylonis opus.*

*Grandior ex flammis * Augusta renascitur, artem
Stantia non poterant tectâ probare suam.*

* Vetus Lon-
dini nomen.

De Londino post Incendium Restaurato.

Qualiter Assyrios renovant incendia nidos,

Una decem quoties sæcula vixit avis :

Taliter exuta est veterem † Nova Troja senectam,

Et sumpsit vultus ‡ Principis ipsa sui.

Martial, L. v.
Ep. 7.

† Vetus Lon-
dini nomen.

‡ Caroli R.



A P P E N D I X.

Of ARCHITECTURE; and Observations on *Antique Temples, &c.*

[From some rough Draughts, imperfect.]

T R A C T I.

ARCHITECTURE has its political Use; publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Common-wealth. The Emulation of the Cities of *Greece* was the true Cause of their Greatness. The obstinate Valour of the *Jews*, occasioned by the Love of their Temple, was a Cement that held together that People, for many Ages, through infinite Changes. The Care of publick Decency and Convenience was a great Cause of the Establishment of the *Low countries*, and of many Cities in the World. Modern *Rome* subsists still, by the Ruins and Imitation of the *old*; as does *Jerusalem*, by the Temple of the Sepulchre, and other Remains of *Helena's* Zeal.

Architecture aims at Eternity; and therefore the only Thing incapable of Modes and Fashions in its Principals, the *Orders*.

The *Orders* are not only *Roman* and *Greek*, but *Phœnician*, *Hebrew*, and *Affyrian*; therefore being founded upon the Experience of all Ages, promoted by the vast Treasures of all the great Monarchs, and Skill of the greatest Artists and Geometricians, every one emulating each other; and Experiments in this kind being greatly expenceful, and Errors incorrigible, is the Reason that the Principles of Architecture are now rather the Study of Antiquity than Fancy.

Beauty, Firmness, and Convenience, are the Principles; the two first depend upon geometrical Reasons of *Opticks* and *Statics*; the third only makes the Variety.

There are natural Causes of Beauty. Beauty is a Harmony of Objects, begetting Pleasure by the Eye. There are two Causes of Beauty, natural and customary. Natural is from *Geometry*, consisting in Uniformity (that is Equality) and Proportion. Customary Beauty is begotten by the Use of our Senses to those Objects which are usually pleasing to us for other Causes, as Familiarity or particular Inclination breeds a Love to Things not in themselves lovely. Here lies the great Occasion of Errors; here is tried the Architect's Judgment: but always the true Test is natural or geometrical Beauty.

Geometrical Figures are naturally more beautiful than other irregular; in this all consent as to a Law of Nature. Of geometrical Figures, the Square and the Circle are most beautiful; next, the Parallelogram and the Oval. Strait Lines are more beautiful than curve; next to strait Lines, equal and geometrical Flexures; an Object elevated in the Middle is more beautiful than depressed.

Position is necessary for perfecting Beauty. There are only two beautiful Positions of straight Lines, perpendicular and horizontal: this is from Nature, and consequently Necessity, no other than upright being firm. Oblique Positions are Discord to the Eye, unless answered in Pairs, as in the Sides of an equicrural Triangle: therefore *Gothick* Buttresses are all ill-favoured, and were avoided by the Ancients, and no Roofs almost but spherick raised to be visible, except in the Front, where the Lines answer; in spherick, in all Positions, the Ribs answer. Cones and multangular Prisms want neither Beauty or Firmness, but are not ancient.

Views contrary to Beauty are Deformity, or a Defect of Uniformity, and Plainness, which is the Excess of Uniformity; Variety makes the Mean.

Variety of Uniformities makes compleat Beauty: Uniformities are best tempered, as Rhimes in Poetry, alternately, or sometimes with more Variety, as in Stanza's.

In Things to be seen at once, much Variety makes Confusion, another Vice of Beauty. In Things that are not seen at once, and have no Respect one to another, great Variety is commendable, provided this Variety transgress not the Rules of *Opticks* and *Geometry*.

An Architect ought to be jealous of Novelties, in which Fancy blinds the Judgment; and to think his Judges, as well those that are to live five Centuries after him, as those of his own Time. That which is commendable now for Novelty, will not be a new Invention to Posterity, when his Works are often imitated, and when it is unknown which was the Original; but the Glory of that which is good of itself is eternal.

The Architect ought, above all Things, to be well skilled in Perspective; for, every thing that appears well in the Orthography, may not be good in the Model, especially where there are many Angles and Projectures; and every thing that is good in Model, may not be so when built; because a Model is seen from other Stations and Distances than the Eye sees the Building: but this will hold universally true, that whatsoever is good in Perspective, and will hold so in all the principal Views, whether direct or oblique, will be as good in great, if this only Caution be observed, that Regard be had to the Distance of the Eye in the principal Stations.

Things seen near at hand may have small and many Members, be well furnished with Ornaments, and may lie flatter; on the contrary, all this Care is ridiculous at great Distances; there bulky Members, and full Projectures casting quick Shadows, are commendable: small Ornaments at too great Distance, serve only to confound the Symmetry, and to take away the Lustre of the Object, by darkening it with many little Shadows.

There are different Reasons for Objects, whose chief View is in Front, and for those whose chief View is sideways.

Fronts ought to be elevated in the Middle, not the Corners; because the Middle is the Place of greatest Dignity, and first arrests the Eye; and rather projecting forward in the Middle, than hollow. For these Reasons, Pavilions at the Corners are naught; because they make both Faults, a hollow and depressed Front. Where Hollows and Solids are mixed, the Hollow is to be in the Middle; for, Hollows are either Niches, Windows, or Doors: The first require the Middle to give the Statue Dignity; the second, that the View from within may be direct; the third, that the Visto may be strait. The Ancients elevated the Middle with a Tympan, and Statue, or a Dome. The triumphant Arches, which now seem flat, were elevated by the magnificent Figure of the Victor in his Chariot with four Horses abreast, and other Statues accompanying it. No sort of Pinnacle is worthy enough to appear in the Air, but Statue. Pyramids are *Gothick*; Pots are modern *French*. Chimnies ought to be hid, if

not, to be well adorned. No Roof can have Dignity enough to appear above a Cornice, but the circular; in private Buildings it is excusable. The Ancients affected Flatness. In Buildings where the View is sideways, as in Streets, it is absolutely required, that the Composition be square, Intercolumnations equal, Projectures not great, the Cornices unbroken, and every thing strait, equal, and uniform. Breaks in the Cornice, Projectures of the upright Members, Variety, Inequality in the Parts, various Heights of the Roof, serve only to confound the Perspective, and make it deformed, while the Breaches and Projectures are cast one upon another, and obscure all Symmetry. In this sort of Building there seems no Proportion of Length to the Height; for, a Portico the longer the more beautiful in *infinitum*: on the contrary, Fronts require a Proportion of the Breadth to the Height; higher than three times the Breadth is indecent, and as ill to be above three times as broad as high. From this Rule I except Obelisks, Pyramids, Columns, such as *Trajan's, &c.* which seem rather single Things than Compositions: I except also long Porticoes, though seen direct, where the Eye wandering over the same Members infinitely repeated, and not easily finding the Bounds, makes no Comparison of them with the Height.

Vitruvius hath led us the true Way to find out the Originals of the Orders. When Men first cohabited in civil Commerce, there was Necessity of Forums and publick Places of Meeting. In cold Countries, People were obliged to shut out the Air, the Cold, and the Rain; but in the hot Countries, where Civility first began, they desired to exclude the Sun only, and admit all possible Air for Coolness and Health: this brought in naturally the Use of Porticoes, or Roofs for Shade, set upon Pillars. A Walk of Trees is more beautiful than the most artificial Portico; but these not being easily preserved in Market-places, they made the more durable Shades of Porticoes; in which we see they imitated Nature, most Trees in their Prime, that are not Sapplings, or Dotards, observe near the Proportion of *Dorick* Pillars in the Length of their Bole, before they part into Branches. This I think the more natural Comparison, than that to the Body of a Man, in which there is little Resemblance of a cylindrical Body. The first Pillars were the very Boles of Trees turned, or cut in Prisms of many Sides. A little Curiosity would induce to lay the *Torus* at the Top; and the Conjecture is not amiss, to say it was first a Band of Iron, to keep the Clefts, occasioned by the Sun, from opening with the Weight above; and to keep the Weather from piercing those Clefts, it was necessary to cover it with the Plinth, or square Board. The Architrave conjoined all the Pillars in Length, the Couples joined them cross-ways. I suppose now, that the Ends of the Couples might be hollowed away, as in this Scheme. * * * * * [*The rest is wanting.*]

TRACT II.

MODERN Authors who have treated of Architecture, seem generally to have little more in view, but to set down the Proportions of Columns, Architraves, and Cornices, in the several Orders, as they are distinguished into *Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian*, and *Composite*; and in these Proportions finding them in the ancient Fabricks of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, (though more arbitrarily used than they care to acknowledge) they have reduced them into Rules, too strict and pedantick, and so as not to be transgressed, without the Crime of Barbarity; though, in their own Nature, they are but the Modes and Fashions of those Ages wherein they were used; but because they were found in the great Structures, (the Ruins of which we now admire) we think ourselves strictly obliged

still to follow the Fashion, though we can never attain to the Grandeur of those Works.

Those who first laboured in the Restoration of Architecture, about three Centuries ago, studied principally what they found in *Rome*, above-ground, in the Ruins of the Theatres, Baths, Temples, and triumphal Arches; (for among the *Greeks* little was then remaining) and in these there appeared great Differences; however, they criticised upon them, and endeavoured to reconcile them, as well as they could, with one another, and with what they could meet with in the *Italian Cities*: and it is to be considered, that what they found standing was built, for the most part, after the Age of *Augustus*, particularly, the Arches, Amphitheatres, Baths, &c. The *Dorick* Order they chiefly understood, by examining the Theatre of *Marcellus*; the *Ionick*, from the Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*; the *Corinthian*, from the Pantheon of *Agrippa*; the *Composite*, from the triumphal Arch of *Titus*, &c. I have seen among the Collections of *Inigo Jones*, a Pocket-book of *Pyrrho Ligorio's*, (an excellent Sculptor, and Architect, employed by Pope *Paul* the third, in the building of the *Vatican Church* of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, about the Year 1540) wherein he seemed to have made it his Business, out of the antique Fragments, to have drawn the many different Capitals, Mouldings of Cornices, and Ornaments of Freezes, &c. purposely to judge of the great Liberties of the ancient Architects, most of which had their Education in *Greece*.

In further Proof of this, we have now a very remarkable Account of an eminent and learned Critick in Architecture, viz.

Hist. of Amphitheatres, by C. Massini, Edit. Lond. 1730.

"The first Story of the *Coliseo* at *Rome* is said to be *Dorick*, and yet the Freeze of it is not plain and smooth. The third Story is *Corinthian*, but without Carving or Ornaments, except in the Capitals. The fourth Story is *Composite*, but with *Corinthian* Capitals, and like those of the third Order; the Corbills in the Freeze shewing them of the *Composite* Order. The Pillars of the four Orders, one above the other, do not diminish in Dimension, according to Rule, but are all of a Thickness; and the Void of the Arches, the Parts, Ornaments, and Measures in the different Stories, have not that Diversity of Proportion, which is believed to be essential to different Orders. By the Example of this Amphitheatre, (the noblest Remain of ancient Magnificence) as well as by many others, it is evident, that in the Rules of the Proportions, and different Members, &c. of the Orders, there was no certain perpetual and universal Law, but the same Orders, Measures, and Manners differed, according to the various Kinds of Buildings, the Judgment of the Architect, and the different Circumstances of Things."

But although Architecture contains many excellent Parts, besides the ranging of Pillars, yet Curiosity may lead us to consider whence this Affectation arose originally, so as to judge nothing beautiful, but what was adorned with Columns, even where there was no real Use of them; as when Half-columns are stuck upon the Walls of Temples, or Basilicæ; and where they are hung-on, as it were, upon the Outside of triumphal Arches, where they cannot be supposed of any Use, but merely for Ornament; as *Seneca* observed in the *Roman Baths*: *Quantum columnarum est nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum, impensæ causâ!* It will be to the Purpose, therefore, to examine whence proceeded this Affectation of a Mode that hath continued now at least 3000 Years, and the rather, because it may lead us to the Grounds of Architecture, and by what Steps this Humour of Colonades came into Practice in all Ages.

The first Temples were, in all Probability, in the ruder Times, only little Cellæ to inclose the Idol within, with no other Light than a large Door to discover it to the People, when the Priest saw proper, and when he went in alone to offer Incense, the People paying their Adorations without Doors; for all Sacrifices

Epist. 87.

Sacrifices were performed in the open Air, before the Front of the Temple; but in the southern Climates, a Grove was necessary not only to shade the Devout, but, from the Darkneſs of the Place, to ſtrike ſome Terror and Recollection in their Approachers; therefore, Trees being always an Adjunct to the *Celle*, the *Iſraelites* were commanded to deſtroy not only the Idols, but to cut down the Groves which ſurrounded them: but Trees decaying with Time, or not equally growing, (though planted at firſt in good Order) or poſſibly not having Room; when the Temples were brought into Cities, the like Walks were repreſented with Stone Pillars, ſupporting the more durable Shade of a Roof, inſtead of the Arbour of ſpreading Boughs; and ſtill in the Ornaments of Stone Work was imitated, (as well as the Materials would bear) both in the Capitals, Friezes and Mouldings, a Foliage, or ſort of Work compoſed of Leaves, which remains to this Age.

This, I am apt to think, was the true Original of Colonades environing the Temples in ſingle or double Ailes.

People could not aſſemble and converſe, but under ſhade in hot Countries; therefore, the *Forum* of every City was alſo at firſt planted round with Walks of Trees——

Lucus in urbe fuit mediâ, latiffimus umbrâ.

Theſe Avenues were afterwards, as Cities grew more wealthy, reformed into Porticoes of Marble; but it is probable, at firſt the Columns were ſet no nearer than the Trees were before in Diſtance, and that both Architraves and Roofs were of Timber; becauſe the Inter-columns would certainly have been too large to have had the Architraves made in Stone; but the Architects in After-ages, being ambitious to perform all in Stone, and to load the Architraves alſo with heavy Cornices of Stone, were neceſſitated to bring the Pillars nearer together; and from hence aroſe the Differences of the *Euſtyle*, *Suſtyle*, *Diaſtyle*, and *Pycnoſtyle* Diſpoſition of Columns, by which *Vitruvius* and his Followers would make a ſyſtematical Science of their Art, forming poſitive Rules, according to the Diameters of their Columns, for the Inter-columns, and the Proportions of the Architrave, Cornice, and all the Members of which they are compoſed.

But, by the way, it is to be obſerved, the Diameters of Columns were groſſer at firſt, though Timber Architraves did not require to be borne by a more ſubſtantial Pillar, as in the *Tuſcan* Order; but, becauſe in the Groves, the ancient Trees of large Growth (and Antiquity always carries Veneration with it) were uſed to be of moſt Eſteem. So at firſt the Columns were fix Diameters in Height; when the Imitation of Groves was forgot, the Diameters were advanced to ſeven; then to eight; then to nine, as in the *Ionick* Order; then, at laſt, to ten, as in the *Corinthian* and *Italic* Orders: And herein the Architects had Reaſon, for the great Expence is in raiſing and carving of the Columns; and ſlenderer Columns would leave them more Opportunity to ſhew their Skill in carving and enriching their Works in the Capitals and Mouldings. Thus the *Corinthian* Order became the moſt delicate of all others, and though the Column was ſlenderer, yet bore a greater Weight of Entablature than the more ancient Orders.

When the old Statuaries in Greece, ſuch as *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, and their Diſciples, began to be celebrated for their Art, and the People grew fond of their Works, it is no Wonder (for *honos alit artes*) they fell upon the *Corinthian Capital*, which in no After-age to this Time has been amended, though the French King, *Lewis* the fourteenth, propoſed Rewards to ſuch Artiſts as ſhould find out a *Gallick Order*; therefore *Callimachus*, the old Architect and Inventor, (according to *Vitruvius's* Story of the Nurſe and Basket) muſt ſtill retain the

Honour of it; for, neither will the Flower-de-luce of the *French*, nor the Palms of *Villalpandus*, in his imaginary Scheme of the Temple of *Solomon*, come up to the Grace of the old Form of the *Corinthian* Capital.

It seems very unaccountable, that the Generality of our late Architects dwell so much upon this ornamental, and so slightly pass over the geometrical, which is the most essential Part of Architecture. For Instance, can an *Arch* stand without Butment sufficient? If the Butment be more than enough, 'tis an idle Expence of Materials; if too little, it will fall; and so for any Vaulting: And yet no Author hath given a true and universal Rule for this; nor hath considered all the various Forms of Arches.

The Rule given by the Authors for the Butment of Arches, is this: [See Figure I.] Let *ABC* be the Arch, of which *B* is a third Part; extend the Line *BC*, and make *CD* equal to *CB*, and draw the Perpendicular *CDF*, this determines the Butment *GF*, (as they say) but wherefore? for add to the Bottom, as *KL*, the Arch then must certainly press more upon the higher Part than the lower; or if some additional Weight be added above the Arch, that must still press more than before this was added. So this Rule (if it were built upon any sure geometrical Theorem, as it is not) is neither true nor universal; and what is true will be shewn to be only determinable by the Doctrine of finding the Centers of Gravity in the Parts of the proposed Design. In demonstrating this, I will not trouble the Reader with nice geometrical Speculations, or Calculations, but by easy Inductions; supposing he hath read *Archimedes*, or the modern Geometricians, who have purposely treated of Centers of Gravity; or at least, that he will give Credit to those who have established all the Principles of this Science by Demonstration unquestionable; so it will not be necessary to dive into the Rudiments.

Fig. II.

Let a Stone be cut in this Form, *FB* a Parallelogram, *CD* a Semicircle added, *AB* a Perpendicular, *M* the Center of Gravity of *FB*, and *N* of *ACD*, now if *N* be equiponderant to *M* on each Side the Perpendicular *AB*, it is certain the whole Stone will stand immoveable upon the Basis at *B*, although it be but half an Arch; add the like Stone on the opposite Side, till the Horns meet in an entire Arch, so the Whole will stand as well as the Halves. If any thing be added without *M*, that alters nothing, only 'tis an useless Expence; but if any thing be added above *N*, that alters the Center of Gravity, which therefore must be provided for, by adding more Weight to *M*; and the same may be shewn in all kinds of Vaulting. So it appears that the Design, where there are Arcades, must be regulated by the Art of Statics, or Invention of the Centers of Gravity, and the duly poising all Parts to equiponderate; without which, a fine Design will fail and prove abortive. Hence I conclude, that all Designs must, in the first place, be brought to this Test, or rejected. I have examined some celebrated Works, as the *Pantheon*, and judge there is more Butment than necessary, though it is flat and low; but I suppose the Architect provided it should stand against Earthquakes, as indeed it hath, and will. The great Fabrick of *St. Peter's*, if it had been followed as *Bramante* had designed it, would have been as durable; but the Butment of the Cupola was not placed with Judgment: however, since it was hooped with Iron, it is safe at present, and, without an Earthquake, for Ages to come. Iron, at all Adventures, is a good Caution; but the Architect should so poise his Work, as if it were not necessary.

The Free-masons were not very solicitous about this, because they used Buttresses on the Outside of the Wall, which they extended as far as they guessed would be sufficient; and they had yet a farther Help, by loading the Buttress with a Pinnacle, to the Height of which they were not confined. The *Romans* never used Buttresses without, but rather within, though they cut off a Part of the Arch, but not of the Vaulting that depended on the Arch, as it

appears

Fig. 1.

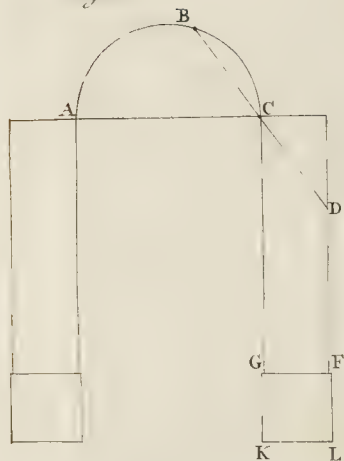


Fig. 2.

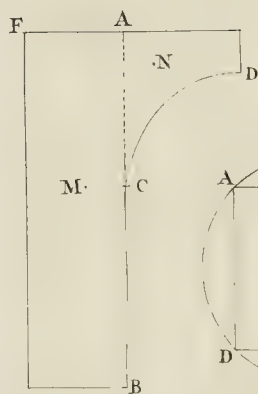


Fig. 3.

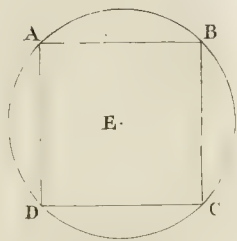


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

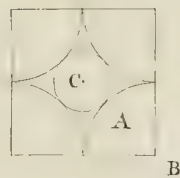


Fig. 6.

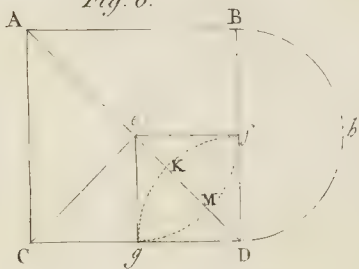


Fig. 7.

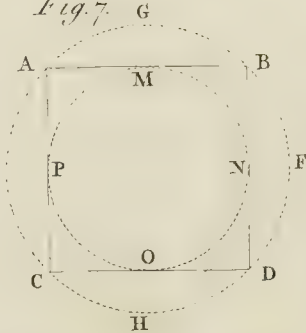
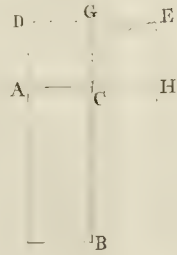


Fig. 8.



J. Mynde sc.

appears in the Ailes of *Dioclesian's Baths*, and in some respect also in the *Templum Pacis*.

The different Forms of Vaultings are necessary to be considered, either as they were used by the Ancients, or the Moderns, whether *Free-masons*, or *Saracens*. The *Romans*, though they sometimes used a Hemisphere, where the Room was round; or Half-hemispheres, as in the *Exedrae* of the Baths, or the Tribunes of Temples and *Basilicae*, yet generally they used a plain cylindrical Vaulting, where the Walls were parallel; or Cross-vaulting, where two Cylinders intersect in Diagonals, as in the *Templum Pacis*; and in all the Theatres in the Passages under the Steps. The Moderns, whose Arches were not circular, but made of Sections of Circles, used commonly another sort, where the Spandrils resting upon the Pillars, sprang every way round as their Arch rose. It is not easy to give a geometrical Definition, but by calling it a circular inverted Cone (A), resting upon its Apex (B); (C) the Middle, they filled up with Tracery—Fig. V. work, for which this Way gave them great Opportunity of divers Variations, which I need not insist on. Another Way, (which I cannot find used by the Ancients, but in the later eastern Empire, as appears at *St. Sophia*, and by that Example, in all the Mosques and Cloysters of the *Dervises*, and every where at present in the *East*) and of all others the most geometrical, is composed of Hemispheres, and their Sections only: and whereas a Sphere may be cut all manner of Ways, and that still into Circles, it may be accommodated to lie upon all Positions of the Pillars. Let E be a Cupola or Hemisphere, resting upon four Fig. III. Pillars A B C D, from whence arise the four Arches, to which the Sections, being Semicircles, must join on all Sides, whether A B be equal to B C or not. Cut the Hemisphere again horizontally, the Section will be an entire Circle, touching in the Keys of the Arches, and G H K L will be Spandrils resting Fig. IV. upon the Pillars, yet still are Parts of the Hemisphere; and if the horizontal Circle be taken away, you may build upon that Circle an upright Wall, which may bear a Cupola again above, as is done at *St. Sophia* and *St. Peter's*, and at all the Churches at *Rome*. I question not but those at *Constantinople* had it from the *Greeks* before them, it is so natural, and is yet found in the present Seraglio, which was the episcopal Palace of old; the imperial Palace, whose Ruins still appear, being farther eastward. Now, because I have for just Reasons followed this way in the vaulting of the Church of *St. Paul's*, I think it proper to shew, that it is the lightest Manner, and requires less Butment than the Cross-vaulting, as well as that it is of an agreeable View; and, at the same time, I shall shew how the Centers of Gravity are to be computed. To shew that it requires less Butment than the diagonal Cross-vaulting, I will compare them both together, without any perplexed Demonstration, as follows.—

It is evident that the Spandrils, or loading of the diagonal Cross-arches, where two cylindrical Vaults meet, must be an inverted Pyramid, whose Basis is a Parallelogram, with two Sides strait, and two circular; and wherever it be cut horizontally, it will be cut into like Parallelograms: now, in the other eastern Way of Vaulting by Hemispheres, the Spandrils are the Solids, which are left when a Hemisphere is taken out of a Half-cube; each of these also must be a sort of inverted Pyramid, whose Bases and Sides are circular, and wherever it is cut horizontally, it is cut into Pieces of Circles.

What these are that give the Butment of Arcades in the several Forms of Arches may be geometrically determined, for Example in the *Roman Way* of Cross-arches.

Let A B C D represent the whole Vaulting between four Pillars, then *e f g* Fig. VI. will represent the Quarter of this Vaulting resting upon D. Now, because the solid Half-cylinder C D is cut off by the Half-cylinder B D, it is evident the whole Cross-vault will be equal to one Half-cylinder, whose Diameter is B D, the
y y

Fig. VII.

the Height fb , and the Length AB ; and because $Dgef$ is one fourth Part, this being deducted out of the Cube of fD , the Remainder (supposing it filled up to the Crown) e , is the Body we suppose at D , for the Butment, and the Parts of this circular inverted Pyramid will bear a Proportion with the Ordinates of the Quadrant, being the Radius less the Ordinates squared: so the Ordinates of the Pyramid are known; and by the known Methods the Centers of Gravity will be known of the Whole or Part. As for the *Gothick* Vaulting, turn this Pyramid upon its Axis, and it will be a Conoide in the Whole, and in its Parts as the Circle to the Square circumscribed, and the Centers will be given of the Whole and the Parts. Now, the third Way of vaulting by Parts of Hemispheres may be thus considered. Let $ABCD$ be four Pillars, and GfH be supposed the whole Hemisphere, before it be cut off by six Arches, and by the two horizontal Sections PON , then is DON one of the eight Spandrils; therefore the said Spandril is the Sphere less the Cube divided by 8, or the Hemisphere less half the Cube divided by 4, which is one Spandril, such as OND . Now, let these several Spandrils in the *Roman*, the *Gothick*, or *Saracen* Way be compared together, (see Fig. VI.) gfD in the *Roman*, is the Basis of the Square (inverted Pyramid; gKD in the *Gothick* is but the Quadrant of a Circle inscribed, and $gMKD$ but the Remainder to the Square; which being evidently the least and lightest, and the Center of Gravity nearest to D , I have therefore followed in the Vaultings of *St. Paul's*, and, with good Reason, preferred it above any other Way used by Architects. But none of these Vaultings are in Buildings thought necessary to be filled up to the Crowns of the Vaultings, but so high as to give Butment to the Arches above the Pillars, which Architects have determined, by Practice, to be a third Part of the Height of the Arch. It seems necessary to consider the proper Butment of cylindrical or strait Vaultings upon parallel Walls, or two Pillars only of some Breadth. In order to find this by Steps, we will consider an Arch abstracted from what may be laid upon it, or affixed to it. Let AB be a Body (the Height or Thickness doth not enter into this Consideration) upon the level Top, to lay the Body GED , the Line GE being a Quadrant, DE a Tangent to it * * * * *

Fig. VIII.

[The rest is wanting.]

T R A C T III.

THE *Tyrian* Order was the first Manner, which, in *Greece*, was refined into the *Dorick* Order, after the first Temple of that Order was built at *Argos*: but if we consider well the *Dorick* Order, we manifestly may trace the same to be but an Imitation in Stone, of what was usually done in Timber, in the long Porticoes they used to build in Cities, by which they tolerated the Heat of the Day, and conversed together: the Roofs of those Porticoes were framed after this Manner.

First, They laid the Timber, called Architrave, to join the Pillars in a Row, upon these they laid the Beams that joined the opposite Rows, then upon these they raised the Rafter, which *Vitruvius* calls *Capreoli*, which meeting in a Triangle, made the Roof to cast off Weather; the Rafter were fastened by two Tenons into the very Ends of the Beams, by sawing assant into the Ends of them, not as we do by Mortises. Upon the Architrave they placed a Plank, the better to join the Ends of these Architraves together upon the Pillars; then the Pins (improperly called *Gutta*) driven upwards, would not only fix the *Capreoli* to the Beams, but stay them from sliding upon the Architraves, and gage the opposite Architraves together, to keep a strait Range in the long Porticoes: and

and thus may be discerned the Reason of the Triglyphs, and of the whole *Dorick* Order; and these long Porticoes were the general Method of building Cities in the hot Climates.

When *Alexander* had determined to build *Alexandria*, and had settled the Place, he left *Dinocrates* his Architect to compleat the same, who drew a long Street with Porticoes on both Sides, from the Lake *Mæotis* to the Sea, and another cross it, that lead to *Pelufum*; then built Walls and large Towers, each capable to quarter five hundred Men; the noble Ruins of which remain at this Day; (a) then giving great Privileges to *Egyptians* and *Jews*, they soon filled the Quarters between the Porticoes with private and publick Buildings. Thus were Cities suddenly raised, and thus was *Tadmor* built, the Ruins of which shew nothing at present to Travellers, but incredible Numbers of Pillars of the *Dorick* Order, some yet standing, more broken, which were certainly the Remains of long Porticoes to shade the Streets. Now, how was *Tarsus* and *Antichia* built in a Day? that is, I suppose, the Walls and Gates were set out in a Day; and this Way of setting out the principal Streets by Porticoes, occasioned that hundreds of Pillars, of all sorts, were to be bought at the Quarries ready made, where great Numbers of Artizans wrought for Sale of what they raised; and this is the Reason why even at *Rome* the Scantlings are not always found conformable to the Rules, especially in sudden Works; as to instance in the Portico of the *Pantheon*, where are scarcely two Columns of the same Diameter; some of the Columns being six * *Roman* Palms and ten Inches [*Pollices*] in Diameter, others six Palms and five Inches. However, as it is a Coloss-work, and most wonderfully rich, consisting of sixteen huge Columns of the *Corinthian* Order, each Column being one solid Stone of oriental Granate, the Eye cannot readily discern any Disproportion. And thus in the great Pillar of *London*, the Height exceeding the due Proportion of the Order, one Module is imperceptible to the Eye.

See Monsieur
Desgodetz.

* The Roman
Palm is nine
Inches English
Measure.

Pliny the younger, proposing to repair and enlarge, by the Addition of a Portico, an old Temple of *Ceres*, that stood upon his Estate in *Tuscany*, directs his Architect immediately to buy four Marble Columns, of any sort he pleased. By this Method of purchasing, at any time, Columns of all Orders and Proportions, ready formed at the Quarries, as Goods in a Shop, or Warehouse, the Ancients had an Advantage of erecting Porticoes (the stately Pride of the *Roman* Architecture) of any Grandeur, or Extent, in a very short Time, and without being over scrupulous in the Exactness of the Dimensions.

Plinii Epist.
Lib. 9.

TRACT IV.

AN Example of *Tyrian* Architecture we may collect from the Theatre, by the Fall of which, *Samson* made so vast a Slaughter of the *Philistines*, by one Stretch of his wonderful Strength. In considering what this Fabrick must be, that could at one Pull be demolished, I conceive it an oval Amphitheatre, the Scene in the Middle, where a vast Roof of Cedar-beams resting round upon the Walls, centered all upon one short Architrave, that united two Cedar Pillars in the Middle; one Pillar would not be sufficient to unite the Ends of at least one hundred Beams that tended to the Center; therefore, I say, there must be a short Architrave resting upon two Pillars, upon

(a) Near this City stands a Pillar, erected by one of the *Ptolomys*, (but vulgarly called *Pompey's* Pillar) the Shaft of which consists of one solid Stone of Granate, 90 Feet high, and 38 in Compa. [Le Bruyn's *Voyage*, p. 171.]

which

which all the Beams tending to the Center of the Amphitheatre might be supported. Now, if *Samson*, by his miraculous Strength pressing upon one of these Pillars, moved it from its Basis, the whole Roof must of necessity fall.

The most observable Monument of the *Tyrian* Style, and of great Antiquity, still remaining, is the Sepulchre of *Abfalom* *: the Body of this Structure is square, faced on every Side with Pillars, which bear up an hemispherical *Tholus* solid; a large Architrave, Freeze, and Cornice lie upon the Pillars, which are larger in proportion to their Height, than what we now allow to the *Tuscan* Order; so likewise is the Entablature larger.

This whole Composition, though above 30 Feet high, is all of one Stone, both Basis, Pillars, and *Tholus*, cut as it stood out of the adjacent Cliff of white Marble.

It is to be wished, some skilful Artist would give us the exact Dimensions to Inches, by which we might have a true Idea of the ancient *Tyrian* Manner; for, 'tis most probable *Solomon* employed the *Tyrian* Architects in his Temple, from his Correspondency with King *Hiram*; and from these *Phœnicians* I derive, as well the Arts, as the Letters of the *Grecians*, though it may be the *Tyrians* were Imitators of the *Babylonians*, and they of the *Ægyptians*.

Great Monarchs are ambitious to leave great Monuments behind them; and this occasions great Inventions in mechanick Arts.

What the Architecture was that *Solomon* used, we know but little of, though holy Writ hath given us the general Dimensions of the Temple, by which we may, in some measure, collect the Plan, but not of all the Courts.

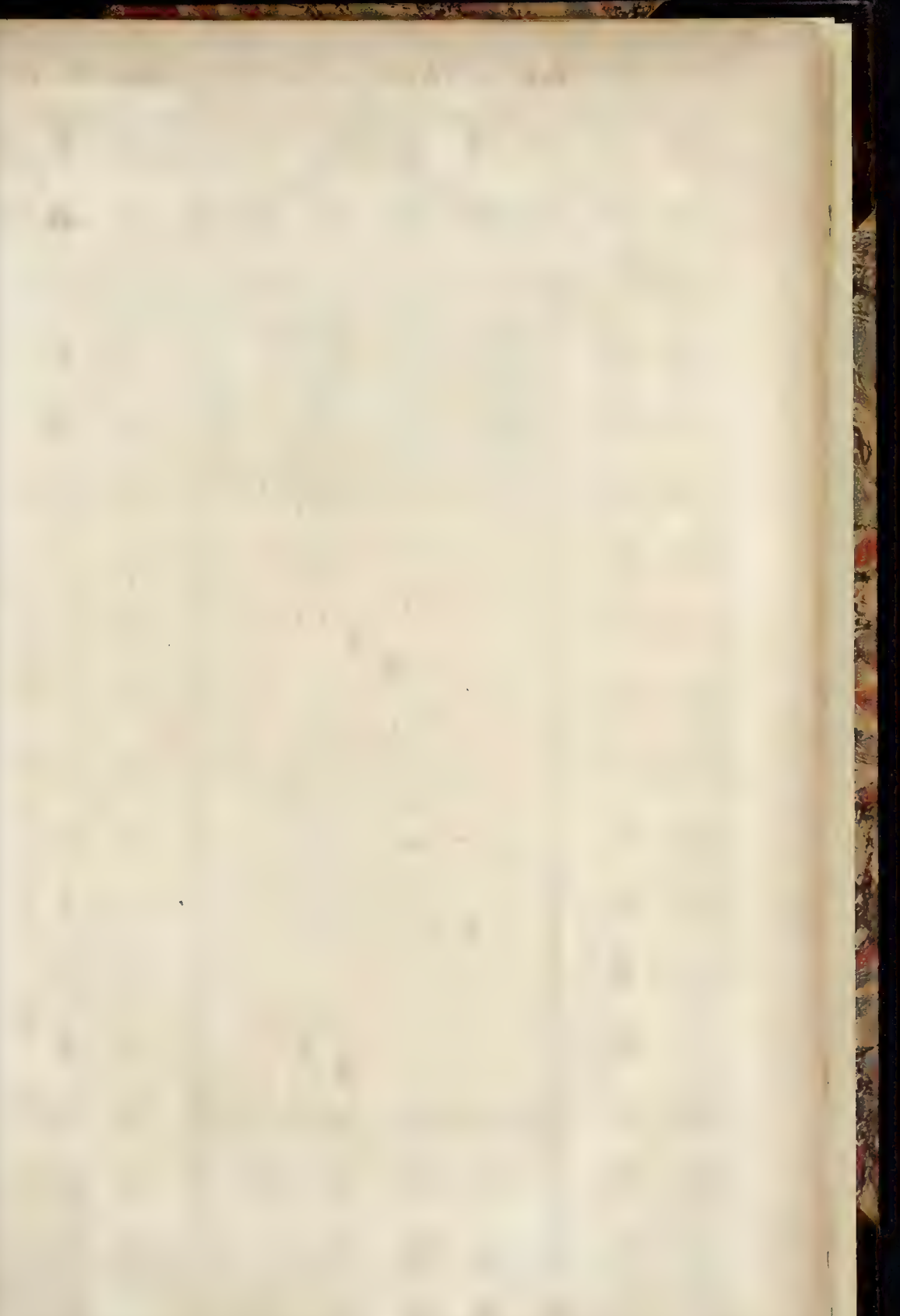
Vallalpandus hath made a fine romantick Piece, after the *Corinthian* Order, which, in that Age, was not used by any Nation; for the early Ages used much grosser Pillars than the *Dorick*: in after Times, they began to refine from the *Dorick*, as in the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, (the united Work of all *Asia*) and at length improved into a slenderer Pillar, and leafy Capital of various Inventions, which was called *Corinthian*; so that if we run back to the Age of *Solomon*, we may with Reason believe they used the *Tyrian* Manner, as gross at least, if not more, than the *Dorick*, and that the *Corinthian* Manner of *Vallalpandus* is mere Fancy.

Of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, according to the Account of Pliny.

THE Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, a most surprizing Example of the *Grecian* Magnificence, introduced the *Ionick* Order: it was two hundred and twenty Years in building, at the joint Expence of all the States of *Asia*, each Government contributing a Pillar. In this Structure the Capitals were first formed with *Voluta's*, and the Proportions changed from the *Dorick* to a slenderer Pillar. The Description in *Pliny* is short, and what no Authors, ancient or modern, seem sufficiently to explain. The Account, therefore, of this prodigious Fabrick, the first Instance of the Use of the *Ionick* Order, requires to be as fully and clearly illustrated, as the most authentick Aid we can have from Antiquity will allow.

The Length of the whole Temple was 425 Feet, the Breadth 220 Feet. The Pillars were in Number 127, each 60 Feet high.—To make out this Number of Pillars, the Disposition must be *Decastyle-dipteron*, and the Columns thus reckoned; 40 in the Fronts, fore and aft, and 60 in the Ailes; so this *Peribole* makes just 100; besides these, are 16 in the *Pronavi*, and the 4 *Antæ*, making in all 120. The Colonade affords no more, but the Tabernacle, or

* Over a-
gainst Jerusa-
lem, as Josephus
says, in the
Jehosaphat.

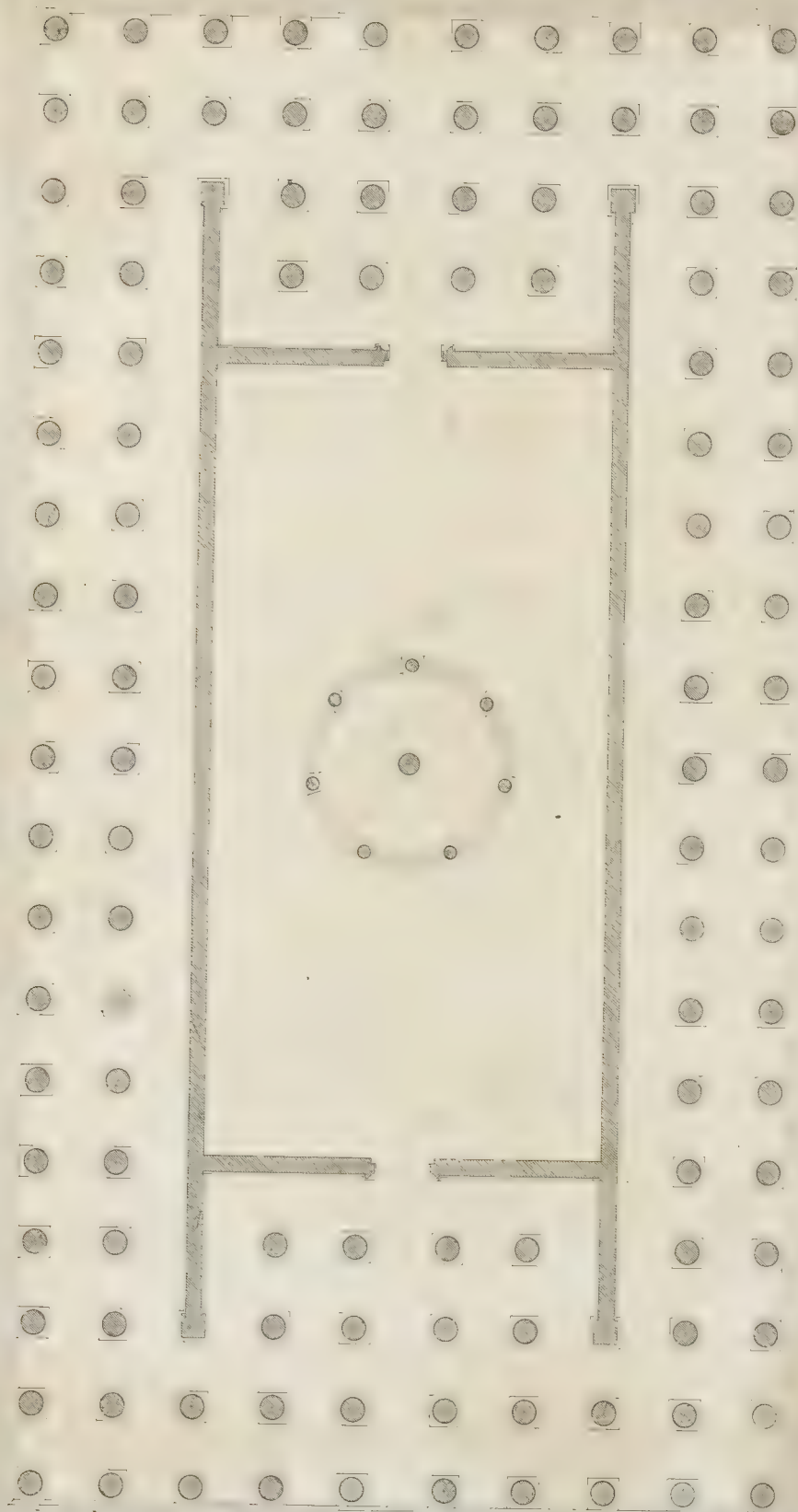


The Ground Plan.

W. Croft Delin.

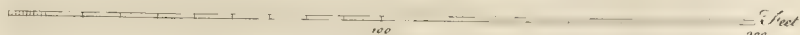
G. Vanderquast Sculp.

Plan of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus with the Shrine





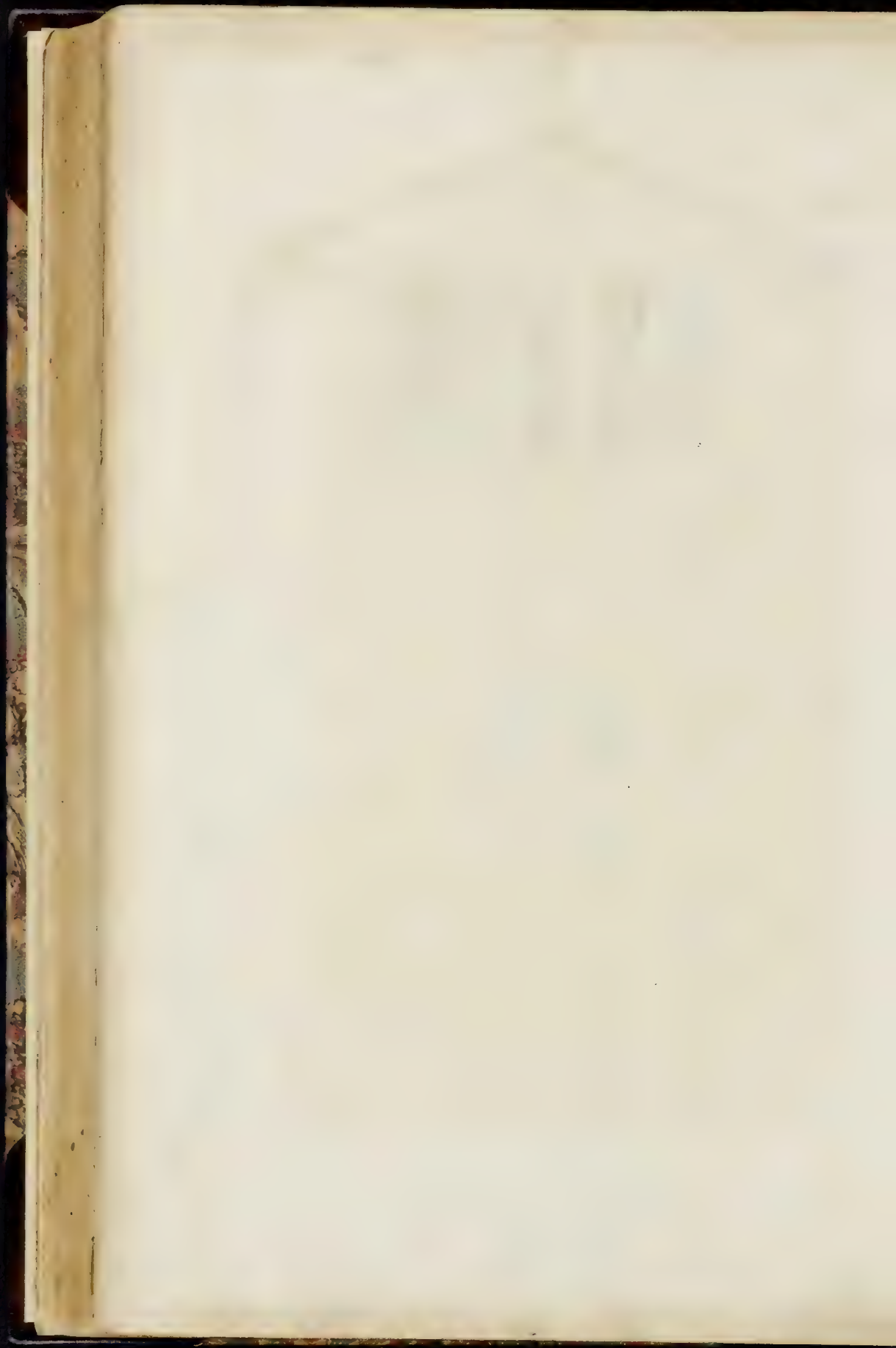
Front of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus



The Shrine in the Temple



The Ground Plan.



Shrine situated in the Middle of the *Cella*, wherein stood the Coloss Image of *Diana Multimamma*, contains seven, and answers the Number in *Pliny*.

This strange Idol, (which is represented in the Coins of *Ephesus*, and other *Asiatick* Cities) of as odd a Figure as any *Indian* Pagod, (the Remains of very ancient Superstition, before the *Ionick* Migration, which, it seems, the *Greeks* would still preserve, believing it fell out of Heaven, and sent by *Jupiter*) was made of Cedar; and the *Cella* had a flat Roofing of Cedar; for vaulted it could not well be, for want of Buttment, being 115 Feet broad, and near as high, and 230 Feet long. Thus was the Huntress placed, as it were, in a Grove of Marble Pillars.

All the ancient Idols were encircled with Groves; and this seems to be the Reason of the perpetual Adherence of all Architecture to this Form, and no other, of Colonades about Temples; meaning to represent the original Groves, as the Capitals; and all the Ornaments carry still the Figures of Leaves.

Diana Artemis was the Moon, her Solemnities were by Night: the nineteen Pillars in the Ailes represented her Period; the seven Pillars of the Chapel in the Middle of the *Cella*, the Quarter of her menstrual Course. This, I suppose, was the ΝΑΪΣΚΟΣ, we translate the Shrine of *Diana*; the Representation of which, 'tis supposed, and not of the whole Structure, the Silversmiths of *Ephesus* formed in Models for Sale to Strangers, "which brought no small Gain to the Craftsmen." In like manner, at this Day, small Models of Wood, garnished with Mother of Pearl, of the holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, are usually made for Sale to Pilgrims and Foreigners.

*Acts of the
Apostles, c. xix.
v. 24.*

The Columns being 60 Feet high, the Diameter, according to Rule, must be 6 Feet 8 Inches, that is, a ninth Part; thus every Column would contain at least 110 Tun of Marble, besides Base and Capital, and the vast Stones of the Entablature, but more especially of the middle Intercolumn, which being wider than the rest, to open more Way for the Entrance, as usual in the *Greek* Temples, was about 22 Feet, and could not bear its own Weight, unless the Architrave and Freeze were both of one Stone, which together would be above 150 Tun; the setting of which (for it seems the Architect despaired) was miraculously attributed to the Goddess herself, as beyond the Reach of human Skill.

Thirty-six of the Columns were carved by *Scopas*, a famous Statuary of the School of *Praxiteles*; and the outward Walls of the *Cella* were adorned with Pictures, about the Time of *Apelles*.

Modern Travellers tell us, there are great Heaps of Ruins at this Day, and large Vaults, which probably were the Substructions of the Colonades.

I imagine the Ascent to it was easy, and not with many Steps, that the ΑΙΙΗ'ΝΗ'ΙΕΡΑ, *Thensa Sacra*, might commodiously pass: this was a covered Waggon drawn by two Mules, in which the Idol was placed, and carried through the Streets to the *Circus*, upon grand Solemnities.

[We often see this Temple represented upon Medals, with the Figure of *Diana*; but the Frontispiece, because of the small Room left in these sort of Monuments, is never to be seen there charged with more than eight Pillars, sometimes with six, with four, or only with two.]

*Observations on the Temple of Peace, built by the Emperor
Vespasian.*

* 300 Feet
long, 200 Feet
broad.
+ 228 Feet
long, 66 Feet
broad.

1. **T**HE Greatness of this * Temple, the most magnificent of old Rome, is prodigious; it is longer than our † *Westminster-hall*, and the middle Nave only, besides the Ailes, is more than a seventh Part broader; in Heighth it exceeds the highest Cathedral now in the World.

2. The Walls are thin, where the Roof presses not; but admirably secured where the Weight lies; first, by the Piles behind the Pillars, which are of that Thickness backward, that they are sufficient Butment to the Arch of the Ailes: (this not being observed in the *Gothick* Cathedrals, the Vault of the Ailes resting against the Middle of the Pillars of the Nave, bend them inward; and therefore, in *Westminster-abbey*, they are cramped, in some Places, cross the Aile to the outward Wall, with vast Irons, to secure the Vault of the Aile from spreading.) Secondly, the Weight of the Roof above hath a mighty Butment from the slope Walls between the Windows, which answer to the Half-frontispieces of the Ailes; from whence the flying Buttresses of the *Gothick* Fabricks seem to have taken their Original.

3. This Temple ascends to its vast Heighth each Way, by three Degrees; the mighty Nave is butted by the Ailes, and the Ailes by the Tribunals, and little Rooms without; which we may well suppose to be those Archives, wherein the *Sibyll's* Books, the Spoils of the *Jewish* Temple, and the Records of Rome, the most sacred for Antiquity, were kept.

4. Thus it rises to be equal in Heighth to half the whole Breadth between the side Tribunals; and a Line drawn from the Key of the Vault of the Nave, to the Key of the Arch of the Aile, determines the Breadth of the Aile: so that in the farthest Part you see always half the Vault of the Nave; which makes it seem free and spacious, containing more than an Acre of Ground in its Pavement, and might well contain an Assembly of 20,000 Persons; the common Use of it being a Hall of Justice, and for that Reason it was made very light-some; whereas the consecrated Temples were generally very obscure.

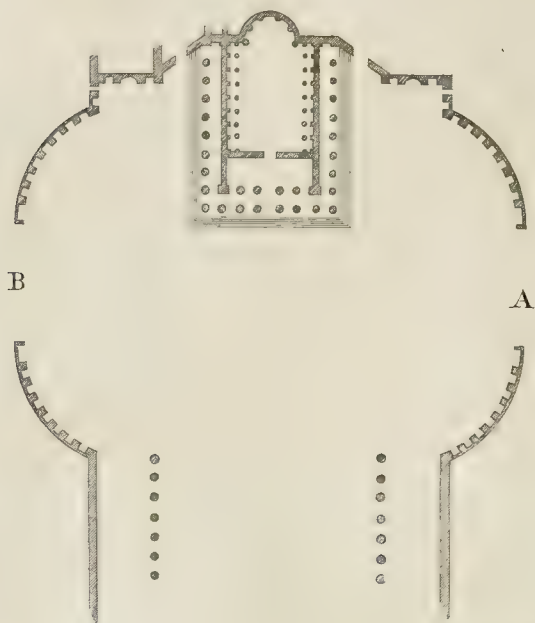
5. I have admired the Greatness and Firmness of this Pile, but I cannot commend the Architect's Judgment for obscuring the majestick Stature of it with an humble Portico, and low Wings, which cause the visual Ray to cut off very much of the Height; so that in Perspective the Front will look exceeding broad and flat, and, to those that approach the Entrance, will seem as it were grafted upon the low Portico; though the Grace in the double Frontispiece and Acroteria, doth something make amends, distinguishing the mighty Breadth into several Parts.

6. But shall I accuse Antiquity for want of Skill in Opticks, of which every where it shews such admirable Proofs? since particularly here the Architect hath given great Testimony of it in the Contrivance of his Cornice, wherein he hath left out the *Corona*, or Hanging-square, by an unusual Example. The *Corona* seems an essential Part in all Cornices, as that which gives Denomination to the whole, and is necessary to the Beauty of a Cornice; because, by its Projecture, it shadows all the lower Members, receiving upon its plane Surface a terse Light from above; this gives the Eminence and distinct Appearance which we see in the Parts of a Cornice at distance; but the Artist here ingeniously apprehending that his Lights in this Fabrick stood level with his Cornice, and therefore it would want the Effect for which it is used, and that the Hanging-face of it would

would be fore-shortened to nothing, to the Eye which beholds it from beneath, wisely left out this Member, which, if these optical Reasons did not prevail, would never have been used, since, of all Members, this is that which most loads the Cornice, and makes us, for want of Stones of such Vastness, and Money to move them, despair, in these Days, of coming near the Greatness of such a Pillar and Entablement as is here used, where the Projecture of the Cornice is near 5 Feet.

7. It was not therefore Unskilfulness in the Architect that made him chuse this flat kind of Aspect for his Temple, it was his Wit and Judgment. Each Deity had a peculiar Gesture, Face, and Dress hieroglyphically proper to it; as their Stories were but Morals involved: and not only their Altars and Sacrifices were mystical; but the very Forms of their Temples. No Language, no Poetry can so describe Peace, and the Effects of it in Men's Minds, as the Design of this Temple naturally paints it, without any Affectation of the Allegory. It is easy of Access, and open, carries an humble Front, but embraces wide, is luminous and pleasant, and content with an internal Greatness, despises an invidious Appearance of all that Heighth it might otherwise justly boast of, but rather fortifying itself on every Side, rests secure on a square and ample Basis.

8. I know very well the Criticks in Architecture will scarce allow this Temple to be accurate, doubting a Decay of the Art in the Time of *Vespasian*, who finished this Temple; but it was *Claudius* who began it, when we need not suspect Corruption. Nor need we scruple that the Entablement of the Columns is not continued, but that the Arches of the Ailes break higher than the Architraves; for these Arches resemble so many Tribunals, which are usually made in the Form of Niches, with the vaulted Head, adorned with a reticulate Work, but are not frequently set upon any Imposts, like the Arches of a Gate: but in the Inside of the best Works, the whole Entablement is seldom precisely kept; sometimes the Architrave is not expressed, as within the Portico of the Temple of *Vesta* at *Tivoli*; most frequently is the Freeze omitted, and always in the Inside of the Porticoes of Temples is the Cornice omitted, unless you will call the Mouldings of the Listels a Cornice. Within the Portico of the *Pantheon*, over the Capitals, runs a compound Moulding of Architrave and Cornice combined in one, yet all together make not the due Bigness of the Cornice: in the open Air it is as well the Protection from Weather as the Crown of the Pile, and therefore not to be interrupted nor broken forward, without just Reason; within, where it is an Impediment, 'tis often omitted, as in this Case, by its great Projection, it would have obscured the Descent of the Light. The same Order of Arches without Imposts is observed throughout, in the Portico before the Temple, in the Windows of the Fronts, in the Passages through the Tribunals, in the Niches; and though we have not extant more Examples of the like, yet I am apt to believe the *Basilica*, which were vaulted with Stone, followed this kind of Fabrick; and as it is vast, and well poised, so it is true, well proportioned, and beautiful, and was deservedly esteemed by the *Romans* themselves, as one of the most considerable Structures of *Rome*.

A Plan of the Temple of Mars Ultor:*J. M. 1786*

Observations on the Temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus; the Ruins of which are seen near the Torre de Conti, at Rome.

Templa ferres, et me victore, vocaberis Ultor.

OVID. FAST. L. 5.

I.

AS studiously as the Aspect of the Temple of Peace was contrived in Allusion to Peace and its Attributes, so is this of Mars appropriated to War: a strong and stately Temple shews itself forward; and, that it might not lose any of its Bulk, a vast Wall of near 100 Feet high is placed behind it; (because, as *Vitruvius* notes, Things appear less in the open Air) and though it be a single Wall, erected chiefly to add Glory to the Fabrick, and to muster up at once a terrible Front of Trophies and Statues, which stand here in double Ranks, yet an ingenious Use is made of it, to obscure two irregular Entrances, which come from a bending Street: and to accommodate itself as well to the Situation, as to give Firmness to the Wall but 5 Feet thick, it is built in various Flexures, (because a strait Wall is easier ruined by Tempests): these Flexures give Opportunity to form two other Frontispieces, in which are seen Niches much greater than

than ordinary, and may be supposed to contain the Trophies:—Thus stands the Temple like the *Phalanx*, while the Walls represent the Wings of a *Battalia*.

*Prospicit armipotens operis fastigia summi,
Et probat invictos summa tenere Deos.
Prospicit in foribus diversæ tecto figuræ,
Armaque terrarum milite victa suo.
Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere sacro,
Et tot Iuleæ nobilitatis avos.
Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem;
Claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.
Spectat et Augusto prætextum nomine templum,
Et visum, læto Cæsare, majus opus.
Digna gigantæis hæc sunt delubra trophæis, &c.*

OID. FAST. L. 5.

II.

In this Court we have an Example of circular Walls; and certainly no Enclosure looks so gracefully as the circular: 'tis the Circle that equally bounds the Eye, and is every where uniform to itself; but being of itself perfect, is not easily joined to any other Area, and therefore seldom can be used: a Semicircle joining to an Oblong, as in the Tribunal at the End of this Temple, is a graceful Composition.

III.

If I might divine in Architecture, I would say, that the two Porticoes that made up the Court were directly opposite to the two Side-frontispieces, and that the Walls of the Court might continue on the other Side of a Street, leaving open the Passages A B; and this might be the Reason that *Palladio* sought no farther for them, finding Foundations to end at A and B. By this means, those that walk in either Portico, will have the Prospect of a Side-frontispiece before them; those that walk in the Ante-temple, will have that goodly Tour of Statues diffused about them; and those that enter the Court, have an excellent Perspective of the Whole; those that come down from the Temple, will have the View of the Temple of *Neptune*, which, *Palladio* says, stood over-against it. The *Romans* guided themselves by Perspective in all their Fabricks; and why should not Perspective lead us back again to what was *Roman*? If I presumed, 'twas *Tully* that animated me, who assures us, that Reason is the best Art of Divination.

I cannot omit commending the Fronts of the Porticoes: the Liftels are invented to make Roofs, too narrow for a Vault, rise airy and light; the Ornaments between, consisting of a Trayle of Fillets continuing in square Angles, seem to me to have been borrowed from Beds of Gardens, and very properly would suit to that End.

IV.

The Cornice of the Wall advises us what Cornice to use in plainer Works; and gracefully is the Basis of the Columns made a continued Basis to the whole Temple. But the Pillar with the Capital of Horses-heads, (supposed by *Palladio*

a a a

ladio

ladio to be one of the inward Ornaments) belongs not to this, but the other neighbouring Temple of *Neptune*; for, 'twas *Neptune* who was called *Domina-
tor Equorum*. This, and the Temple of *Peace*, and the *Pantheon*, are those which *Pliny* particularly mentions among the most remarkable Works of *Rome*.

V.

The Squares in the Wall of the *Cella* opposite to the Inter-columnations, tell us how extremely the Ancients were addicted to square and geometrical Figures, the only natural Foundation of Beauty.

VI.

We find the most adorned Temples of the *Corinthian* Order have the Walls of the *Cella* channelled; so much they affected the Ostentation of great Stones, that where there were Joints, they would not seem to obscure them, that the Shafts of the Pillars might the better appear entire, and to give a darker Field behind them: the right Proportion of them is double in Length to their Breadth: the Appearance is best where there is much together.

Of the Sepulchre of Mausolus King of Caria.

THE Sepulchre of *Mausolus* is so well described by *Pliny*, that I have attempted to design it accordingly, and also very open, conformable to the Description in *Martial*.

Aëre vacuo pendentia Mausolæa.

And yet it wanted not the Solidity of the *Dorick* Order, which I rather call the *Tyrian*, as used in that Age.

The Skill of four famous Artists, *Scopas*, *Briaxes*, *Timotheus*, and *Leocbares*, all of the School of *Praxiteles*, occasioned this Monument to be esteemed one of the seven Wonders of the World. These Architects living before the Time of *Alexander*, and before the Beginning of the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, (for *Mausolus* died, according to *Pliny*, in the second Year of the * hundredth Olympiad, which was before the *Ionick* Order was first in Use) I conclude this Work must be the exactest Form of the *Dorick*. It appeared from the City *Halicarnassus* to the Sea, that is, North and South, 64 Feet, and so much every way; for, each Artificer took his Side: and being hexastyle, contained in all 36 Pillars; that is to say, 20 for the four Fronts, and 16 within, which supported the *Pteron*, (as *Pliny* calls it) in the Manner expressed in the Plan.

Pteron is an unusual Term, and not, I think, to be found in the Authors we have. *Harduin*, in his Notes on *Pliny*, and others consider the Word, as in the plural Number, *Ptera*, (ΠΤΕΡΑ) *Alæ*, and think it imports the same Meaning as *Pteromata* in *Vitruvius*; *Muri duo in altitudinem conjungentes alarum instar*. But if we take it, as it is, in the singular Number, it cannot bear here that Signification; but may relate, as I conclude, to what we now call an *Attick* Order, and what rose above the Cornice, to have been called by this Term, in *Greek* Authors of Architecture, now lost.

This *Pteron* was here raised as high again as the Order below, to bear the triumphal Chariot of King *Mausolus*. The like the *Romans* did in their triumphal Arches; but in this, it is raised so high, because it stands upon a second Range of Columns within, and that the Chariot might be seen at Sea; for such was the Situation of *Caria*, where all the Ships that doubled this South-west Cape of *Asia* must keep the usual Tract to *Rhodes*.

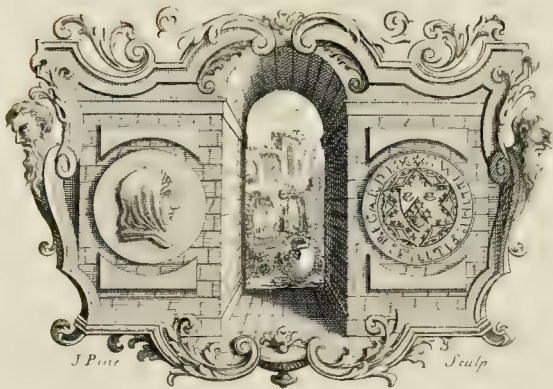
Supposing then in the Order, which *Vitruvius* calls *Systyle*, (where the Inter-column is double to the Diameter of the Column) if the Column is 4 Feet Diameter, and the Inter-column 8 Feet, the whole Façade will be 64 Feet. The Height of the Columns of $7\frac{1}{2}$ Diameter will be 30 Feet, and with the *Dorick* Entablature of a fourth Part of the Column, will make $37\frac{1}{2}$ Feet, which is just 25 Cubits; as *Pliny* makes the Height of the first Story: above the *Cyma* of the Cornice must be a *Zocle* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet, for fixing the Statues, which will make in all 40 Feet from the Floor. Upon the 16 inward Columns rose the *Pteron*, (the ancient *Greek* Term, as I have noted, for whatever was erected above the Cornice, which we now call an *Attick* Story) the Pilasters whereof, that they might be visible, were supported on a Substructure, or Pedestal, of 20 Feet, so elevated to be seen above the Statues of 7 Feet, and being 14 Feet behind the *Cyma* of the outward Columns, could not well be lower. The Pilasters then of the *Pteron* being 24 Feet, made with their Cornice 30 Feet more; and upon this the Stone Covering rising 24 Feet more, in *metæ cacumen*, (as *Pliny* phrases it) made the whole *Pteron* 74 Feet. Now, if round about the lower Colonnade is added an Ascent in Steps of 10 Feet, (the third of the Pillar) there will be to the Platform on the Top 124 Feet, upon which stood the triumphal Chariot

of *Mausolus*, in Marble, 16 Feet high; so the whole Height will be 140 Feet, as by *Pliny*.—The whole Circumference I have computed 416 Feet, which exceeds *Pliny's* by 5 Feet. The Bottom and Façade, *Pliny* reported as he was informed by Greek Measure, I have computed by just Proportions, which indeed are very fine. First, the Ascent in Height is a third Part of the Pillar; then the Column with the Architrave being 32, will be half the Façade 64, and the Face of the *Pteron* and Pedestal, will have the Appearance of being as high as broad over the Heads of the Statues. The Ascent of Steps up to the Platform, is only the proper Stone Covering, the Stones being 12 Inches high, and 6 Inches saile. The Breadth at the lower Steps to the whole Height, is as 3 to 4, which is the Sides of *Pythagorick* rectangular Triangles. The Ordinance of the Whole falls out so wonderfully, and the Artists being contemporary with the School of *Plato*, I know not but they might have something to practise from thence, in this harmonick Disposition. I have joined the 16 inward Pillars into four Solids, and continued the same to the Top; opening also the middle Inter-column of the *Pteron*, that Solid may be upon Solid, and Void upon Void; so all is firm, yet airy. I have omitted *Triglyphs* in the Freeze, which I take to be the only Place for the Inscription, and Monuments were never without. I believe *Triglyphs* are proper for Porticoes chiefly, as in Imitation of Timber Entablatures. There might be round upon the first Order 20 Statues; 16 more below upon the Solids in Niches; and 12 in Niches of the *Pteron*, in all 48, each Statuary taking 12. *Pythis*, a fifth Artist, (says *Pliny*) made the Coloss Figure of *Mausolus*, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses.

The Plate of the above is omitted, on account of the Drawing being imperfect.

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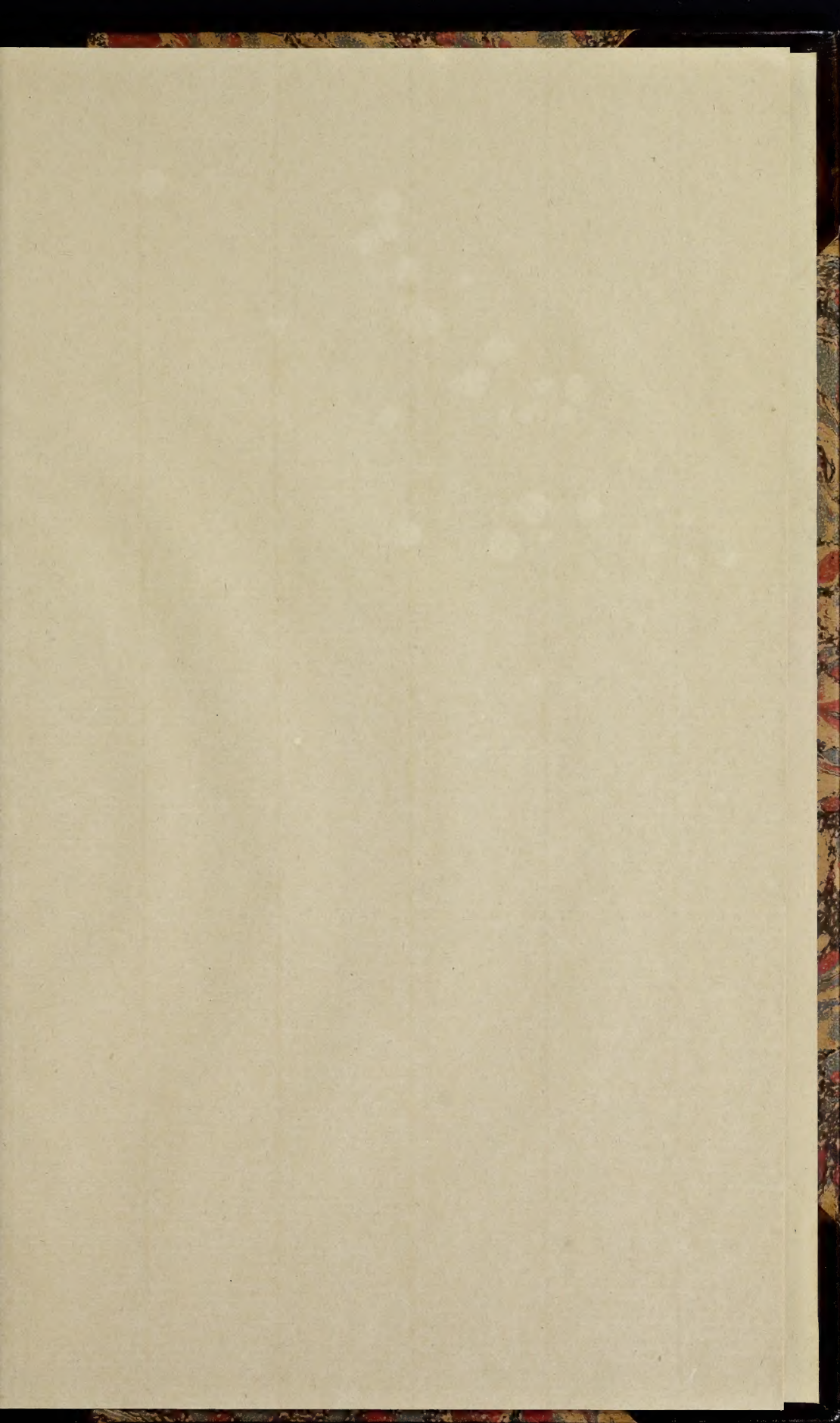
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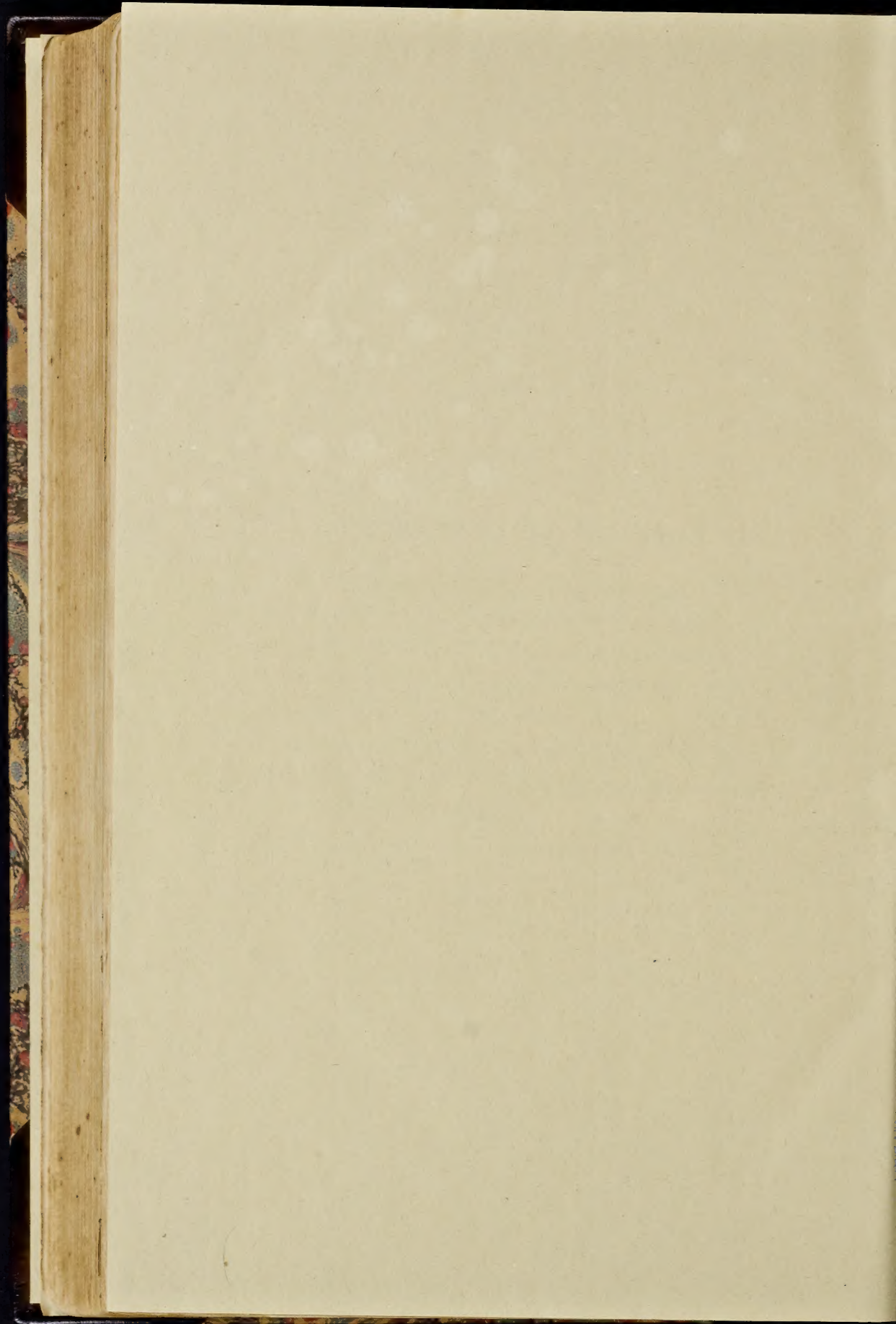
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